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A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις
ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνήξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil,

V O L. XIII.



L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in
the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVIII.

Universal History

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

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A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Printed by J. Smith, in Pall-mall, near the Theatre-Royal, in the Strand.



Printed for T. Osborn, in Gray's Inn; A. Milner, in
the Strand; and J. Osborn, in Peter-neller Court.
MDCCLXXII.

AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. XIII.

B O O K III.

The ROMAN *History.*

C H A P. IX.

*The History of Rome, from the End of the Sedition of
Gracchi, to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla.*

MARIUS, having by the success, that attended him in the war with *Jugurtha*, as we have related in the foregoing volume, gained both the esteem and affections of the people; they decreed, that the management of the war beyond the *Alps* should be likewise committed to his care, and that *Sylla* should serve under him as his lieutenant-general. As for *Fimbria*, he was ordered to continue in *Italy*, to oppose the barbarians in case they should cross the mountains. All that remained was, to divide the two armies now on foot between the consuls. *Marius* had his choice, and he readily preferred the new legions, which *Rutilius* had instructed, to the old troops which he had brought from *Africa*. So many honours heaped on a plebeian were a great mortification to the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the people, and greatly to the dis-

The Domitian, Cassian, and Servilian laws.

advantage of the senate and nobility. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the great grandfather of the emperor *Nero*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Servilius*, *Glaucia*, and *Marcus Philippus*, all proposed new laws tending to the diminution of the power of the senate; and the three former succeeded. The first transferred the power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people. The second got it enacted, that every citizen, degraded by a *plebiscitum*, should for ever be deprived of his seat in the senate. This took away from the senators the power of reinstating those in their honours, whom the people had disgraced. The third prevailed on the people to pass a law, in virtue of which, the allies of *Latium*, who should accuse a senator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. As for the tribune *Marcus Philippus*, he attempted to revive the law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the distribution of the lands; but this was thought a seditious attempt, and therefore not seconded by the generality of the people^a.

Marius sets out for Transalpine Gaul.

IN the mean time *Marius* set out for *Transalpine Gaul*; but, finding that the enemy, after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, had, instead of passing the *Alps*, marched into *Spain*, being drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he applied himself wholly to the perfecting of his soldiers in discipline against their return. He taught his troops frugality by his example, and by the severity that appeared in his whole deportment. There was a wildness and fierceness in his looks not to be described. The very tone of his voice was so rough and harsh, that whenever he gave orders, he made those who received them tremble. This kept his men in exact obedience and subjection. In order to inure them to the dangers of battles, he sent most of the young soldiers under the command of *Sylla*, to make war on all the enemies of the republic, who were dispersed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*.

Sylla gains several advantages over the Gauls.

Sylla on this occasion maintained the reputation he had acquired in *Numidia*, defeated in several battles the *Tectosages*, and took one of their kings, named *Copillus*, prisoner of war. Notwithstanding these advantages, *Marius*, not thinking the troops he had brought from *Italy* sufficient to withstand the numberless multitudes of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls*, who would fall upon him on their return from *Spain*, sent for succours to the most remote parts of the east. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, answered, that his dominions were quite exhausted of men by the vast numbers of his subjects, who had been carried away, and kept in slavery, by the *Roman* knights, who farmed the revenues of the republic in the *Levant*. The senate had regard to this just complaint, and passed a decree,

^a SUET. in Nerone. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5. CIC. in Verr. act. iii. in Bruto, & in Balbo.

ordering

ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be set at liberty. But this decree, however just, ^{The occasion of the} gave rise to a new war, of which *Marius* was the innocent ^{servile} occasion.

UPON the first news of this decree, the unhappy slaves, without waiting for further orders, broke their chains, and set themselves at liberty. The first commotion was raised at *Nuceria*, a city of *Campania* on the banks of the *Sarnus*; but the tumult was there soon suppressed. A more violent storm was raised at *Capua* by a young *Roman* knight, named *Vettius*. After he had squandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful slave, whom he bought upon credit for seven *Attic* talents. But when the time came, that he was either to pay the price agreed on, or return the slave to her former master, to avoid both, he made an insurrection among the slaves, who cultivated the lands of the public in his district, making use of the decree of the senate to seduce those unhappy persons. He soon drew together four hundred of them, and his first exploit ^{The slaves rise at Capua, stirred up by} was to murder those who had pressed him to pay for his mistress. ^{Vettius;} He then led his small company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he put under contribution, being every-where joined by the slaves, whom he set at liberty. When he had assembled about seven hundred of them, he posted himself in an advantageous situation, got himself proclaimed king by his followers, who in a short time amounted to three thousand five hundred, and fortified himself in his post, which he made an ^{king.} asylum for all fugitive slaves ^{b.}

THE senate, upon the first news of this insurrection, dispatched *Lucius Lucullus* the prætor against him, who, taking 4600 regular troops with him, attacked *Vettius*; but was repulsed with great loss. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourse to artifice, gained over one *Apollonius*, who was general under *Vettius*, and by his means made himself master of the place, which the rebels had fortified. But *Vettius*, seeing himself betrayed, escaped the punishment due to his crime, by ^{betrayed,} laying violent hands on himself. But this was only a prelude to ^{lays vio-} a more important war in *Sicily*, which was at this time governed ^{lent hands} by a prætor, named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak and timorous man. ^{on himself.} He at first obeyed the decree of the senate, set at liberty four hundred of those unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonstrances to make concerning their slavery, to repair to him at *Syracuse*. The number of these poor wretches was much greater than he imagined. He found that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thousand freemen to slavery, especially in the east, and sent them into *Sicily* to

cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, quite surpris'd at such villainous proceedings, resolv'd to set all those at liberty who were of free condition, pursuant to the decree of the senate. This alarmed the publicans, who thereupon had recourse to the prætor, and by rich presents prevailed upon him to suspend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compassion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the Roman knights, he began to look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their respective countries, only as a troublesome mob, and sent them back to their masters. But they, instead of turning home, retired to a sacred grove, and there took a resolution of recovering by force the liberty which had been unjustly refused them.

An insur-
rection
among the
slaves in
Sicily;

THEY then seized a castle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor march'd against them; but, being too weak to attack them, he prevail'd on one of their leaders, named *Caius Titinius*, to deliver up the castle to him, which he enter'd in the night. The slaves, though thus surpris'd, made a vigorous resistance, and perish'd all to a man, either by the swords of the Romans, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the walls. *Licinius*, having suppress'd this first commotion, instead of keeping the field, disbanded his troops, which gave the slaves an opportunity of rising again. They assembled in a few days to the number of six thousand, and, thinking it dangerous for so great a multitude who choose to continue together without an head, they chose one *Salvius*, a flute-player, for their general, and gave him the title of king. *Salvius* immediately divided his people into three parties, which he sent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the slaves they could find to his camp. These expeditions succeeded beyond his expectation; for his parties brought him so many men and horses, that he was soon in a condition to form a numerous army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He then laid siege to *Morgantia*, a strong city on the banks of the *Simaethus*. But while *Salvius's* troops were engag'd before that place, the prætor *Licinius*, with an army of ten thousand man, partly *Italians*, and partly *Sicilians*, surpris'd their camp, which he found almost deserted, and seized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor before day-break advanced to the besieged city, and, attacking the enemy in the dark, slew great numbers of them, and dispers'd the rest. But, before sun-rising, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the surprize upon the Romans, who, thinking themselves victorious, were no ways upon their guard, attacked them with great vigour, and, having defeated the prætor in his turn,

and lay
siege to
*Morgan-
tia*.

They are
defeated by
the Ro-
man præ-
tor, whom
they defeat
in their
turn

killed

killed six hundred of his men, and took four thousand of them prisoners^c.

THIS victory encouraged *Salvius* to renew the siege of *Morgan-
gantia* with more vigour than ever. The slaves of the place, upon their masters promising them their liberty, if they repulsed or tired out the aggressors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition; inasmuch that *Salvius* was at length obliged to raise the siege. But the *Morgan-
tines*, at the instigation of the base prætor, refused to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promised them; which so incensed these brave men, that they abandoned their masters, whom they had defended with so much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily increased, and the contagion spread through all parts of *Sicily*. A slave born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, made a fresh insurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of *Egesta* and *Lilybæum*; and, having killed his master, put himself at the head of the two hundred slaves he had in his service; and his party being soon increased to the number of ten thousand, he had the confidence to lay siege to *Lilybæum*, at that time by far the strongest place in the island. After he had spent much time in this fruitless attempt, he pretended to be advised by the gods to abandon the enterprize, crying out, as in a sudden transport, *Let us, my friends, be gone this instant from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we persist in this attempt, we shall be undone. Let us then make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven.* While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, sent by *Bocchus* to the assistance of the Romans, under the command of one *Gemon*, who, entering the port of *Lilybæum*, landed his troops, and fell upon the rear of *Athenio's* army. The head of the rebels had, without all doubt, been informed of the approach of this fleet; but his soldiers looked upon him ever after as a man highly favoured by the gods.

ON the other hand *Salvius*, finding his army to be thirty thousand strong, resolved to make *Triocala* the capital of his new dominions, and accordingly built a citadel there on the ruins of an old demolished castle, raised himself a fine palace, surrounded the place with a wide ditch, and even settled a kind of polity in his city, choosing himself a council, consisting of his friends, and the most prudent of his subjects. When he had settled all things in his new colony, he invited *Athenio* to come and partake of the pleasures of the place, and to deliberate about the proper measures for promoting their common interest. *Athenio* accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three

^c FLOR. l. iii. c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. eclog. i. l. xxxvi.

thousand of his men. But he no sooner entered *Triscala*, than *Salvius* caused him to be seized, and clapped up in his new castle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which cost the Romans a great deal of blood^d. But to return to *Marius*.

WHILE he was waiting for the return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne Gaul*, he kept an exact discipline in his camp, and punished vice with the utmost severity. From the following instance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the most infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiousness too often introduced into the *Roman* armies. His nephew *Caius Lucius*, having made a scandalous attempt upon a young soldier, by name *Trebonius*, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noise. But the consul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted *Trebonius*, whom some vile flatterers warmly accused, but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hand one of those crowns on his head, which generals only bestowed on soldiers who had signalized themselves by some valiant action. The applauses the army gave *Marius* on this occasion soon reached *Rome*, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the consulate, and in the command of the army in *Transalpine Gaul*^e. Though absent, he was without opposition proclaimed consul a third time. Even his most inveterate enemies, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, and *Marcus Scaurus*, approved of his election, sacrificing their private resentments to the public welfare. The colleague the republic gave *Marius* was *L. Aurelius Orestes*, who continued some time at *Rome*, where he was employed in trying *T. Albucius*, prætor of *Sardinia*, whom the people condemned to banishment for vainly decreeing himself a triumph in his province without the consent either of the senate or people, though he had done nothing that deserved it^f.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Marcus Fulvius*, the prætor in *Spain*, gained great reputation by his conduct against the *Cimbri*. Though he had but one legion under his command, he found means to harass those barbarians in such a manner, as made them leave *Spain*, and return to *Gaul*. But, before their arrival, a swarm of *Marfi* appeared there, with a design to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them (A). *Marius* detached *Sylla* to oppose this new inundation of barbarians; and he chose

^d DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ^e PLUT. in *Mario*. CIC. *pro Mil.* n. 18. ^f JUL. OBSEQ. c. 103. CIC. *de provinc. consular.*

(A) The *Marfi* were natives of Germany, and inhabited the banks of the *Lupia*; or, as *Strabo* calls it, the *Lupias*. This river rises at *Lipsprink*, a village of *Westphalia*, and falls into the *Rhine*, after having watered the *duchy of Cleves*.

rather to make use of persuasion than force; he desired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed upon them to change their resolution, and come over to the *Romans* (B). Towards the end of the present year, the consul *Aurelius Orestes* died in his camp at the foot of the *Alps* on the side of *Italy*; so that the republic was obliged to recall *Marius* to preside at the new elections. He left the command of his army to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with joy to *Rome*, where he acted a part very suitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was to get himself nominated for the next year. But this was a tender point, and might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the same person should so often be chosen consul successively. He therefore publicly declared, that he would not even suffer his name to be entered among the candidates. But at the same time *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the tribunes, and his creature, being in the secret with him, acted a very different part. He in all his harangues exhorted the people to force *Marius* to accept of the consulate. But the more pressing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply with their request. The tribune in one of his speeches even called him knave and traitor for resisting the will of the people, and refusing to serve his country when threatened with great danger. In short, the game was so artfully played, that the people nominated *Marius* consul the fourth time, and forced him, much against his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility indeed laughed at his sham modesty, and saw through the disguise; but thought his assistance necessary at a time when the state was in the utmost danger; and therefore did not oppose his election. The colleague given him was *Q. Lutatius Catulus* (C), a man greatly esteemed both by the senate and people.

ALL

* PLUT. in Mario. CIC. in Bruto, & pro Sextio.

(B) From this time we find no farther mention made of *Sylla* in the army of *Marius*, but in that of the colleague the republic gave him the next year. Perhaps *Marius* was glad to get rid of a subaltern, who began to eclipse the glory of his general.

(C) *Cicero* in different places of his works, gives us the character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*. His good-nature, says he, and his polite behaviour, prejudiced all men in his favour.

His eloquence, his agreeable manner of speaking, and the purity of his expressions, gained him the hearts of his hearers. He was an orator, an historian, and a poet. He wrote historical memoirs of his consulate after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his model. He employed his leisure hours in poetical performances; but, according to *Ovid* and *Pliny the younger*, the levity of his muse did not become the gravity of his character.

Troubles
both a-
broad and
at home.

The Cili-
cian pi-
rates de-
stroyed by
M. Anto-
nius.

Disturb-
ances rais-
ed by the
tribune A-
puleius.

The Cim-
brians be-
gin their
march in-
to Italy.

ALL Gaul was in motion, and the season and approach of the enemy made the consuls hasten to their posts. The two consuls set out from Rome at the same time, leaving the city in great consternation on account of the new troubles, both abroad and at home. Abroad, the *Thracians* had raised great disturbances in *Macedon* ever since the last year. The rebellious slaves laid waste *Sicily*, and reduced Rome to great straits for want of corn. The *Cilician* pirates infested the *Mediterranean*, and contributed as much to the famine which afflicted Rome, as the devastations in *Sicily*. Against the pirates, was sent a man, who seemed most nearly concerned to destroy them; to wit, the famous orator *M. Antonius*, whose daughter they had carried into captivity. He soon cleared the seas of those robbers, and on that account was honoured with a triumph^b. At home, new disturbances were raised by *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, who endeavoured to promote one *Lucius Equitius Firmanus* to the tribunate. He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay, even his tribe, were utterly unknown. But *Apuleius* knew him to be a bold, active, and intriguing man, an inveterate enemy to the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed against the patricians. As the seditious tribune was well apprised, that the birth of *Equitius* would be the greatest obstacle to his advancement, he made him take the name of *Gracchus*, and presented him to the people as the son of *C. Tiberius Gracchus*. But *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, being at this time one of the censors, discovered the cheat, and refused even to inroll *Equitius* among the Roman citizens. His refusal had like to have cost him dear; for he very narrowly escaped being stoned by the populace, at the instigation of *Apuleius*.

^a VELL. PATERCUL. lib. iii. FLOR. lib. iii. LIV. epit. lib. lvi. TACIT. annal. xii. CIC. de orat. lib. i.

character. *Aulus Gellius* has preserved one of his epigrams on a child named *Theotimus*, which he produces as a masterpiece of elegance and politeness (1). *Cicero* quotes another wrote by *Catulus* on young *Roscius* (2), whose beauty he greatly extols, though

the youth squinted, as *Cicero* observes. Tho' *Catulus* was much beloved by the people, and highly esteemed by all ranks of men, yet he had the mortification to be twice disappointed of the consulate, and to see men of no merit preferred to him (3).

(1) Vide Aul. Gell. Noct. Atticæ, l. xix.
(3) Cic. in Bruto.

(2) Cic. de nat. deor. l. i.

and

and other *Gaulish* and *Helvetian* nations, over the western *Alps*. *Marius* therefore marched to oppose the latter, and posted himself near the place where the present city of *Arles* stands. As the mouth of the *Rhone* was stopped up with heaps of sand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there, *Marius*, to supply his army with provisions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborous work, which, from him, was called *Fossa Mariana*. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of the *Rhone*, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the sea. Through this canal the largest transports could pass; by which means he supplied his army with plenty of provisions; and, being encamped between the two arms of the river and the sea, had no reason to fear the attacks of the enemy (D).

MARIUS had scarce finished his works, when the barbarians appeared, covering, with their innumerable multitudes, a vast track of land. They advanced to his trenches, but, finding they could not force them, they made frightful shouts, and challenged the *Romans* to come out and fight them. But *Marius* was not in haste to venture a battle, there being something inexpressibly fierce in the looks of those barbarians, which struck the *Romans* with terror. The consul therefore, that their countenances, outcries, and the clatter of their arms, might become the less terrible, by being familiar to his men, ordered his troops to mount the ramparts as often as the barbarians appeared. He likewise sent out detachments under the conduct of brave and experienced officers, to lay waste the country, and by that means distress the numberless barbarians for want of provisions. The more the scarcity increased, the more earnest they were to come to a decisive battle, insulting the *Romans* in their camp. But their insults only affected the common soldiers, whose ardor

(D) According to the accounts the modern writers, who have viewed those places, give us of this famous canal, it began at the *Rhone*, a little below *Arles*, was carried on cross the fields of *Crau*, beyond the village of *Foz*, and ended at the tower *de Bouc*, or *d'Embouc*. *Marius*, after his victory over the *Cimbrians*, bestowed it on the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, by way of reward for their services; and to them it proved, for a long time, very convenient and advantageous; but it has been now for many

ages stopt up with sand and mud. *Honoré Bouche*, in his *chorographe of Provence*, will have the *Galejon* to be the remains of that work. The *Galejon* is a kind of pond, which empties itself into the sea, and formerly fell into the *Rhone*, by a canal called the *Dead Arm*, which was stopt about eighty years ago. Some think, that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring district bears, is a corruption of *Castra Marii*; and derive the name of the village *de Foz*, from *Fossa Mariana*.

Marius

Marius re-
frains the
ardor of
his sol-
diers.

Marius restrained, telling them, that all rashness was to be laid aside, and no hazards to be run upon any account whatsoever. But this served only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with the barbarians, whom they now began to despise, observing to one another, that shouts and outcries do no execution; that ghastly looks, and a savage mien, can only frighten cowards; and that well-disciplined troops will always have the advantage over a disorderly and ill-conducted multitude. These sentiments gave the consul great pleasure; but being resolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he had recourse to superstition, to keep his soldiers in a more ready obedience. His wife *Julia*, who was of the family of the *Cæsars*, had sent him a woman from *Rome*, by name *Martha*, whose skill in predictions, she said, she had experienced. The consul received and treated her with the most profound respect, as if she had been intrusted with the secrets of fate. But, in reality, she was rather an interpreter of the will of *Marius*, than of the gods; he informed her of his designs; and the pretended prophets never failed to approve of the measures which the consul had before resolved on. Having consulted her, whether he should humour his soldiers, and engage the enemy, *Martha* answered, that, in the present circumstances, an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This answer quieted the troops, and kept them in an intire subjection to their general. As the *Teutones* were continually hovering about the camp, and insulting the *Romans*, one of them, a man of a gigantic size, advancing one day to the foot of the rampart, challenged the consul himself to a single combat. But *Marius*, without regarding his bravadoes, answered, *If the German is in haste to die, let him go and hang himself.*

At length the *Teutones*, quite tired out with *Marius's* delays, resolved to attack the *Roman* camp; but, not succeeding in the attempt, they decamped at length, with a design to force a passage over the *Alps* some other way. We are told, that they were six whole days, without intermission, in passing by the *Roman* camp. In their march, they cried out to the *Romans* upon the ramparts, *If you have any messages to your wives, we will soon deliver them at Rome.* *Marius*, being forced to decamp likewise, followed the barbarians into the inner parts of the *Roman* province, and came up with them near *Aqua Sextia*, now *Aix*. There the consul thought it adviseable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be sure of a retreat. But, while his troops were employed in this work, the servants of the army, who were gone in crouds to fetch water from the *Genus*, now the *Arque*, were attacked by a body of *Teutones*, who guarded that river. As the servants made a great outcry, some of the legionaries ran to their assistance. Hereupon the whole army

army of the enemy took arms, which obliged *Marius* to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at some distance from the river, while the *Ligurians* advanced to begin the action. The *Ambrones*, to the number of thirty thousand, faced the *Ligurians* in good order, and briskly marched up against them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out *Ambrones! the Romans! Ambrones!* probably to encourage each other, or to intimidate the Romans, by a name which the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius Ambrones* had made formidable: for to the *Ambrones* chiefly was owing the total overthrow of those two generals.

THE *Ligurians* were put to the rout at the first onset. But, when the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed. The undisciplined multitude of barbarians, not being able to stand the shock of regular troops, were repulsed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the *Romans* made a dreadful slaughter of them. The river was stained with their blood, and only a small number of them gained the opposite bank, whence they fled, being closely pursued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had staid there during the engagement, seeing their husbands flying, and the *Romans* at their heels, armed themselves with axes, and, gnashing their teeth, fell, with great shrieks, on the pursued and pursuers without distinction. Without any regard to their own defence, they threw themselves upon the combatants, seized their swords, and endeavoured to snatch away their bucklers. But, when their first rage was spent, they desired to capitulate upon this condition, that their honour should be preserved. When this condition was denied, those unfortunate women, being reduced to despair, first killed their children, and then themselves, not one remaining alive out of so great a multitude. So remarkable was the love of chastity which remained among those, whom the *Romans* called barbarians, after it was extinguished at *Rome*.ⁱ

HOWEVER, this victory was far from being complete. The *Ambrones* indeed were defeated; but the *Teutones*, who were encamped at some distance from the river, still remained. They did not stir all that night, nor the next day; so that the *Romans* had time to fortify themselves on the eminence which their general had first chosen. The third day after the battle, *Teutobocchus*, or, as others call him, *Teutobodus*, general of the *Teutonic* army, drew up his troops in the plain. On the other hand *Marius*, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down the hill, attack the barbarians briskly,

ⁱ PLUT. in MARIO. FRONT. strat. l. iv. c. 7, & l. v. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. OROS. l. v. c. 15.

and, by a feigned flight, draw them towards the eminence. The stratagem succeeded. The *Teutones*, impatient to come to an engagement, advanced in good order to the foot of the hill, and, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, attacked the *Romans* with great intrepidity. They stood the showers of darts which the enemy discharged upon them, and, though forced to climb, closed with the legionaries in spite of all opposition, and fell upon them sword in hand. The *Romans*, who were posted on the declivity of the hill, by only pushing the aggressors back with their bucklers, often tumbled them over one another. Besides, the sun shone with great strength, and full in their faces. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, they kept the victory doubtful till noon. The night before the battle, *Marius* had detached *Claudius Marcellus* with a body of infantry, and given him, instead of cavalry, the servants of the army, mounted, without saddles, on all the beasts of burden he could find. They were ordered to lie in ambush in the hollow roads behind the enemy's camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was small, yet the great number of servants, thus oddly mounted, gave it the appearance of a large army. The *Teutones*, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no sooner saw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than their courage and strength failing them at once, they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The *Romans*, who, in a manner, surrounded them, made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, took their camp, and plundered it ^k (E).

The *Teutones* defeated with great slaughter.

WITH

^k VELL. PATERCUL. OROS. EUTROP. LIV. *ibid.* FLOR. l. iii. Auct. de vir. illustr. PLUT. in Mario.

(E) *Teutobocchus* was, according to some, made prisoner; according to others, killed in the battle. *Honorius Bouche*, in his history of *Provence*, tells us, that near the village of *Tretz* was found a stone which preserved the name of *Teutobocchus*; whence that writer infers, that he was killed in the battle, and buried near the above-mentioned village. *M. de Peiresc* speaks of a brick sepulchre discovered in 1613. near the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Isere*. It was

thirty feet long, twelve broad, and eight high, with this inscription on a large stone; *Teutobocchus rex*. But *Florus* tells us in express terms, that *Teutobocchus* was taken prisoner, and by *Marius* carried to *Rome*, where he graced the victor's triumph. That author adds, that his head reached above the trophies, which were carried before the triumphal chariot (4). As to the numbers of the slain, and the prisoners, in the two battles, they amounted, according to some

(4) *Flor. lib. iii.*

writers,

WITH the joyful news of this victory, *Marius* dispatched a Year after messenger to *Rome*; where the people were so transported with the flood it, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the consulate the fifth time. While the people at *Rome* were heaping honours on their deliverer, the soldiers in the camp offered him all the booty. But he generously reserved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the rest to the gods. All the combustible things were gathered together in one pile, to which the consul himself, with great solemnity, set fire. In the mean time, messengers arrived from *Rome* with the congratulations of the people, and the news of his fifth election, presenting him at the same time with a decree of the senate, which gave him leave to triumph. *Marius* accepted these new honours with gratitude; and, without betraying any extraordinary joy, *I accept the consulate*, said he, *as a new obligation upon me to conquer the Cimbri, as I have the Teutones. As for a triumph, I desire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete.* The pomp of a triumph will be very unseasonable, so long as there shall remain any barbarians in the neighbourhood of Italy¹. The colleague given *Marius* was *Manius Aquilius*, of whom hereafter. As for *Catalus*, he was continued in the command of the army, with the title of pro-consul. This new year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more necessary, because two enormous crimes were now committed, which had never been heard of since the foundation of the city.

AN unnatural son, by name *Publicius Malleolus*, killed his mother; a crime, for which the *Roman* legislators had appointed no punishment, not presuming it possible for a man to be guilty of so enormous a villainy. A new punishment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was sewn up in a leathern sack, and, with a thousand execrations, thrown into the *Tiber*. The other crime was that of mutilation. A slave mutilated himself in imitation of the priests of *Cybele*. But the senate, apprehensive of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from *Rome*^m.

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* DIODOR. *apud VALES.* JUL. OBSEQ. c. 100. DIODOR. SICUL. ecl. l. xxxvi.

writers, to two hundred and their bones; they add, that the ninety thousand; according to field of battle was so enriched the lowest calculations, an hundred by the bodies buried there, that hundred thousand were killed upon the *Marseilles*, to whom it belonged, had the next year a numerous, as some writers tell much more plentiful crop from us, that the inhabitants made it than usual. fences for their vineyards with

The Cimbri enter Italy, IN the mean time *Catulus*, not being able to withstand the numberless multitudes of the *Cimbri*, by the advice of *Sylla*, who served under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the barbarians, and pitched two camps on the opposite banks of the *Athesis*, now the *Adige*, intending there to make a stand against them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and, advancing to the *Athesis*, with a design to attack the *Romans*, attempted first to ford that river; but, finding it not fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge stones into it, hoping by that means so to fill it up, as to make it passable. The terrible appearance of the numberless multitudes of barbarians struck the *Romans* with such a panic, that it was not in the power of *Catulus* to hinder those in his larger camp from flying shamefully before the enemy. Some of the *Roman* knights rode full speed to *Rome*, leaving their general and fellow-soldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among these was the son of *Scaurus*, prince of the senate; but, as soon as his father was informed of his cowardly desertion, he sent him orders, never to appear again in his presence. Hereupon the young *Roman*, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell ingloriously by his own hand. In the mean time, those in the little camp made a vigorous resistance. One of the *Cimbri* having challenged, to a single combat, the bravest men among them, was shamefully overcome by *L. Opimius*. But the example of this brave man was not sufficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by six tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the sixth, not so resolute as the rest, opposed so dangerous an attempt. Whereupon a centurion, named *Petreibus*, stabbed the cowardly officer; and, being chosen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his small body to a place of safety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army, encamped on the banks of the *Po*ⁿ. Had the *Cimbri* known how to improve their victory, they might have made themselves masters of *Rome*, which was then quite defenceless, all orders of men being in the utmost consternation. But they delayed, in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*; and thereby gave the *Romans* time to recall *Marius* and his troops from *Gaul*. By order of the senate, he joined his troops to the proconsul's army on the *Po*; and, upon their union, was declared commander in chief, his consulate and reputation giving him a superiority over *Catulus*. However, he received here a sensible mortification from his old lieutenant *Sylla*. That brave officer had, by a superior conduct, found means to supply the camp of *Catulus* with great plenty of provisions, while *Marius's* men

and strike
the Ro-
mans with
a panic.

Marius
sent a-
gainst the
Cimbri.

* PLUT. in Sylla.

wanted

wanted even necessities. *Sylla* therefore went to the consul's camp, and maliciously offered to relieve his troops in their distress, with the overplus of the provisions which he had amassed in the proconsul's camp. Necessity obliged *Marius* to accept the offer; but never was present received with more reluctance. From this time, *Sylla* entered into an open competition with *Marius*, notwithstanding the superiority which five consulates gave him over a man who had not yet been raised to any of the great employments of the republic.

In the mean time the *Cimbri*, finding the *Teutones* did not appear, resolved to come to action without them. But, that they might act with some appearance of justice, they first sent a deputation to the Roman general, desiring him to assign them, and their allies the *Teutones*, lands in the country where they were, and threatening, in case of refusal, to make the Romans feel the weight of their arms. *Marius* answered sternly, *You ask lands for your allies the Teutones; I have given them some already. Their carcasses are now rotting in the fields by the Cenus, and their bones made use of for fences to the vineyards.* The deputies, exasperated at this severe jest, threatened to make him repent of his insults, as soon as the *Teutones* should pass the Alps. *You need not then delay a moment, answered Marius; they have already passed the Alps, and you shall immediately see them.* Then shewing them the chiefs of the *Teutonic* army in chains, *Pray salute your allies,* said he to the deputies with a sneer, *and make yourselves ready to come and join them.* These insults provoked the *Cimbri* to such a degree, that *Boiorix*, one of their kings, came in person to *Marius's* camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. This the Romans had scarce ever done; but *Marius* pitched upon the plain of *Vercellæ*, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's forces. As for the day, he named the eve of the calends of *August*, the third day from that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of *Catulus* amounted to twenty thousand three hundred, and that of *Marius* to thirty-two thousand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thousand; but their infantry seemed innumerable; for we are told, that they covered, when drawn up in a square, thirty furlongs.

MARIUS, as commander in chief, drew up the whole army; and, in order to deprive the proconsul of any share of the glory of the day, posted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and must consequently sustain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his measures were disconcerted by an unforeseen accident. For,

° PLUT. in Sylla.

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before the action began, the cavalry of the *Cimbri* made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about, and flank the *Roman* army. Hereupon *Marius*, at the head of the two wings, advanced against them. The *Cimbrian* horse at his approach retired, and drew the consul after them. When he was at some distance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions, commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla*, with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leaders, stood the shock, without giving ground, keeping themselves upon the defensive, till the enemy's first fury was spent. When they found their strength began to fail them, the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the sun shone with great violence, those northern people, not accustomed to the heats of *Italy*, were soon covered with sweat, and scarce able to lift up their arms to strike a blow; so that they made but a faint resistance. They were soon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to save themselves from the victorious enemy by flight. That they might keep their ranks the better, they had, like true barbarians, tied themselves to one another with cords fastened to their belts; so that the *Romans* made what havock they pleased of those helpless barbarians.

The Cimbri intirely defeated by Marius and Catulus.

The gallant behaviour, and tragical end, of their women.

To complete their misfortune, *Marius*, returning with his troops from the pursuit of their cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhausted with fatigue, and the heat of the day. All that followed was, a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle, the *Romans* marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their husbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they discharged showers of darts on their friends and enemies, without distinction. Then they first suffocated their children in their arms, and afterwards killed themselves. The greatest part hanged themselves on trees. One was found hanging from a cart, with two of her children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and stakes, tied strings in running knots about their necks, and fastened them to the tails of their horses, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to strangle themselves that way. Thus those unhappy creatures put an end to their lives, by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders stabbed each other. *Boiorix* and *Luig*, their chief commanders, died in the action sword in hand. *Clodic* and *Sesorix*, two of their generals, were made prisoners, with sixty thousand of their men, who were all put in chains, and sold to the best bidder: an hundred and twenty thousand of the barbarians were left dead upon the spot; whereas the *Romans* had scarce three hundred men missing in both armies. Thus

Thus was this whole nation almost extirpated, whose incursions and robberies were looked upon as a public scourge P.

AFTER the battle, all the spoils and ensigns were brought to the camp of *Catulus*, which was a plain declaration, that the victory was chiefly owing to his men. But hereupon a dispute arising between the soldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the ambassadors of *Parma*, who happened at that time to be in the army. These ^{The vic-} being led to the field of battle, found almost all the darts, with ^{tory chief-} which the barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of ^{ly owing} *Catulus*, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his ^{to Catu-} soldiers before the battle. Besides, *Marius's* men had taken ^{lus's men.} from the enemy only two standards; whereas *Sylla* brought to the proconsul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull, which the *Cimbri* worshiped. Upon the whole, the arbitrators gave sentence in favour of *Catulus*; so that *Sylla* saw, with pleasure, the greatest part of the glory of the action taken from *Marius*, who had endeavoured to ingross it all to himself. However, ^{The vic-} when the news of this signal victory were brought to *Rome*, the ^{tory af-} people gave all the honour of it to *Marius*, calling him ^{The third} *founder of Rome*, *The deliverer of his country*; nay, they even ^{cribed at} invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the most circum- ^{Rome to} stantial accounts, could undeceive them, so as to bring them to ^{Marius} allow any share of the success to *Catulus*. But *Marius* him- ^{alone.} self had not the confidence to deprive *Catulus* of the glory which was due to him. Besides, he was afraid that the army of *Catulus* would oppose his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general. They were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The spoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but, if we give credit to *Florus* ^q, no part of the shew struck the people so much, as the sight of king *Teutobochus*, who was, according to that writer, of such a gigantic stature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in procession. After the triumph, both generals, pur- ^{Both tri-} suant to a vow each of them had made, built a temple in me- ^{umph, and} mory of their victory: *Marius*, who had no taste for arts, in a ^{build tem-} very plain manner, to *Virtue* and *Honour*; and *Catulus*, with ^{ples in me-} great elegance and beauty, to *the Fortune of this day*. *Marius*, ^{mory of} on the day his temple was dedicated, entertained the people with ^{their vic-} games after the *Greek* manner; but, as war was his element, ^{tory.} he was immediately tired with them, and withdrew ^r.

THUS was *Italy* delivered from her fears, by the defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. The only enemy the *Romans* had now to

P PLUT. in Mar. FLOR. l. iii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1.

q FLOR. l. iii. c. 3.

r PLUT. in Mario & Sylla, VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 7.

War with
the slaves.

Licinius
defeats the
slaves in
Sicily.

But is
forced to
raise the
siege of
Triocala.

C. Servili-
us defeated
by the
slaves.

contend with, were the rebellious slaves in *Sicily*. The republic had sent against them, two years before the defeat of the *Cimbri*, the prætor *Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, with an army of fourteen thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, exclusive of the succours that were sent him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As soon as the *Roman* army landed, *Salvius*, who had shut up *Athenio* in the citadel of *Triocala*, as we have related above, delivered him from his confinement, and advised with him, as he was a man of some experience, about the means of resisting the new general. In a council of war, which they held, it was agreed, that *Salvius* should continue in the city of *Triocala* to defend it, if attacked, and that *Athenio* should, at the head of forty thousand men, march against *Lucullus*, and give him battle. Accordingly *Athenio* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Scieræum*, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly disputed. The slaves, who, for the most part, had served in war before they were reduced to slavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the *Romans* did not expect: insomuch that the success would have been doubtful, if *Athenio*, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions, at the head of three hundred horse, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horse through faintness, and was covered with an heap of dead bodies. Hereupon his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, dispersed, and fled in the utmost confusion. The *Romans* pursued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thousand of them.

THE news of this defeat no sooner reached *Triocala*, than the cowardly *Salvius* abandoned the place. But in the meantime *Athenio*, having got from under the dead bodies that covered him, gained *Triocala* with the remains of his army before the prætor, who spent nine days in useless precautions, invested the place. *Athenio* sustained the siege with an intrepidity seldom found in men of his rank, and forced *Lucullus* to raise the siege, and retire from before the place, amidst the hisses of the slaves, who insulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to *Syracuse*, and there spent the remainder of the year, wholly intent on enriching himself, at the expence of his province. His year therefore was no sooner expired, than he was recalled, and being accused before the people of oppression, he was condemned to banishment*. The prætor *C. Servilius* was sent to succeed him; but that weak general was even more

unfortunate than his predecessor. *Athenio*, who now carried on the rebellion alone, *Salvius* being dead, attacked the *Roman* army, gave them a total overthrow, and made himself master

* DIODOR. SICUL. eclog. i. l. xxxvi.

of their camp. After this victory, *Athenio* advanced to *Messana*; and, having made a fruitless attempt upon that city, besieged *Macella*, and took it.

THE progress of the rebellion opened, at length, the eyes of the senate, who sent *Mauius Aquilius*, the colleague of *Marius* for the present year, to suppress it. *Aquilius* crossed over into *Sicily* with a consular army, and having made it his whole business, in his consulship, to reduce the rebels to great straits for want of provisions, in the year of his proconsulate, he intirely destroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigour, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a single combat. *Aquilius* not disdaining to enter the lists with *Athenio*, ^{The consul} a stop was put to the battle, the *Romans* on one side, and the *Aquilius* slaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The ^{defeats the} proconsul, who was a man of great strength and resolution, laid ^{slaves, and} his adversary dead on the ground at one blow; and the *Romans*, ^{puts an end} taking advantage of his victory, and the enemy's fears, fell upon ^{to the} them with fresh vigour, and made such a slaughter of the dis-^{war,} heartened rebels, that, of their vast army, scarce ten thousand escaped to their camp, where they chose rather to kill one an-^{They kill} other than surrender. When they were reduced to a thousand, ^{one an-} one *Satyrus* capitulated with the proconsul, who promised him ^{other.} and his companions their lives, but afterwards sent them to *Rome*, to fight the wild beasts in the shews of the circus. But they chose rather to fall by each other's hands. And thus ended a rebellion, which had lasted four years, and cost the republic, according to some writers, near a million of slaves. *Aquilius*, ^{Is honoured} on his return, was honoured with an ovation, the republic ^{with an} having more regard to her antient custom, of not granting a ^{ovation.} triumph to the conquerors of rebels, especially if they were slaves, than to the merit and services of *Aquilius* ^t.

THE republic, after the defeat of the *Cimbri*, and the reduction of the slaves, had scarce any enemies left abroad; but nourished such in her own bosom as proved more mischievous to her, than either the barbarians of *Germany*, or the slaves of *Sicily*. *Marius*, whose ambition knew no bounds, stood now for the sixth consulship, with as much eagerness as he had done for the first. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable, caressed the meanest of the people, and ingratiated him-^{The mean} self with them by the most servile condescensions. His com-^{practices} petitor was the great *Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, whose ^{of Marius.} virtues and experience, joined to the wishes of all honest men, loudly called him to the government of the republic. But *Marius*, by distributing underhand large sums among the peo-

^t DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxviii. eclog. 1. - FLOR. l. iii. c. 29.
CIC. de orat. LIV. in epit.

His sixth ple, got *Metellus* excluded, himself chosen, and one *Lucius* consulship. *Valerius Flaccus*, a very weak man, appointed for his colleague.

Year of The first step *Marius* took after his election, was to contract an intimate friendship with *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, and *Servilius*

2749. *Glaucia*, two daring and factious men, who had all the scum of the indigent and seditious people constantly at their beck. *Apuleius*

99. *Apuleius* had been long devoted to the consul, and had procured him, as we have observed above, his fourth consulate. *Glaucia* was

649. the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil causes belonged, and was naturally factious and violent. These three entered into

He enters into an association, with a design to ingross all the power to themselves. *Apuleius* had been once before tribune of the people, and

with *Apuleius* now stood for that post a second time. But he had the misfortune to come in competition with *A. Nonnius*, a man of an

Glaucia, unblemished character, and highly esteemed by the people. *Marius* used all his interest in behalf of his friend *Apuleius*; but

two factious men. both his intrigues and solicitations were ineffectual; all the voices were for *Nonnius*, who was accordingly declared tribune.

Apuleius Hereupon *Apuleius*, giving himself wholly up to the dictates of his fury, caused *Nonnius* to be stabbed at the breaking up of the

murders his competitor, and assumes the tribunate. assembly, and then got himself tumultuously proclaimed tribune by those of his own party, before any considerable part of the

people were assembled to give their suffrages. The consul confirmed the election; and the murder of *Nonnius* was no more

Marius mentioned. AND now *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a kind of

confirms the election. triumvirate, whose whole aim was to humble the senate, and assume all power to themselves. About this time, ambassadors

A kind of arrived at Rome from *Mithridate the Great*, king of *Pontus*, sent by their master to adjust some small differences between him

triumvirate formed by *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*. and the republic. These *Apuleius*, at the instigation of *Marius*, used in a most brutish manner. The consul, in all likelihood,

Marius, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*. weary of an inactive life, hoped, by that means, to provoke *Mithridate* to begin a war. However that be, the ambassadors

laid their complaints before the senate, and the conscript fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the insolent tribune, cited

him before their tribunal. But, on the day when sentence was to be pronounced, the populace surrounded the hall where the

senate met, in such crouds, that they intimidated the judges; so that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of

votes^u.

Apuleius AFTER this victory over the senate, *Apuleius*, a tribune of the people, renewed the antient quarrel about the division of the

revives the antient quarrel lands. *Marius* and *Catulus* had, by the defeat of the *Cimbri*, recovered some lands in *Cisalpine Gaul*, of which those barbarians

^u DIODOR. SICUL. apud FUL. URSIN.

had taken possession ; and *Apuleius* was for unjustly taking these ^{about the} lands from the true owners, and giving them to *Marius's* sol- ^{distribu-} diers, who were for the most part people without house or home, ^{tion of} and intirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had ^{lands.} prepared together with *Marius*, whose tool he was, for the distribution of the lands, there was a clause expressly providing, *That the senate should come and swear in full assembly to confirm whatever should be enacted by the people, and not to oppose them in any thing ; and that whoever refused to take that oath, should be degraded, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents.* Nothing could be more unreasonable than such a law, since it subjected the senate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the rostra to dissuade the people from passing it. But they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom *Marius* and *Apuleius* had brought in great crouds into the city. These violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themselves the weakest, that the assembly might be dissolved, cried out, *That they heard it thunder* ; which, according to the laws, obliged them to suspend for that day all deliberations. But the country tribes, having among them many veterans, most of them men of spirit, disregarding that superstitious custom, fell upon the city tribes, and having driven them with stones and clubs out of the forum, got the law passed ^{w.}

THE next day *Marius*, who was at the bottom of all this, *Marius's* and the chief manager of the plot, as consul, made a report to ^{treachery} the senate of the law in question, exclaimed against the late ^{and double} violences, and declared for his part, that he was determined ^{dealing.} never to take so unreasonable an oath, and that he did not doubt but every honest man would be of his opinion ; for if the law was good in itself, there was no necessity for swearing ; and if it was a bad one, they were obliged in honour not to swear. This he said to ensnare *Metellus*, whom he hated ever since their quarrel in *Numidia*. He hoped, that his declaring against the oath would draw a like declaration from that great man, and did not doubt, but when he had once made such a public declaration, he would stand firm to his resolution, which would infallibly expose him to the hatred of the people. The event answered his expectation ; *Metellus* protested, that he would not take the oath, and the whole senate did the same. A few days after *Apuleius* summoned the senate to appear in the comitia in order to take the oath ; and then *Marius* made his appearance among the rest ; and while the eyes of all the senators were fixed upon him, he, to their great surprize declared, that he had

*Of all the
senators
Metellus
alone re-
fuses to
take an
oath pro-
posed by the
tribunes.
He is con-
demned to
banish-
ment.*

changed his sentiments: *I am not so stiff and obstinate*, said he, *as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an af-
fair of so much weight, before I had thoroughly considered it; but
am ready to swear, and having sworn, will punctually observe the
law, when it once becomes a law.* These last words he added, to
put a plausible colour upon his shameful breach of faith. The
senators upon this declaration of *Marius*, which was applauded
by all the country tribes, were afraid to open their mouths.
Marius took their silence for a tacit consent, and immediately
went to the temple of *Saturn*, according to the antient custom,
and there took the oath, even without the restriction he himself
had proposed. The senators, over-awed by the people, followed
his example. But *Metellus* resolutely persisted in his former
opinion, notwithstanding the representations of his friends, who
earnestly intreated him to yield to the times. He told those, who
pressed him to take the oath, that to do a base and unworthy
action was under all circumstances shameful; that to do well,
when no danger attended it, was common; but to do well in
the midst of dangers, was the property of a truly good and honest
man. Upon his refusal, the assembly, at the instigation of
Marius and *Apuleius*, condemned him to banishment. The
nobility, the whole body of the patricians, and the city tribes,
offered to oppose this most unjust decree of the populace. Many,
out of affection for so good and virtuous a citizen, had brought
arms under their robes, being determined to defend him to the
last extremity. But that wise senator, who truly loved his
country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them
thanks for their kindness, declared, that he would not suffer
a single drop of blood to be spilt on his account. He then
went into banishment, which in so glorious a cause did him
more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the
city with this wise reflection; *Either the face of affairs will
change, and the people repent what they have done; in which case
I shall be recalled, and restored with honour: or they will remain
in the present posture; and then it will be best for me to be at a
distance from Rome.* The illustrious exile went to reside, some
say at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where, in a sweet tranquillity,
he gave himself intirely up to the study of philosophy, en-
joying in his retreat those pleasures which flow from a good
conscience^{*}.

MARIUS, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, congratulated each other
on their having at last ruined their common enemy. The point
Apuleius had in view, was to get himself continued in the tribune-
ship, *Glaucia* aspired at the consulate, and *Marius* was for

^{*} PLUT. in Mario. CIC. pro Sextio & Balbo. APPIAN. de bell.
civil. Auct. de vir illustr.

maintaining himself another year. To compass their ends, they scrupled nothing. *Apuleius*, like a monster let loose, committed *Disturb-* the most flagrant acts of violence and injustice with impunity. *ances Marius*, who was the soul of the plot, left to the other two *raised by* the execution of the wicked schemes which he advised. He *Apuleius.* pretended to keep the balance even between the people and the *Marius's* senate. On one side he raised disturbances underhand, by means *artful con-* of his two confederates, in order to make himself necessary, *duct.* and to pave the way for his seventh consulship. On the other hand, he pretended a great desire to compose them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the senate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been discovered by an accident. One evening some senators came to wait on the consul, and to implore his assistance against the attempts of the seditious tribune. *Marius*, who was willing to keep fair with the nobility, received them very graciously, and promised to exert his power against *Apuleius*. While he was conferring with the senators about the proper measures for preserving the republic, *Apuleius* came to receive his directions about raising new disturbances, and being let in at a back-door unknown to the senators, was carried into another apartment. Then *Marius*, pretending a looseness, under that colour, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exasperating the senators against the tribune, and the tribune against the senators. But this being soon after known, he became suspected by both parties. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take umbrage at his complaisance for the patricians; and the patricians grew jealous of his great intimacy with those two incendiaries ^y.

In the mean time *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvassed, independently on the consul, the former for a third tribuneship, and the latter for the consulate; and both resolved to stick at nothing. Nay, *Apuleius* set up the contemptible *Equitius*, of whom we *The vio-* have spoken above, for tribune of the people, and without any *lent pro-* regard to common decency, carried matters so far, that *Marius* *ceedings of* himself thought it adviseable to send *Equitius* to prison, ordering *Apuleius* him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. *and Glau-* But *Apuleius*, having spirited up the people to break open the *cia.* prison, set *Equitius* at liberty, and prevailed upon the turbulent populace to proclaim him tribune of the people. But the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. At the same time *Glaucia*, who stood for the consulate, carried his furious attempts to such excess, that he was become quite insupportable. When the comitia for the election of consuls came on, *Marius* was excluded, and the orator *Marcus Antonius* chosen in the first place: *Glaucia* expected to be nominated in

the second; but finding he had a formidable competitor in *Memmius*, who was infinitely superior to him in all respects, and highly esteemed on account of his probity, he made no scruple to send one of his attendants to murder him in the open forum.

Memmius AFTER a murder so public and daring, *Glaucia*, and *Apuleius* his accomplice, to avoid the punishment they deserved, openly attempted to destroy the republic itself. They carried a

Apuleius multitude of desperate men to the house of *Apuleius*, who there and *Glaucia* exhorted them to an open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of

king, which he is said to have accepted. But be that as it will, it was now an open conspiracy; the senate declared them enemies to their country, and passed one of those decrees, which were never made, but in times of the utmost difficulty and danger:

the two consuls *Marius* and *Flaccus* were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper; which was empowering them to revenge with the sword the disturbances those seditious men were raising in the republic. Hereupon *Marius* found himself obliged to arm, in order to suppress a sedition, which he secretly favoured, but could protect no longer.

No time was to be lost: *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* had already seized the capitol. Arms therefore were given to all those who declared for the senate; the knights, the senators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themselves against the two rebels. But *Marius* affected delays, and plainly shewed, that it was much against his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the senate. In the mean time the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a design to join their

A battle in the forum. friends in the capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard pressed, *Apuleius* made a sally, and covered their retreat to the capitol. During the action, the seditious tribune hoisted up a cap on the top of a lance, to invite the slaves to take up arms in his favour in hopes of their liberty. In the mean time the senators and knights, tired with the delays of *Marius*, who was ever pleading some excuse or other, caused the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol, which soon reduced the rioters to a desperate condition.

In this extremity *Suffeius*, one of their leaders, was for setting fire to the temple of *Jupiter*, in hopes they should make their escape during the confusion and tumult which commonly attend such accidents. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, depending upon their friendship with *Marius*, surrendered to him, after he had promised, upon the public faith, to save their lives. This promise was in itself void and unlawful, since the senate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the consul to treat them as such. But *Marius* was resolved to save a body of desperate men, whose

fury

The rebels in the capitol forced to surrender to Marius:

fury might be of use to him on some other occasion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the capitol unmolested. *Glaucia* retired to the house of one *Claudius* for refuge; but the people soon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother *Dolabella*, and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the herb-market, were murdered there. Hereupon *Marius* shut up the rest, with *Apuleius* their chief, in the old palace of *Tullus Hostilius*, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign punishment. But the palace was in ^{who en-} reality a place of safety for them rather than a prison; and ^{deavours} the guards, placed at the gates, were not so much to prevent ^{to save} their making their escape, as to secure them against the insults of ^{them} the people. Of this the senators and knights were well apprised; and therefore, having assembled the people, they dispersed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and stones dispatched *Suffcius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, *Apuleius* himself, ^{but in} and all the leading men of his party. The people, not satisfied ^{vain.} with the death of *Apuleius*, tore his body in a thousand pieces. And now the storm being blown over, the comitia assembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared absolutely null for want of liberty in the suffrages. After this the tribes met again to choose a colleague for *Marcus Antonius*, who had been elected on the day that *Memmius* was murdered. The person raised to that dignity was *A. Posthumius Albinus*, a man of excellent parts, and a sincere friend to his country^z.

THE new consular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been polluted with so much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies used on this occasion, others succeeded for averting evils foreboded by some imaginary prognostics. The new consuls had the pleasure to see the games, which *P. Claudius Pulcher*, the ædile, gave, celebrated without trouble and confusion (F). But it was not long ere the leaven of sedition, which *Marius* had sown among the tribunes, began to shew itself in *Sextus Titius*, who attempted to ingratiate himself with *Sextius* the people, and raise new troubles, by reviving the *Gracchian* *Titius*, law about the division of lands. But the consul *M. Antonius* ^{tribune of} prevented the mischief he intended, and brought him into such ^{the people,} banishment.

^z PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. FLOR. l. iii. c. 16. CIC. pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2.

(F) They were the most splendid that had yet been seen in Rome. We are told, that *Claudius* was the first who caused the scenes to be painted; which was so artfully done, says *Pliny* (5), that the birds attempted to alight on the tops of the houses, and to perch on the trees, which were painted on the cloth.

(5) *Plin.* l. xxxv. c. 7.

contempt,

contempt, that as soon as he was out of his office, he was accused of the most infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to banishment. And now after *Marius* and his adherents were thus fully disappointed, it was thought a proper season to recall the great *Metellus*. All the *Cæcilian* family, of which the *Metelli* were a branch, interested themselves in the cause of their relation. The exile's son appeared in deep mourning, fell prostrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which persons accused of capital crimes used to do to save their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the surname of *Pius*, which he bore the rest of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the son, and intreated the people in a public assembly to recall so worthy a citizen. *Marius* did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of a patrician, who was the support of the senate, a true pattern of the old *Roman* probity, and the dread of the seditious. But in spite of *Marius*'s utmost efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of *Metellus* was carried by a majority of suffrages ^a (G). All the persons of distinction in *Rome* went to receive him at the gate of the city. He was accompanied from the gate to his own house by vast crowds of people, who testified the sincerity of their joy by loud acclamations. His house was crowded from morning to night with persons of all ranks, who came to see and congratulate him. In short, his return was a real triumph ^b.

Metellus recalled.
Received at Rome with great demonstrations of joy.
Marius retires from Rome.

MARIUS, to avoid the mortification of seeing a triumphant enemy, left *Rome*, and went into *Asia*, giving out, that he was going to perform some sacrifices which he had vowed to *Cybele* the mother of the gods. But the true motive of his voyage into *Asia* was to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic there. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being destitute of those talents which were necessary to gain applause in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great sway in all public deliberations. In order therefore to have an opportunity of

^a PLUT. *ibid.* DIODOR. in excerpt. VALES. l. v. c. 2. & l. iv. c. 1. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 15.

^b VAL. MAX.

(G) The messenger sent to acquaint him with the decree of the people, finding him at a public shew in the city of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, delivered to him the letter, and at the same time whispered him, that it contained joyful news. But the illustrious philosopher, without the least change

of countenance, continued his attention to the shew, and did not open the packet till the games were ended. The same greatness of soul which had kept him from dejection in his disgrace, guarded him against immoderate joy in his prosperity.

displaying

displaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who seemed the most disposed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honour due to his reputation, caressed him in the most affectionate manner, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of so much weight in his republic. But all to no purpose; he could draw nothing from the proud *Roman*, but insolent treatment. *Marius* did not doubt but if he could provoke that young powerful and brave king to take up arms against *Rome*, he should have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtiness and contempt. One day he addressed himself to him very bluntly in these terms: *You must either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the Romans, or quietly submit to their will.* The king of *Pontus*, the proudest prince of his time, was quite astonished at the discourse of the bold commonwealth's-man. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his resentments; and therefore concealing his displeasure, he dismissed *Marius* loaded with presents ^c.

His insolent behaviour at the court of Mithridates.

BUT to return to *Metellus*, the people soon gave him a sensible proof of the regard they had for him. Upon his presenting to the tribes his relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the people very readily chose him consul, and gave him for his colleague *T. Didius*, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before for having defeated the *Scordisci*. The two consuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Italy* fell to *Metellus*, and *Spain* to *Didius*, whither he carried a consular army to make head against the *Spanish* rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed dreadful devastations in the *Roman* province. Under *Didius* served *Sertorius* in quality of legionary tribune. He was a native of *Nursia* in *Sabinia*, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the present war with the revolted *Spaniards*, he gained more reputation than his general. He reduced the cities of *Castulo* and *Gyriscænium*, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his masterly conduct, that *Didius* overthrew in a pitched battle the *Vaccæi*, of whom he cut twenty thousand in pieces ^d.

Sertorius gains great reputation in Spain.

AFTER the consul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he stained his victory by an unheard-of peace of treachery and cruelty. One of the *Roman* generals had settled five years before a colony of *Spaniards* near the city of *Colenda*. These, before they were brought to this new settlement, had committed robberies in several parts of *Spain*. *Didius* suspecting, without any grounds, that they designed to return to their antient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were pos-

Unheard of cruelty of Spain.

^c PLUT. ib.

^d PLUT. in Sertorio.

fessed of, and promised them those of *Colenda*, which city he had just reduced after a nine months siege. The *Spaniards*, depending on the general's promise, came with their wives and children to the *Roman* camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the intrenchments. When the cruel consul had them thus in his power, he caused the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people suspected no treachery, till they heard the consul order his legionaries to fall upon them, and put them all, without distinction, to the sword. His orders were put in execution with the utmost barbarity, not one of those unhappy people escaping. A most detestable piece of cruelty! but applauded at *Rome*. To such a degree were the *Romans* degenerated from their antient probity! This massacre exasperated the *Celtiberians*, who taking arms, faced the consular army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with him, in which they fought like men in despair, till night parted the two armies. The loss of the *Romans* was equal to theirs; but *Didius* by a stratagem made them believe that they had been worsted. He ordered most of the bodies of the *Romans*, who had been slain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The *Celtiberians*, when they came early the next morning, according to their custom, to bury their dead, were so terrified at seeing such a number of their own men slain, and so few *Romans*, that they submitted to *Didius* upon his own terms. Thus partly by force, and partly by artifice, the *Roman* general settled *Hither Spain* in peace, and returned five years after his consulship to *Rome*, where his services were rewarded with a triumph^e. This same year the prætor *Cornelius Dolabella* gained considerable advantages over the revolted *Lusitanians* in *Farther Spain*. Historians indeed have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is said to have triumphed over the *Lusitanians* this year.

The consul Metellus maintains peace at home. IN the mean time the consul *Metellus* maintained peace at home, and punished with the utmost severity all speeches that tended to sedition. *C. Plautius Decianus*, one of the prætors, was banished for dropping, in a public speech, some expressions in favour of the furious tribune *Apuleius*. The tribunes themselves durst no longer propose seditious laws, or attempt to raise disturbances among the populace. The presence of *Metellus*, and the absence of *Marius*, equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In *Asia*, that is, in the antient kingdom of *Pergamus*, the excellent proconsul *Q. Mutius Scævola* punished the iniquity

^e PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. in Iberic. FRONT. strat. l. v. c. 11.

of the *Roman* knights or publicans in a very exemplary manner. Mutius He found them guilty of most enormous extortions, in raising Scævola and managing the revenues of the republic; and therefore, with-^{punishes} out any regard to the dignity or power of so formidable a body, ^{the publi-} he caused many of them to be publicly carried to prison, and ^{cans in A-} condemned a slave to be crucified, who had been the agent of an ^{sia.} oppressive publican, and an accomplice in his master's knavery. He appointed men of integrity, and well versed in money-affairs, to examine the books of the publicans, and by this means reformed his province in less than nine months. On his departure the *Asiatics* instituted a festival, to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This festival, which from him was called *Mutia*, did him more honour than a triumph. Many of the governors of the provinces followed the example of *Mutius*, and the senate charged the consuls and prætors to do the same in their respective provinces; so that a stop was put for some time to the oppressions of the publicans, which had rendered the yoke of the republic insupportable^f.

IN the succeeding consulate of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Marius Licinius Crassus*, *Marius* returned from *Asia*; and soon after ^{disregard-} his arrival at *Rome*, he built himself an house close to the forum, ^{ed at} either to ease his clients, as he himself gave out, of the trouble ^{Rome.} of going far, or in hopes of having more numerous levees there than in a distant part of the town. But he found, that his rough behaviour kept people from him where-ever he lived. His haughty manners were not becoming in a free state, where every one thinks himself to be upon a level with the best, and where the great can gain and maintain friends only by an obliging behaviour and good offices. He met with the fate of most warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgotten, and they, as *Plutarch* observes, if not recommended by civil virtues, are, like old rusty weapons, laid aside as quite useless. But nothing gave *Marius* so great uneasiness, as to see his old rival *Sylla* aggrandize himself, as he thought, at his expence. *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, after he had been declared an ally of the *Roman* people, dedicated in the capitol several trophies of *Sylla's* victories, and placed near them some golden statues, representing in what manner he had delivered *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*. *Marius*, distracted with rage, attempted to pull down ^{Is jealous} a monument, which ascribed to his rival all the glory of so me- ^{of Sylla's} morable an event. *Sylla* on the other hand opposed him with ^{glory.} all his credit. Every one took party according to his interest and inclination; so that the whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the consuls a stop was put to the sedition, when it was just upon the point of breaking out. *Cn. Domitius*

^f DIODOR. SICUL. VALES. CIC. ad Attic. l. vi. & in Verr. act. vii.
Athenobarbus

Ahenobarbus and *C. Cassius Longinus*, the two succeeding consuls, took more care to maintain peace and tranquillity at home, than to signalize themselves by feats of arms abroad. During their administration, *Rome* enjoyed all the advantages of peace and plenty, and was so sensible of her happiness, that she preferred to the many warriors, who desired to succeed them, a man brought up in peaceable employments, to wit, *Licinius Crassus*, the famous orator, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*, a learned civilian.

Origin of
the social
war.

BUT these pacific consuls sowed, without design, the seeds of one of the most bloody wars that had ever broken out in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got a law passed, which obliged the allies, who lived in *Rome*, and falsely pretended to the right of *Roman* citizenship, to return to their own homes. By the help of these intruders, some seditious tribunes had sown discord among the real citizens; whence it seemed but just, that those strangers should be sent home to their respective countries. Nevertheless this law, how just soever, and equitable in itself, was so resented by the people of the *Italian* provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the war of the allies. The consuls, after having passed this law, and drawn lots for their provinces, set out, the one for *Transalpine*, the other for *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Scævola*, to whom *Transalpine Gaul* had fallen, finding little to do in his province, returned to *Rome*, and generously disbanded his army before his year expired, thinking it an unnecessary burden to the republic. *Crassus*, though he sought for enemies, and searched into all the corners of the *Alps* for people to fight with, he could find none, but a company of strolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheless, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his colleague, out of pure regard to equity, opposed it, declaring that he would not suffer so great an honour to be depreciated and thrown away on such slight advantages. The following consulship of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Cælius Caldus* was as peaceable as the former. *Cælius* was a new man (H), of no birth or merit, and

§ Cic. in Pis. n. 62.

(H) The division of the *Roman* people into *nobiles*, *novi*, and *ignobiles*, often occurs in history, and was taken from the right of exposing publicly the images or statues of their ancestors; an honour only allowed to those whose ancestors or themselves had borne some curule office, that is, had been curule ædile, censor, prætor, or consul. He who could expose the pictures

or statues of his ancestors, was stiled *nobilis*; he, who would only produce his own, was called *homo novus*; and he, who could neither expose his own, nor the pictures of any of his ancestors, was termed *ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the same thing among the antient *Romans*, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. For a great while none but the patricians were

and surnamed *Caldus* from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raising any disturbances, some of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The consulate of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius* was *A pompous* remarkable for nothing but the pompous shew of lions, with *shew given* which *Sylla* entertained the people in the circus, and the unjust *by Sylla.* condemnation of *P. Rutilius Rufus* a consular. *Bocchus* sent *Sylla* an hundred lions, and with them some *Mauritanian* hunters, who were used to fight them. This was a pleasing entertainment to the people, and the remembrance of it contributed afterwards as much towards *Sylla's* promotion to the consulate, as either his reputation or exploits ^h. *P. Rutilius Rufus* had attended *Mutius Scaevola* into *Asia*, and was thought the author of his severe reformation of the publicans. He was unjustly, and *Rutilius* purely out of revenge, accused by that powerful body, and con- *Rufus un-* demned to banishment. He retired to *Smyrna*, where he was *justly ba-* so well pleased with the conversation of the *Greek* philosophers, *nished.* that he refused to return to *Rome*, when the people some years after annulled the decree of his banishment ⁱ.

THE following year, when *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna* were consuls, the senate ordered *Sylla* to carry back *Ariobarzanes* king of *Cappadocia* to his dominions, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. This *Sylla* effected, after having defeated *Gordius*, whom the *Armenians* had placed on the throne, as we have related at length in the history of *Armenia*. On this occasion *Sylla* received an embassy from *Embassa-* *Arbaces* king of *Parthia*, desiring the friendship of the *Roman* *dors from* people. The *Roman* general thought this one of the most for- *the king of* tunate occurrences of his life, and esteemed it an happy omen, *Parthia to* that he should be the first *Roman* who was known to so warlike *Sylla.* and powerful a people ^k.

AT *Rome* *Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the censors, accused his colleague *L. Crassus* of excessive fondness for one of his *murænae*. The favourite *muræna* was so tame, that it would come to *Crassus* at his call, and feed out of his hand. The

^h PLUT. in *Sylla*. PLIN. l. viii. c. 16. SEN. de brev. vitæ, c. 13.

ⁱ VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. PLUT. in *Sylla*. Cic. in Brut. & pro *Muræna*. ^k PLUT. in *Sylla*.

were *nobiles*, they alone being ter-ages, when the plebeians were raised to the curule offices. Hence admitted to the curule offices, in many places of *Livy*, *Salust*, both they and their posterity and other antient writers, we were honoured with the title of find the word *nobilitas* used for *nobiles* (6). the patrician order. But in af-

(6) Vide *Sigon. de jur. civ. Rom. l. ii. c. 20e.*

A Roman grave censor was so fond of this fish, that he took pleasure in *censor puts* adorning it with the richest jewels he had. When it died, he *himself in* put himself in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When *mourning* *Crassus*, who was for his eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, the wonder of his age, came to speak in his own defence, he was *upon the* very satirical on his austere accuser, and uttered his ironical *death of a* jests with such gestures, as drew upon his colleague the laughter *fish.* of the whole assembly. *I have been guilty*, said he, *of this enormous crime: I have, it is true, wept at the loss of a favourite fish: but you, good Domitius, have borne the loss of three wives without shedding a tear*¹. However, the censors, notwithstanding their quarrels, joined in many regulations. They drove out of Rome several masters, who had opened schools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

The social war

breaks out.

Year of the flood

2258.

Bef. Chr.

90.

Of Rome

658.

Drusus, tribune of the people, author of this war.

All orders of men discontented;

THE ensuing year *Sext. Julius Cæsar* (I) and *L. Marcius Philippus* were raised to the consulate. During their administration, *M. Livius Drusus*, tribune of the people, occasioned, though undesignedly, the breaking out of that unfortunate war, at the very gates of Rome, which historians sometimes call the *social war*, or the *war of the allies*, and sometimes the *Marsian war*, because it began in the country of the *Marsi*. *Drusus* was descended of an illustrious family, and had improved the great talents nature had given him, by the study of eloquence. He was a sincere friend to his country, and therefore with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy those disorders which had been introduced into the administration. But his very remedies increased them, and rendered the distempers of the republic incurable. Tho' there had been of late no open sedition, he observed that a general dissatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men, who made up the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil causes had been, by one of *C. Gracchus's* laws, taken from the senate, and given to the knights; and this the conscript fathers could not bear, but insisted on their being reinstated in their antient privileges. On the other hand, the knights would by no means part with a prerogative which had been given them by a law passed in the comitia. The people murmured, because the execution of the *Gracchian* laws was neglected, and no care was taken to assign them lands; but the nobility refused to part with any of the lands they possessed.

¹ MACROB. Sat. l. ii. c. 11.

(I) This *Sextus Julius Cæsar* *Plutarch*; and *Suetonius* tells us, was uncle to the famous *Julius Cæsar*, that she was aunt to *Julius Cæsar*. His sister *Julia* was the first Roman emperor, wife to *Marius*, according to

THE *Italian* allies were no less dissatisfied than the senate *and the* and people. They aspired at the right of suffrage, and at the *the Italian* offices in the republic, which they had so much assisted in her *allies.* conquests. They remonstrated, that they paid considerable taxes; that in time of war, their countries raised double the number of forces that were raised in *Rome*; that the commonwealth owed, partly to their valour, that prodigious power which she had acquired; and, lastly, that it was but just they should share the honours of a state which they had helped to aggrandize, both with arms and treasures. Now *Drusus* Drusus's formed a scheme to reconcile all orders of men, and put an *scheme to* end to all discontents, which, he foresaw, would, in process *reconcile* of time, if not removed, produce a general insurrection. A *all orders* glorious design! but now impracticable. He began with en- *of men.* deavouring to reconcile the senators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining so important a point. He proposed to restore to the senate the cognizance of civil causes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that second order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the senate. But this scheme was no sooner *Is opposed* proposed, than both the bodies, which he designed to re- *with great* concile, declared against it with great vehemence. The sena- *warmth.* tors scorned to admit into their body such a number of men, far inferior to them in birth, which, they said, would depreciate the senatorial dignity. On the other hand, such of the knights as had reason to fear they should not be in the number of the three hundred designed for senators, declared that they would not by any means, or for any equivalent whatsoever, suffer their order to be deprived of a jurisdiction, which made them very considerable in *Rome*. Q. Servilius Cæpio put himself at the head of the knights, and the consul *Marcus Philippus* appeared for the senate, to oppose the designed accommodation. *Philippus*, who was a man of a warm and fiery temper, had the boldness to interrupt the tribune *Drusus* while he was one day haranguing the people from the rostra, and to command him silence. Hereupon one of the tribune's officers, collaring the consul, handled him so roughly, that the blood gushed out of his nose. After this, *Drusus*, who had *Drusus* the people on his side, ordered the consul to be carried to *commands* prison, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exercise *the consul* of his authority. *Marcus Philippus*

THE tribune, finding his well-meant scheme opposed with *Philippus* great warmth, both by the knights and senators, to ingratiate *to be car-* himself with the people, proposed a law for distributing, gratis, *ried to pri-* among the poor what bread they wanted. He represented, *son.* that there was no danger of the treasury's being exhausted by this bounty, since immense sums were annually brought into

it from the provinces ; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, where the public treasures were kept, 1620829 pounds weight of gold ; that the public treasury ought not to be like the sea, which swallows up every thing, and returns nothing, &c. The law met with great opposition ; but at length passed, to the universal satisfaction of the indigent citizens. In the next place, *Drusus* made it his business to gain the affections of the *Italian* allies, especially of the *Latins*. In order to this, he proposed a law for investing them with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But this law was opposed with great violence, not only by the senators and knights, but even by the people, who could not bear the thoughts of making those their fellow-citizens, whom they looked upon as their subjects. In the mean time, the *Italian* allies flocked to *Rome* from all parts to support their protector. But, finding they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they despaired of getting by interest. Some of the leading men among them formed a design of assassinating the consuls, during the ceremony of the *feriæ Latinæ*, which was annually performed on the hill of *Alba*, after the election of the great magistrates. But *Drusus* being informed of the plot, notwithstanding all the care the conspirators took to conceal it, he immediately acquainted the consuls with the wicked designs of the allies, and by that means saved their lives.

But those whom the well-meaning tribune had saved from a conspiracy, conspired to destroy him. While he was one day returning from the forum, where he had harangued the people in behalf of the allies, a great croud of people attended him to the door of his house, where he was stabbed with a knife, which the ruffian left in the wound, and then made his escape. When *Drusus* felt himself wounded, he cried out, *Ungrateful republic ! Wilt thou ever find a man more zealous for thy true interest, than I have been ?* and, a few hours after, expired. It was never discovered who hired the assassin ; but the suspicion of this black attempt fell on the consul *Philippus*, on *Cæpio*, and on *Varus*, one of his fellow-tribunes, who soon after proposed a law, declaring traitors and enemies to the state, all those who should move for granting to the allies the prerogative of citizenship. *Drusus* was a man of an unspotted character, and, for love to his country, was no way inferior to the greatest heroes of *Rome*. He dedicated all his thoughts, cares, and life itself, to the service of his republic. But, as the evil was now become incurable, all his attempts for preserving the state from impending ruin, were unsuccessful. Not many years after, the ungrateful republic lost her liberty ; and the sovereign power, which *Drusus's* measures

measures might have prevented, soon devolved to his family; for he was the grandfather of *Livia*, the wife of *Augustus*, and, consequently, the great grandfather of the emperor *Tiberius* ^m.

THE death of *Drusus*, thus basely assassinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenship to the *Italian* allies, ^{The allies arm,} provoked them to such a degree, that they began to arm, with a design to do themselves justice ⁿ. *Pompædus Silo*, the most famous general among the *Marfi*, put himself at the head of ten thousand men, and marched towards *Rome*, which he designed to surprise and plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-house, prevailed upon him to lay aside his design, and to return to his country ^o. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of distinguished merit were promoted to the consulate; to wit, *L. Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In the very beginning of their administration, the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Samnites*, *Campanians*, and *Lucanians*, and, in short, all the provinces from the *Liris* to the *Adriatic*, revolted at once. *Rome* had never engaged more formidable enemies. As they had all served in the armies of the republic, they were as well disciplined as her legions, and their leaders had learnt the art of war under her most famous commanders. It is said of the *Marfi* in particular, that *Rome* had never gained a victory, in which they had not a great share. The first step they took in their revolt, was to erect themselves into a republic, in opposition to that of *Rome*. *Corfinium*, a great and strong city in the country of the *Peligni*, was made the capital of their new republic. ^{and erect themselves into a republic.} Thither were carried all the hostages given by the cities in the revolt, and prodigious stores of arms and provisions. The city of *Asculum Picenum*, among the rest, resolved to send her hostages to *Corfinium*, which *Q. Servilius*, who governed that province in quality of proconsul, no sooner heard, than he flew to *Asculum*, and, entering it, threatened the inhabitants with the vengeance of *Rome*. But they, despising his menaces, ran to arms, and cut in pieces the proconsul, *Fonteius* his lieutenant, and all the *Romans* they found in their territory. War being thus openly declared, *Rome* made what haste she could to levy troops, and appoint the consuls their provinces. *Cæsar* was ordered into *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* into the country of the *Marfi*. The latter chose for his lieutenant-generals *Cn. Pompeius*, the fa-

^m APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. LIV. epit. lib. lxxi. c. 20. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 5. FLOR. l. iii. c. 17. AUST. de vir. illust. ⁿ LIV. epit. lib. lxxi. FLOR. l. iii. c. 17. ^o DIODOR. SICUL. apud VALES. CIC. de orat. l. i.

ther of Pompey the Great, C. Marius, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, and Valerius Messala. Cæsar nominated for his chief officers P. Lentulus, Cornelius Sylla, T. Didius, P. Licinius Crassus, and M. Marcellus. Thus were all the commanders of note in Rome employed in this new war. Neither were these lieutenants to serve barely as subalterns; every one had a body of troops under his command, with the title of proconsul: nor were they confined to particular provinces or districts; every one was ordered to go where-ever he was wanted, and all directed to assist each other. While Rome was taking these wise measures, the allies chose also their consuls and prætors, and formed a senate, consisting of five hundred persons, to govern their new state; so that Italy was now, for the first time, divided into two great and powerful republics.

Cn. Pompeius put to flight by the allies. IN the mean time Cn. Pompeius, marching with a detachment from Rome, to revenge the death of Servilius on the *Asculani*, attempted to take their city by assault. But the inhabitants made an unexpected sally, put the Romans to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this, the two consuls took the field; Julius Cæsar entered Samnium, and Rutilius the country of the *Marfi*. The *Latins*, who still continued faithful to the republic, furnished their contingent of troops, as usual. The *Hetrurians* likewise, the *Umbrians*, and the eastern kings, sent large supplies to support Rome in so dangerous a war. The faithful *Minatius Magius*, whom *Velleius Paterculus* reckons among his ancestors, though a native of *Asculum*, raised as many men for the Romans, as amounted to the number of a legion^p. *Sertorius*, at this time quæstor in *Cisalpine Gaul*, brought a reinforcement of *Gauls* to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his usual bravery, and, having lost one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity^q.

THE country of the *Marfi*, which had fallen to Rutilius, was defended by two able generals, *Præsentius* and *Vettius Cato*. The former was opposed by C. Perperna, who commanded a great body of troops under the consul. The Roman immediately offered the enemy battle, which *Præsentius* did not decline. Both armies fought with unparalleled bravery; but the Romans were at last put to the rout, after having lost about four thousand men. A few days after this defeat, *Vettius Cato*, who opposed Rutilius, being informed that the consul designed to pass the river *Telonus* in the night, lay in ambush for the consular army, attacked them unexpectedly,

^p VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 16.

^q VELL. PATERC. l. i.

PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. bel. civil. l. i. FLOR. l. iii. c. 16.

and drove them back into the river. In this action, eight thousand *Romans* were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river. The consul himself was killed, with a great many *The consul* officers of distinction. The attack was so sudden, that *Marius*, *Rutilius* who was encamped on the banks of the river, at a small *defeated* distance from the consul, had no notice of it, till the *Telonus* and killed, brought a great number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the sight of the consul's body, which was brought to *Rome*, filled the city with terror. For fear of a surprize, guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was increased, and all the avenues to the city well guarded. These were necessary precautions during a war, wherein the soldiers of the two opposite parties were dressed and armed after the same manner, spoke the same language, and were well acquainted with the customs of each other. The legions, which *Rutilius* had commanded, were divided between *Marius* and *Cæpio*. The latter suffered himself to be shamefully over-reached by *Pompædus Silo*, commander in chief of the allies. He came as a suppliant to the proconsul, accompanied by two young slaves richly dressed, whom he pretended to be his sons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of silver, which he said were the presents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconsul received *Pompædus* with great politeness, and admitted him into his confidence; when the crafty *Italian*, pretending to lead him to a place where he might surprise the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconsul was slain, and the best part of his army cut in pieces^r. Thus fell *Q. Cæpio* *defeated and killed*. *Cæpio*, who, by his warm opposition to *Drusus's* scheme, had been the chief author of the present war.

THESE successes raised the courage of the allies, who, under their various leaders, gained considerable advantages over *The allies* the *Romans*. *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, three officers *gain considerable* of distinction among the confederates, having united their *advan-* forces, obliged *Cn. Pompeius* to shelter himself behind the walls *tages* of *Firmum* in *Picenum*. *Marius Egnatius* surprised the city of *Venafrum* in *Campania*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* garison, consisting of two cohorts. The city of *Nola* surrendered to *Aponius*, one of the consuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the *Roman* garison, to the number of two thousand men, with the prætor *L. Posthumius*, who commanded them. The same *Aponius* seized the cities of *Stabiæ*, *Liternum*, and *Salernum*, and over-ran all *Campania*. In *Lucania*, *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* out of the field, killed eight hundred of his

^r APPIAN. *ibid.* OROS. l. v. c. 18.

men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* reduced almost all *Apulia*, and brought the cities of *Canusium* and *Venusia* over to the confederates^s.

The consul
Julius
Cæsar de-
feated.

IN *Samnium*, the consul *Julius Cæsar* was defeated by *Vettius Cato* the *Samnite*, and forced to take shelter in a neighbouring city, after having lost two thousand men. However, he soon left the place of his retreat to relieve *Acerræ*, which was closely besieged by *Aponius*. That general, having released *Oxyntas*, the son of *Jugurtha*, from his confinement in the city of *Venusia*, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king. The *Numidians*, who served in the consul's army, no sooner heard, that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; insomuch that the consul was obliged to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and send them back into *Africa*. This diminution of the consular troops raised the courage of *Aponius*, who came to insult the *Romans* at the very gates of their camp. But *Cæsar*, sallying out unexpectedly, fell so briskly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire, after having lost six thousand men. As this was the first victory the *Romans* had gained over the allies, it occasioned great joy, both at *Rome*, and in the army. The senate rewarded the brave consul by confirming the title of *imperator* (K), which the soldiers had given him on the field of battle.

The allies
repulsed by
Cæsar.

The Maru-
cini de-
feated by
Marius
and Sylla.

Pompeius
overcomes
and kills
Afranius.

IN the mean time, *Marius* being attacked in his camp by *Herrius Asinius*, the chief of the *Marucini*, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take shelter in a place which they deemed inaccessible. But *Sylla*, whom they did not expect, passing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible slaughter of their troops, and completed the victory with the death of their general; which was no small mortification to *Marius*. At the same time *Servius Sulpitius*, having defeated, in pitched battle, the *Peligni*, and reduced their whole country, marched to the relief of *Cn. Pompeius*, who was besieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius*, attacked his camp, killed him in the action, and cut most of his troops in pieces. After this victory, *Pompeius* laid siege to *Asculum*, whither the remains of the enemy's army

^s APPIAN. & LIV. *ibid.* FLOR. l. iii. c. 18. OROS. l. v. c. 18.

(K) In the times of the republic, the title of *imperator* was an occasional mark of honour, which the armies sometimes bestowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the senate confirmed in favour of those who had signalized themselves by important victories. But under the *Cæsars* it became a title of sovereignty.

had fled for refuge. In the country of the *Marfi*, *Marius*, after having continued several months in a state of inaction, to inure his troops to discipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. But he was sensible in the action, that he was not now the same man. As he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and subject to various distempers, his strength and former vivacity had failed him. His troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, sustained the first shock but faintly, and then fled in disorder to their camp. The bad success of *Marius*, this battle was such a mortification to *Marius*, that, under defeated, pretence of his infirmities, he resigned the command, and re-resigns his turned to *Rome* ¹. command.

THE fame of this victory gained by the *Marfi* induced the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to declare for the confederates. It was therefore necessary for *Rome* to increase the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies increased; but, as the capital alone was not able to furnish as many as were requisite to complete the many legions that were to be raised, the senate, by a step which was never taken but in the utmost danger, ordered the freed-men to be enlisted, and formed *Freed-men* twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as garisons in *enlisted at* the maritim cities; so that *Rome* could send all her legions, *Rome*. under the command of *Lucius Porcius* and *Aulus Plautius*, against the united forces of the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians*, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loss of many brave legionaries ^u.

As the consular year was near expiring, the consul *Julius Caesar*, desirous to put an end to the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the senate; and enacted, *That all the nations in Italy, whose al-* *The Julian* *liance with Rome was indisputable, should enjoy the rights of law.* *Roman citizens.* This law, which was ever after called the *Julian* law, much abated the ardor of the enemy, and drew off several nations from the confederacy; however, the war was still carried on by the *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Marfi*, *Picentes*, &c. The new consuls therefore, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* and *L. Porcius Cato*, no sooner entered upon their office, than they took the field. The former, who was the father of *Pompey the Great*, and called *Strabo*, because he squinted, went to carry on the siege of *Asculum*, and destroyed a whole *An army of* army of *Marfi*, who came to relieve it. Five thousand *Marfi* *de-* of them were killed upon the spot, with their general *Francus*, *stroyed*. a man of great bravery and experience in war; and the rest perished with hunger and cold among the *Apennines*, where they had taken shelter. However, *Asculum* still held out

¹ PLUT. in Mario & Sylla. APPIAN. *ibid*. ^u APPIAN. *ibid*.

against the consular army, depending on relief from the brave
The gal- *Judacilius*, a native of the place. That intrepid commander
lant beha- ordered his countrymen to make a sally at a time appointed,
viour of promising to force his way into the city through the *Roman*
Judaci- army. Accordingly he made the attempt at the head of eight
lius. cohorts, and though not seconded by the *Asculans*, bravely per-
 formed his promise, and entered the place; a glorious action,
 not inferior to the illustrious exploits of the bravest *Romans*!
 Having thus forced his way sword in hand into the city, he
 first put to death those who had prevented the sally, and then,
 finding he could not force the *Romans* to raise the siege, he put
 an end to his life by poison, that he might not survive the ruin
 of his country^w.

The prætor In the mean time *Aulus Sempronius Asellio*, the *prætor ur-*
Asellio af- *banus*, having exasperated the rich by many judgments he gave
assinated. against usury, was murdered by them, as he was offering a sa-
 crifice to *Castor* and *Pollux* in the forum. The senate ordered
 inquiries to be made after the authors of so black an attempt;
 but the money of the usurers stopped the mouths both of the
 accusers and witnesses; so that this notorious and scandalous
 iniquity escaped unpunished. However, the tribune *M. Plau-*
tius Sylvanus, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the people,
 made a law, whereby it was declared a capital crime for any
 citizen to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to disturb
The Ro- the judges in their courts. The same tribune, by another law,
man deprived the *Roman* knights of their jurisdiction, which they
knights de- abused in a most flagrant manner. The *Plautian* law enacted,
prived of that each tribe should choose fifteen men out of their own body,
their juris- to whom the cognizance of civil causes should be committed.
diction. By this means men only of known probity, of what rank soever
 they were, had the charge of administering justice, which was
 done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in con-
 junction with *Caius Papirius Carbo*, one of his colleagues, put
 the last hand to the *Julian* law, which we have mentioned
 above, in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the
 people, and published in the following words: *All the citizens*
of the allied cities, who shall be in Italy at the time of the promul-
gation of this law, shall be deemed citizens of Rome, provided
they register their names with one of the three prætors within sixty
days. This brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in such numbers, that
 the new citizens soon became more numerous than the old; but,
 lest this should make strangers masters of the elections, and con-
 sequently of the republic, the new censors, *Lucius Cæsar* and
P. Licinius Crassus, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five
Roman tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to

* APPIAN. *ibid.*

vote

vote last. By this means all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their suffrages. The allies were sensible of this artifice, but dissembled their dissatisfaction, being resolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themselves upon a level with the old inhabitants of Rome.

DURING these regulations at Rome, the war was pursued with vigour in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The consul *Pompeius*, having turned the siege of *Asculum* into a blockade, led his best troops against *Vettius Cato*, who covered the country of the *Vestini* with a great army, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced several cities. He afterwards granted *Vettius* a friendly conference, at which *Cicero*, who was making his first campaign under the consul, was present. How this conference ended, we are not told; but all historians agree, that the consul *Pompeius* put an end to the war with the *Vestini*. In the country of the *Marfi*, the consul *Porcius Cato*, after having gained considerable advantages over that warlike people, resolved to force their camp on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, not by the enemy, but by young *Marius*, who had quarreled with him some days before for speaking contemptuously of his father. The *Marfi* took advantage of this accident, put the Romans to the rout, and pursued them with great slaughter. On the other hand, the proconsul *Cosconius* defeated and killed the famous *Marius Egnatius* in a pitched battle. Upon his death, *Trebatius* the Samnite took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewise overcome in a second battle, and forced to take refuge in *Canusium*, after having lost in the action and in the pursuit above fifteen thousand men. Then *Cosconius* over-ran the countries of the *Larinales*, *Venusians* and *Pediculi*, and reduced them to obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for *Corfinium*, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their senate and magazines to *Esernia* in the country of the Samnites. They also sent an embassy to *Mithridates* in Asia, who had now declared against Rome, hoping to obtain from him such supplies, as would enable them to recover their affairs; but *Sylla*, the hero of this campaign, frustrated their expectations.

He besieged the city of *Stabiae* in *Campania*, took it by assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He then marched against the Roman army, who had just murdered their general *Posthumus*; but instead of punishing them, he, to their great surprise, treated them with uncommon civility, and added them

* APPIAN. *ibid.* AUL. GELL. l. xiii. c. 4. LIV. *epit.* lib. lxxiv. c. 53. CIC. *pro Archia.* PÆDIAN. in CIC. *pro Cornelio.* FESTUS in *Verranis.* CIC. *Phil.* ii. LIV. *epit.* lib. lxxv. c. 19.

to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the siege of *Pompeii*, a strong city in the neighbourhood of *Stabia*. *Cluentius*, one of the generals of the allies, hastened to the relief of the besieged; but was repulsed with great loss. *Cluentius*, having not long after received a reinforcement of *Gauls*, appeared again in the field, and insulted *Sylla* within reach of his intrenchments; but a *Gaulish* champion, who challenged the bravest *Roman* to a single combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a young *Mauritanian*, the rest, struck with a panic, fled, and the troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* pursued them, cut thirty thousand of the fugitives in pieces, and then, returning to the siege of *Pompeii*, reduced that important place. From *Pompeii* he marched to *Nola*, whither *Cluentius* had fled with the remains of his shattered army. He attacked him anew under the walls of that city, killed him in the battle, and with him twenty thousand *Samnites*, who had flocked from all parts to join him after his first defeat. The victorious general, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into *Hirpinia*, which he reduced, after having made himself master of *Asculana*, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon *Samnium*, where he was surrounded in narrow passes by the famous *Aponius*, and reduced to the utmost distress. However, he found means to recover this false step, and escape, when all his men looked upon themselves as lost. He agreed to a truce with *Aponius*, then stole out of his camp in the dark, and, taking a compass, fell on the enemy's rear, while they were busy in plundering the deserted camp, so vigorously and so unexpectedly, that the *Samnites*, seized with terror, fled, without making any resistance. Having now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to *Bovianum*, and took it by storm².

The city of In the mean time the consul *Pompeius*, after a long siege, *Asculum* reduced the city of *Asculum*, and punished the inhabitants, who *reduced,* had murdered a *Roman* prætor, with the utmost severity. He *and the in-* saved a small number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and *habitants* caused all the other persons of distinction in the place to be put *put to the* to death. To the rest of the inhabitants he granted life and *sword.* liberty; but confiscated their lands, and gave their houses up to be plundered by his soldiers. When winter approached, the generals returned to *Rome*, where *Sylla*, who had eclipsed all the other *Sylla* commanders during this campaign, was rewarded with the con- *chosen con-* sulate. He had also interest enough to get *Q. Rufus Pompeius*, *sul.* whose son had lately married his daughter *Cornelia*, chosen for his colleague. The consul *Pompeius*, on his return to *Rome*, was

² PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. *ibid.* PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. LIV. *epit.* lib. lxxv.

honoured with a triumph, which many illustrious captives graced, and among the rest *P. Ventidius* and his wife, who carried in her arms her young son ^a, whom we shall see in the course of this history consul in *Rome*, and riding himself in triumph to the capitol, after having conquered the most warlike and formidable enemy *Rome* ever engaged.

As soon as *Sylla* entered on his new office, he began to use all his interest, both with the patricians and plebeians, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed against *Mithridates*, conferred upon himself; but in this he was opposed by *Marius*, who, tho' worn out with many distempers, and in-jealous of sufficient for that service on account of his age, was still desirous of appearing at the head of an army. In order to supplant his rival *Sylla*, he contracted a strict friendship with *P. Sulpitius*, <sup>The tri-
bune Sul-</sup> tribune of the people, whose character *Plutarch* gives us in the following words: *Sulpitius*, says he, *excelled all men in wickedness; he was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and all sorts of crimes, which, how enormous soever, he committed with the greatest confidence and unconcern.* He kept three thousand desperate men in constant pay, and had constantly about him a company of young knights, whom he styled his antisenatorial band. The seditious tribune, to strengthen his own and *Marius's* party, passed several laws in favour of the people, whom by that means he gained over to his interest. He then applied himself wholly to the securing of the *Italian* allies; and, in order to this, he proposed a law, enacting, That all the inhabitants of *Italy*, who had lately obtained the right of citizenship, should be blended with the other citizens, incorporated into the thirty-five tribes, and consequently should have the very same right of voting, each in his tribe, as others had, without any distinction. This was effectually making himself master of a majority of voices on all occasions; for he did not doubt but all the new citizens would be under his influence, and would vote as he should direct ^b.

BEFORE the comitia met for the accepting or rejecting of this law, *Rome* had the satisfaction to hear, that her generals against the allies were attended with uncommon success. *Ser. Sulpicius* brought the whole country of the *Marucini* under subjection. The *Vestini* and *Peligni* submitted of their own accord to the old consul *Cn. Pompeius*, who was returned, after his triumph, to his camp at *Asculum*; nay, they even promised to deliver up their leader *Vettius*: but, as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful slave, thinking it his duty to deliver his master from the insults of his haughty enemies, first stabbed him, and then himself. *L. Licinius Muræna*, and *Q. Cæcilius*

*Proposes a
law in fa-
vour of the
allies.*

*The Ma-
rucini,
Vestini,
&c. re-
duced.*

^a VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 65. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ^b PLUT.

APPIAN. ibid.

Disturb-
ances rais-
ed in Rome
by the tri-
bune Sul-
pitius.

The son of
the consul
Pompeius
killed.
Sylla takes
refuge in
Marius's
house.

Sylla re-
tires from
Rome.

Pius, obliged the *Marfi*, among whom the war had begun, to sue for peace; but the brave *Pompædus* still supported the sinking cause at the head of twenty thousand slaves, whom he had just armed. Against him marched *Cæcilius Pius* and *Ser. Sulpitius*, and gave him battle, in which his army was routed, and he himself killed. The only place that now held out for the allies, was *Nola*; and *Sylla* set out from *Rome* to reduce it: but he was soon recalled, to restrain the insolence of the tribune *Sulpitius*, who carried all before him at *Rome*, not by persuasion, but by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into thirty-five tribes. *Sylla*, upon his arrival, joined his colleague *Pompeius Rufus*, and both agreed to order several *feriæ* or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or transact any business. This they did to gain time; but *Sulpitius* no sooner heard, that the consuls had proclaimed *feriæ*, than he left his house, and attended by his guards, whom he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched strait to the temple of *Castor*, where the consuls had assembled the senate. The conscript fathers were surprised when they saw *Sulpitius* appear, and more so, when they heard him insolently command them to disannul the consular decree, which ordered *feriæ* to be kept. The consuls opposed the repealing of the decree, and several of the senators did the same. Hereupon the furious tribune let loose his *antisenatorial band* upon them, who drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceless senators. The consul *Pompeius* escaped in the croud; but his son, a young senator, who had lately married *Sylla's* daughter, was killed by the assassins. *Sylla*, being closely pursued by *Sulpitius's* ruffians, took refuge in *Marius's* house; which they not suspecting, hurried by, so that *Sylla* escaped falling into their hands. *Marius*, though naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to stain his hands with the blood of a consul, who had taken refuge in his house. He only forced him to swear, that he would abolish the *feriæ*, which he had appointed. After exacting this oath, *Marius* himself let *Sylla* escape by a back-door: and *Sylla* kept his word; for he went directly to the comitium, and, in the presence of the people, repealed the *feriæ*. By this compliance he so far pleased *Sulpitius*, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; whereas he prevailed upon the people, whose suffrages he had at his command, to depose *Pompeius*.^c

AND now *Sylla*, not thinking himself any longer safe in *Rome*, where the opposite party prevailed, left the city, and repaired in all haste to his camp near *Nola*. The *feriæ* being repealed, and both consuls fled, *Sulpitius*, now absolute master

^c PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

at *Rome*, got the law passed, incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes, and at the same time extorted from the people another in favour of *Marius*. The senate had already invested *Sylla* with the command of the army, which was to be employed against *Mithridates*; but *Sulpitius* got a law passed, enacting, That the consul should continue in *Italy*, and that *Marius*, tho' ^{The people appoint} now only a private man, should command the *Roman* legions ^{Marius to command} in *Asia*. *Marius* no sooner received his commission, than he dispatched two military tribunes, one of whom was *Gratedius*, a relation of his own, to acquaint the troops under the command of *Sylla*, that their general was changed, and that they were no longer to obey *Sylla*, but *Marius*, whom the *Roman* people had appointed to carry on the war against the king of *Pontus*; but the soldiers, who were greatly attached to *Sylla*, instead of obeying the orders that were brought from *Marius*, buried the two messengers under an heap of stones, and cried out with one voice, *Let us march to Rome; let us revenge there the injuries done to the consular dignity, and the oppression of our fellow-citizens.* On the other hand *Marius*, by way of reprisal for the death of the two tribunes, put *Sylla's* friends in the city to the sword, and plundered their houses; which *Sylla* no sooner heard, than he ^{Sylla marches to} determined to march strait to *Rome*. His army consisted of six ^{Rome.} legions, who, being all warmed with his spirit, breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder; but several officers, unwilling to ^{A civil war between} turn their arms against their own country, quitted the service. On the other hand, many who disliked the violences of *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, left *Rome*, and took refuge in *Sylla's* camp; so ^{Marius and Sylla.} that the road from *Nola* to *Rome* was crouded with people hurrying to and fro, some from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. Many retired into the country, to avoid taking either side in this civil war. 2. *Pompeius*, the other consul, whom *Sulpitius* had deposed, hastened to join his colleague with all the troops he could get together ^{d.}

MARIUS and *Sulpitius*, being informed that the two consuls were advancing, at the head of a numerous army, towards the city, and having themselves no troops to oppose them, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to send two prætors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to meet *Sylla* upon the road, and stop him in his march. The prætors delivered their message to *Sylla* in terms a little too ^{Two prætors sent to} haughty; which so incensed the soldiery, that they broke their ^{Sylla in} fasces, tore off their purple robes, and would have cut them in ^{the name of} pieces, with their attendants, had not *Sylla* restrained their fury. When the *Romans* saw the two magistrates return without the ^{the senate,} ensigns and marks of their dignity, and in great disorder, they ^{are ill} concluded, that all respect for the laws was laid aside, and that ^{treated by} the army.

^{d.} PLUT. in Mario & Sylla.

violence and superior power were thenceforth to determine all things. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who had only an handful of factious men to oppose a powerful and enraged enemy, dispatched, in the name of the senate, messenger after messenger, to amuse the consul with rambling proposals, and retard his march. The consul, who was well apprised of their design, to elude one artifice with another, pretended to acquiesce in their proposals; and in the presence of the messengers, ordered the ground to be marked out for a camp; but, as soon as the deputies were gone, he detached a strong party, under the command of *L. Bassilius* and *C. Mummius*, with orders to secure one of the gates, and marched himself at the head of his legions after them with such expedition, that he was in sight of *Rome* in a few hours. The party he had sent before seized the *Esquiline* gate, and *Sylla* reinforced that detachment with a whole legion. The consul *Pompeius*, at the head of another legion, made himself master of the gate *Collina*. A third legion was posted at the head of the bridge *Sublicius*, to shut up the entrance into the city on the side of the river. A fourth legion was ordered to patrol round the walls, near the gate *Cælimontana*, and guard the approaches to it. The two other legions were ordered to march into the city sword in hand. When they came into the street that faced the *Esquiline* gate, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* appeared at the head of a company tumultuously assembled. Hereupon the trumpets of the consular army sounded the charge, which roused the martial ardor of the citizens, who were all formed to war; but as they had no arms, they got up to the tops of the houses, and fearing the town should be plundered by *Sylla's* armed legions, discharged from thence such showers of tiles and stones upon them, as made the legionaries first halt, and then retire to the very gate. Upon this *Sylla* flew to the head of his legions, ordered them to advance, and taking a torch in his hand, threatened to set fire to the houses, if the citizens did not immediately desist from all hostilities. This terrified the people, who remained now only spectators of the battle between the two parties. In vain did *Marius* and *Sulpitius* call them to their assistance; nobody offered to take up arms, not even the slaves, tho' they proclaimed liberty by sound of trumpet to all those who should join them. *Marius*, not being able, with an handful of seditious men, to withstand the consul's regular troops, was driven back, from street to street, to the temple of the goddess *Tellus*, where he made a stand, and charged the legions with great vigour; which obliged *Sylla* to send for some legionaries he had left at one of the gates.

Marius escapes out of *Rome*. AT the sight of this reinforcement, *Marius*, fearing he should be surrounded, retired, first to the capitol, and from thence to one of the gates of the city, which he was glad to leave, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. And now *Sylla*, seeing himself

himself master of the city, posted guards in all the open places, to prevent disorders. He and his colleague were in motion all night, to restrain the soldiers, and to prevent their pillaging the houses of their fellow-citizens. He even caused some of his legionaries to be severely punished for entering a private house, and plundering it. As soon as it was day, the two consuls assembled the people in the comitium, and harangued them with as much tranquillity, as if there had been no blood shed in Rome. Sylla, who was an excellent orator, after having deplored the calamities of the commonwealth in terms no less moving than lively, proposed the following laws, which, he said, would reform the many abuses that had crept into the government: 1st, That ^{Several} no law should be brought before the people, till it had been seen ^{laws made} and approved of by the senate. 2^{dly}, That the comitia should ^{by Sylla,} not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3^{dly}, That no citizen, who had been tribune of the people, should be capable of any other magistracy. 4^{thly}, That all the laws of the tribune *Sulpitius* should be declared void and null. These proposals coming from a man, who was at the head of six legions, and master of Rome, were readily accepted by the people^e.

IN the next place, articles of impeachment were drawn up ^{Marius} against *Caius Marius*, his son, the tribune *Sulpitius*, several ^{and Sulpi-} other tribunes of the people, two senators, and a great many of ^{tius pro-} their adherents. They were all proscribed, declared enemies to ^{scribed.} Rome, and a reward set upon their heads. The decree of the senate proscribing them was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in Rome, and in all the provinces subject to the republic. Every subject, friend or ally of the republic was ordered to seize and put them to death, where-ever they should be found. At the same time Sylla detached troops to all parts. *Sulpitius*, being ^{Sulpitius} betrayed by one of his slaves, was immediately seized, and his ^{seized, and} head struck off by one of Sylla's horsemen. It was then brought ^{killed.} to Rome, and fixed upon a stake over-against the rostra, where he had made so many seditious speeches. The treacherous slave received at once the reward and punishment due to his treachery. Sylla set him at liberty, ordered the money to be paid him for the discovery of *Sulpitius*; but at the same time commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock for betraying his master^f.

THE people could not behold the head of one of their magistrates exposed to public view without a secret indignation. ^{The senate} The senate likewise murmured at the proscription of *Marius*, ^{and people} from a natural compassion always shewn to heroes, when fallen ^{displeased} into distress. Tho' the fathers were well pleased to see the people ^{with Syl-} humbled, yet, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, ^{la's con-}

^e APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. & PLUT. in Sylla. ^f VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5.

Cinna
chosen con-
sul.

His cha-
racter.

The flight
and ad-
ventures of
Marius.

they could not bear, that their colleagues should be proscribed like villains and thieves. The people in general reproached Sylla with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before, had saved his life, when he was at his mercy. If *Marius* had given way to *Sulpitius*, who was for dispatching *Sylla*, he had, by his death, been master of all; but he chose rather to spare his life, for which *Sylla*, when it came to his turn to be uppermost, made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgement. These reflections alienated the minds of all from *Sylla*, as he experienced at the next elections; for *Nonnius*, his sister's son, and *Servius Sulpitius*, who had long served under him, were excluded from the consulate, tho' earnestly recommended by him; but he, instead of resenting such treatment, affected to be well pleased with it, saying, *That he saw with joy the people by his means restored to their full liberty of choosing whom they pleased*; nay, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he suffered them to raise to the consulate *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him in private to renounce, in a most solemn manner, his former principles, and engagements with *Marius*, and to swear an inviolable attachment to the party of the senate. This oath *Cinna* took in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, adding to it the following imprecation: *If I do not punctually observe the oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city in the same manner as I throw this stone out of my hand!* at which words he threw on the ground a stone which he held in his hand. *Cinna* was a man of no principles, of most depraved manners, furious and inconsiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of supporting the interest of his faction with a courage and constancy worthy of a better citizen. The colleague given him by the tribes was *Cn. Octavius*, a man of an unblemished character, and whose love for his country was the governing principle of his life. And now *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the best use of the little time he and his colleague *Pompeius* were to enjoy the consulate. Their chief aim was to rid the republic of the two *Marii*, father and son, for whom, tho' proscribed, interest was secretly made in *Rome*. A great price was set upon their heads, and squadrons of horse, sent out in quest of them, had been long scouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to *Rome* dead or alive &c.

THE sufferings and dangers of *Marius* in his flight and exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his crimes, and remember only his victories. As soon as he was got out of *Rome*, all those who attended him in his

flight, separated and dispersed; and night coming on, he retired with young *Marius*, and *Granius*, his wife's son by a former husband, to a small house he had near *Rome*. From thence he sent his son for provisions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law *Mucius* (L); but in the mean time being informed, that a party of horse was searching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his house, without waiting for his son's return, and attended by *Granius* alone, hastened to *Ostia*, where a friend of his, called *Numerius*, had provided a ship for him against all events. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coasted along the *Italian* shore. He was in no small apprehension of one *Geminus*, a leading man in *Terracina*, and his sworn enemy, he therefore directed the seamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a shore, which might prove fatal to him: which they were willing to do; but the wind shifting on a sudden, and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ship would not be able to weather the storm, and seeing *Marius* indisposed and sea-sick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made *Ciræum*. There they landed *Marius*, who, oppressed with hunger, exhausted with the fatigues of the sea, and surrounded with dangers on all sides, rambled about the fields in the utmost distress, it being dangerous for him to meet people, and no less so to meet none, by reason of the extreme want to which he was reduced.

ON the other hand, *Marius* the son ran no less dangers at the house of *Mucius*, where he made all the haste he could to provide himself with such things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been discovered by a party of *Sylla's* horse, who appeared at some distance riding full speed towards the farm; but the faithful slave, who took care of it, found an expedient to save the life of the

(L) This *Mucius* was the famous *Quintus Mucius Scaevola*, one of the most virtuous and learned citizens of *Rome*. When *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* after the defeat of *Marius*, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, *Scaevola* alone had courage enough to oppose, in *Sylla's* presence, the sentence of condemnation, which the senators were going to pass against *Marius*. When the conqueror threatened him with the severest vengeance, if he refused to subscribe

the decree of proscription, You attempt in vain, said he, to intimidate me with your threatnings. You may let out, if you please, the little blood that is left in my veins in my old age. Neither the sight of the armed soldiers, who surround you, nor the fear of any punishment you can inflict upon me, shall ever force me to declare that hero an enemy to his country, to whom *Rome* is indebted for her safety, and her most glorious conquests (7).

(7) *Val. Max. l. iii.*

young *Roman*. He hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then putting to his horses, drove towards the horsemen, as if he were going with his cart to *Rome*. The soldiers passed by him, and breaking into the house, searched every corner of it; but in the mean time the slave conveyed young *Marius* to his wife, who immediately supplied him with money and provisions. As soon as it grew dark, he took leave of his wife, and made to the sea side, where he went on board a ship, which was bound for *Africa*, and ready to set sail. He had a good passage, and arrived safe in a country, where the great *Marius* was known and revered^h.

*Marius in
the utmost
distress.*

IN the mean time the father, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of *Circæum*, towards the evening met with some cowherds, of whom he begged a morsel of bread; but they had not wherewithal to relieve him. Some of them knowing *Marius*, advised him to be gone as soon as possible; for they had seen a little beyond the place a party of horse in search of him. He therefore turned out of the high-road, and though ready to faint for hunger and weakness, got with much-ado to a neighbouring wood, where he passed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had left before it was quite exhausted, he traveled by the sea-side, amusing *Granius*, and the few domestics he had with him, with several stories to lessen their fatigues, and encourage them not to desert him. He told them, that when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with seven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much surprised at the accident, consulted the augurs about it, who answered, that the child would be seven times possessed of the supreme power and authority in his country. This was no doubt invented by *Marius*, to keep up the courage of those who were with him. *Plutarch* tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two young ones at a time; but, be that as it will, it is certain, that *Marius*, in his exile and greatest extremities, used often to say, that he still entertained hopes of a seventh consulshipⁱ.

*He saves
himself on
board a
vessel.*

WHEN *Marius* and his company were within twenty furlongs of *Minturnæ*, they discovered a troop of horse making up to them with all speed, and at the same time two small vessels under sail near the shore. Hereupon they immediately threw themselves into the sea, and swam towards the ships. *Granius* soon reached one of them; but *Marius*, whose body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two slaves, and put into the other vessel. He was scarce got on board, when the soldiers, who were in quest of him, came to the strand, and from thence commanded the mariners to send

^h PLUT. in Mario. ⁱ Idem ibid.

the proscribed ashore, or throw them overboard. Hereupon the sailors long deliberated, whether they should deliver up *Marius* to his enemies, or secure his escape; at last compassion prevailed. The vessels continued their course, and one of them landed *Granius* in the island of *Ænaria*; but the sailors who had *Marius* on board, changing on a sudden their resolution, came to an anchor in the mouth of the *Liris*. There they advised him to land, and take some rest, till the wind became more favourable. *Marius* followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, slept very soundly.

IN the mean time the master of the vessel weighed anchor, and put to sea with a fair gale, thinking it neither honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor safe to favour his escape. When *Marius* awaked, he found himself, to his great surprize, intirely deserted; no ship at anchor; no domestics about him; all had disappeared. This melancholy solitude increased his fears; he began to suspect his former domestics, and every thing seemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain some time pensive, he recovered his spirits, and summoning all his courage, he started up, and walking cross the marshes formed by the overflowing of the *Liris*, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waist. At length he got to the hut of an old man, who looked after the fens, whom he earnestly besought to assist and preserve a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, struck with the venerable aspect of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewise knew, told him, that if he wanted only rest, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. *Marius* desired him to do so; and the old man carried him into the fens, made him lie down in a cave by the riverside, and covered him with reeds. He was scarce laid down, when he heard a great noise round the cottage. *Geminus* had sent several troops of horse from *Terracina*, upon a suspicion that *Marius* had fled to the marshes of *Minturnæ*. These threatened the poor old man with the displeasure of the consuls and senate, and the severest punishments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. *Marius*, who heard all this, thinking himself no longer safe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the soldiers, left the cave, and pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of *Marica* up to the chin in water, and covered his head with reeds; but the soldiers who were in pursuit of him, observing the water troubled and muddy about the place where he had thrown himself into the lake, after a diligent search, discovered *Marius* is him, and tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, to be executed there,

there, pursuant to the decree of the senate, which had been published in all the cities of *Italy*.

Is not sent to the prison, but to a private house. THE magistrates of *Minturnæ*, into whose hands he was delivered by the soldiers, considering that his faction was still formidable, and that *Sylla's* consulship was near expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haste to put the sentence of the senate in execution. They did not even shut him up in their prison; but sent him, under a strong guard, to the house of one *Fannia*, a rich woman, who was suspected not to be well affected to him on an old account. She had been formerly married to one *Tinnius*, from whom being afterwards divorced, she demanded her portion, which was very considerable. Hereupon her husband, who had no mind to return it, accused her of adultery; and the cause was brought before *Marius* in his sixth consulship. Upon a full inquiry, it appeared, that *Fannia* had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to *Tinnius*; notwithstanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a considerable time. *Marius* therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered *Tinnius* to return the fortune, and laid a small fine upon *Fannia*. The *Minturnenses* took it for granted, that *Fannia* would resent the disgrace with which *Marius* had branded her; but she, thinking she had more reason to thank *Marius* for the return of her fortune, than to be offended at him for the easy fine he had laid upon her, took great care of him, and did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him (M).

IN the mean time the magistrates of *Minturnæ*, after having consulted together, determined at last to obey the decree of the senate, and put *Marius* to death immediately; but none of their citizens caring to imbrue his hands in the blood of so glorious a

(M) When *Marius* was brought to *Fannia's* house, as soon as the door was open, an ass came running out to drink at a spring hard-by; and looking very brisk and lively upon *Marius*, first stood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This was enough to raise the spirits of the proscribed general, who was superstitious even to childishness. What was purely accidental, often passed with him for some mysterious event. He now fancied, that the sea would be more favourable to him than the land,

since the ass neglected its dry pasture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the *Minturnenses* resolved to favour his escape, he conjured them to conduct him to the sea-side. A man must be made up of superstitious follies to put such an interpretation, as *Marius* did, on that action; and nevertheless, what is pleasant enough, the event seemed to justify his conjectures: for at the sea-side he found a vessel ready equipped, which conveyed him safe to *Æ-*
naria.

conqueror,

conqueror, an executioner was chosen out of the troops of the garison; some say he was a *Cimber*, others that he was a *Gaul*.^{The executioner} However that be, when he went into the room where *Marius* was lodged, with his sword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as the place where he lay was dark, seemed to dart out flames; and at the same time the ruffian heard, or imagined to hear, a loud voice, saying, *Stop, wretch! darest thou kill Caius Marius?* This filled him with terror; he dropped his sword, and rushing out into the street, he uttered these words only, *I cannot kill Caius Marius!* This raised the compassion of the *Minturnenses*, who immediately reversed their sentence, and were even angry with themselves for making such an unjust and ungrateful return to one, who had preserved *Italy*. They therefore cried out with one voice, *Let him go where he pleases; let him find his fate somewhere else; we beg pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius distressed and naked out of our city.* After this, they crowded into his room, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the sea-side, every one lending an helping hand to forward his flight, and striving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the distressed hero. In order to get to the sea-side, they were obliged either to pass through a grove consecrated to the nymph *Marica*, or to go a vast way about, which would have taken up too much of their time. The *Minturnenses* had a singular veneration for this grove, and never suffered any thing to be removed out of it that was once within it. They therefore scrupled to pass through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of *Sylla's* parties, who were scouring the country, before they reached the sea-side the other way. While they were deliberating among themselves which way they should take, an old man among them cried out, *There is no place so sacred, but we may pass through it for the preservation of Marius.* Hereupon *Marius* first entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived safe at the sea-side, where *Marius* went on board a small vessel, which had been provided for him by one *Belæus*. *Marius*, when he returned to *Rome* at the head of an army, caused this whole adventure to be represented in a large piece of painting, and hung it up in the temple of *Marica*, whom some take to be the same with *Circe*.

HOWEVER, the illustrious exile was not yet come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to steer for the island of *Ænaria*, where he arrived safe, and rejoined *Granius*, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then sailed for *Africa*; but, their water failing them in their passage, they were forced to

PLUT. in Mario. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 2. VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii.

*Lands in
Africa.*

touch at *Eryx* in *Sicily*. There the *Roman* quæstor, who was appointed to guard the coast, and put to death such of the proscriptors as should land there, had like to have seized *Marius*, and actually killed sixteen of his retinue, who were gone ashore to fetch water. Hereupon *Marius* putting to sea again with all expedition, made the island of *Meninx* near the *Little Syrtis*, where he was informed, that his son had made his escape with *Cethegus*; and that they were both gone to the *Numidian* court, to implore the assistance of king *Hiempsal*. Being somewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to pass over to the continent of *Africa*, and landed at the old port of *Carthage*. He was scarce got ashore, when *Sextilius*, who then governed the *African* province in quality of proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As *Sextilius* was a politic man, and neither cared to disobey the orders of the senate, nor incur the hatred of the *Marian* faction, by putting this great man to death, he immediately sent one of his officers to him, advising him to seek a retreat elsewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the senate in execution, if he set foot in *Africa*. At this message the great *Marius* was ready to sink under the weight of his calamity. He continued some time silent, looking sternly upon the messenger; and at length, when the officer asked what answer he should return to the prætor, Go, tell your master, said he, that you have seen the exiled *Marius* sitting on the ruins of *Carthage*. By this noble answer he placed in a proper light the misfortunes of that once celebrated city, and his own, as affecting instances of the vicissitude of human affairs. Whether the prætor was moved with this message, is uncertain; but *Marius* seems to have continued some time in that neighbourhood¹.

*Adventures of
young Ma-
rius at the
court of
Numidia.*

IN the mean time young *Marius*, who, as we have related above, had set sail for *Africa*, landing on the coast of *Numidia*, was received in a very gracious manner by king *Hiempsal*, or, as others will have it, by his son *Mandrestal*, who had succeeded to the crown; but that prince, being irresolute, and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble guest talked of departing, found out some pretence or other to detain him. Hereupon *Marius*, and *Cethegus*, who attended him under his misfortunes, began to suspect, that some treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities shewn them by the *Numidian* king; and would have made their escape, had they not found themselves carefully watched, and, in short, kept in a kind of honourable captivity. However, they found means at last to elude the king's evil designs. Their safety was owing to a very seasonable adventure. As young *Marius* was very handsome and well-made, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him,

¹ PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. lib. i. de bell. civil.

and even discovered her passion to him. The young *Roman* declined at first entering into any correspondence with her, from an awful regard to the sacred laws of hospitality; but finding at last, that by her means alone he could avoid the snares that were laid for him, and that there appeared more generosity than wantonness in the tenders she made him of her affection, he gratified the fair *Numidian*, who thereupon found means, as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions safe out of the king's dominions. The young *Roman*, being thus delivered, we may say, from his captivity, hastened to the *Roman* province, where he found his father just landed. After they had tenderly *He meets his father.* saluted and embraced each other, they began to consult together about the present situation of their affairs. As they were walking by the sea-side, the old hero observed two scorpions fighting with great fury; and as his head was always filled with signs and prognostics, he drew sinister interpretations from that combat. *Let us fly,* said he to his son, *let us fly; some great danger threatens us here.* This said, he and his company went immediately into a fisher's boat, and made towards *Cercina*, an island not far from the continent. They had scarce put off from the shore, when they saw the coast covered with horsemen, whom the king had sent to bring back young *Marius*. In the *They pass the winter in the island of Cercina.* island of *Cercina*, which lay near the *Little Syrtis*, and is now known by the name of *Cereara*, they found *Albinovanus*, who was likewise proscribed; and there they all spent the winter together^m.

DURING these occurrences, *Sylla*, and his colleague *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, acted in concert at *Rome*, and made it their whole business to quiet the minds of the people there. As nobody of *The consul* offered to oppose their measures, and a seeming calm reigned among Pompeius all orders of men, the consul *Pompeius*, who had not yet appeared *Rufus* at the head of his legions, resolved to take the field, and march *takes the* against those few allies, who still continued in arms. The *Ro-* *field* *man* army was still in the hands of *Pompeius Straba*, who, after *against the* his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of *allies.* proconsul. When he heard that the consul was coming to succeed him, and snatch out of his hands the glory of finishing a war, in which he had acquired so much honour, he artfully applied himself to his troops, and worked them up to a resolution of not parting with a general, under whose conduct they had gained so many victories. However, the consul was quietly received in the camp, and took possession of the army, the proconsul himself investing him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the least reluctance; but the

^m PLUT. in Mario.

He is as-
saffinated
by his sol-
diers.

next day, when the legions were assembled again to assist, according to custom, at the sacrifice, which new generals used to offer, some legionaries all on a sudden fell upon the consul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult *Pompeius Strabo* acted his part with great dexterity; he shed tears over the body of the dead consul, broke out into bitter invectives against the assassins, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the supreme magistrate of the republic, and threatened to sacrifice to his manes all those who had any hand in so flagitious an attempt, of which there had been yet no instance in the republic; but, notwithstanding these declarations, he made no inquiry after the criminals, but, tho' continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivionⁿ.

Sylla cited
to give an
account of
his conduct,
sets sail for
Asia.

SYLLA, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the assassination of his colleague, resolved to set out immediately for *Asia*. However, he was forced to continue some days at *Rome* after his consulship was expired, and had the mortification to see the first furious steps of *Cinna*, whom he believed intirely come off from his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no sooner entered upon the consulship, than joining with *M. Virginius*, tribune of the people, he cited *Sylla*, to whom he had sworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of mal-administration. Hereupon that general, not thinking himself any longer safe in *Italy*, embarked his troops, and set sail for the east, leaving *Rome* at the mercy of *Cinna* and his faction. Their first attempt was to get a law passed in favour of the allies, whom *Cinna* was for incorporating into the thirty-five tribes, and putting upon a level with the antient citizens. The consul *Octavius*, who was attached to the senate, foreseeing, that, by this important piece of service, *Cinna* would secure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the assemblies of the people, opposed the law with all his interest.

Cinna
raises new
disturban-
ces.

Cinna therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being resolved to get the law passed by force. *Octavius*, being informed of these unwarrantable proceedings, resolved to oppose force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no sooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the instigation of *Cinna*, fell upon him with great fury. *Octavius* stood his ground; whereupon a battle ensued, in which, as the two parties were shut up in a narrow compass, much blood was shed. At length the new citizens were overpowered, and driven from street to street, till they abandoned the city, together with the

A battle in
the forum.

ⁿ APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i. VELL. PATERC. lib. ii. c. 20. VAL. MAX. lib. ix. c. 7.

consul *Cinna*, and six tribunes of his faction. We are told, that ten thousand of the new citizens were killed in this battle^o.

CINNA, being thus driven from the capital, had recourse to *Cinna* for the neighbouring cities, soliciting troops and money to maintain *licitis suc-* what he called the cause of the allies. As soon as he was gone *cours from* the senate deposed him, and chose *L. Cornelius Merula* consul in *the allies* his room. This new insult quickened him in his application to the allies, who all concurred with uncommon chearfulness to supply him with troops, or with money to hire them. The great sums he received, enabled him to corrupt a considerable body of *Roman* troops, that lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. They all joined him to a man, and took the military *Is joined by* oath, which he administered to them in his consular habit, as if *great num-* he had not been deposed. When the allies heard that he was at *bers of* the head of a *Roman* army, they flocked to him from all parts of *them* *Italy* in such crouds, that in a short time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners; a prodigious army! able to make all *Italy* tremble.

AND now *Cinna* resolved to recall the proscribed; and ac- *Marius re-* cordingly dispatched an express to *Marius*, who was still in the *called* little island of *Cercina*, acquainting him, that he might return to *Italy* without fear of the senate and their decrees. This step alarmed the conscript fathers, who immediately ordered the two consuls, *Octavius* and *Merula*, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the *balistæ* and *catapultæ* in the magazines on the walls. They were also commissioned to raise what forces they judged necessary, and to take into the service such of the confederates as had not declared for *Cinna*. At the same time the fathers recalled *Pompeius Strabo*, who was yet making war with some small remains of the revolted *Italians* on the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea, and was at the head of a very numerous army, the command of which he had kept after the murder of the consul *Pompeius Rufus*; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and carried himself so artfully, that nobody knew what side he favoured. Some writers are of opinion, that his true design was to let the two factions waste each other, and then raise himself on the ruins of both^p.

IN the mean time *Marius*, putting to sea with all expedition, *Marius* landed at *Telamon*, a port in *He-truria*, with a body of *Mau-* lands in *rusian* horse raised in *Africa*. Upon the news of his arrival, *Italy*. great numbers of shepherds, slaves, and men of desperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; so that he soon saw himself at the head of a considerable army. He then sent a messenger to *Cinna*, signifying to him, that he was ready to acknowlege

^o PLUT. in Sertorio.

^p LIV. epit. VELL. PATERC. lib. ii. c.

21. OROS. lib. v. c. 19.

Sertorius
advises
Cinna not
to admit
him into
his army.

Cinna
gives Ma-
rius the
title of pro-
consul.

Rome
blocked up
by Cinna,
Marius,
and Ser-
torius.

him for consul, and assist him to the utmost of his power against their common enemies. *Cinna* immediately acquainted *Sertorius* with the arrival of *Marius*, and the tenders he made him of his service. *Sertorius*, having been disobliged by *Sylla*, who had employed all his interest against him when he stood for the tribuneship, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time, as he was a brave and experienced officer, shared the command of the army with *Cinna*. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough and revengeful temper of *Marius*, he advised *Cinna* not to admit him into his army, remonstrating, that *Cinna* was powerful enough without the addition of *Marius*'s undisciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make *Marius* his associate, without making him his master; that he was insatiably covetous of glory, and ever ready to envy it in his competitors; that he would assume to himself all the success of the war; and lastly, that he was a man in whom it was not always safe to confide. All this *Cinna* owned to be true: *But how*, said he, *can I send back a man, who, upon my word, has left Africa, and whom I myself have invited to join his resentments with ours against our common enemies?* Since you yourself had invited him to your assistance, replied *Sertorius*, there was no need of this consultation. The only thing we can do now, is to watch his conduct as narrowly as we do the designs of our most inveterate enemies. After this secret conference, *Cinna* sent back the messenger to *Marius*, styling him proconsul in his letter, and empowering him to choose lictors for his guard; but *Marius*, putting on the appearance of great humility on this occasion, refused the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconsular dignity, as not agreeing with his present circumstances. He affected on the contrary to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked with a slow pace, like a man quite oppressed with his misfortunes: but through the disguise of that mournful countenance, something so fierce appeared in his looks, that he rather created terror, than moved compassion^a.

AND now *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sertorius*, took each their province in this new war. In a council of officers they resolved to march directly to the capital. *Cinna* was to block it up on the side of the *Tiber*; *Sertorius* to invest it on the opposite side; and *Marius* to scour the country, and prevent any provisions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. *Pompeius Strabo* was encamped with his army before the gate *Collina*, to cover the city on that side. This politic general had offered *Cinna* his service and his army, thinking that his party was most likely to prevail; but *Cinna*, looking upon him as a time-server, in whom it was not safe to confide, had rejected his offer with

^a PLUT. in Mario & Sertorio. APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i.

scorn;

scorn; which obliged him to take part with the consuls *Octavius* and *Merula*. As he was encamped near *Sertorius*, the first act of hostility began between these two generals; but it was rather a skirmish than a battle, there being killed only six hundred men on both sides. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident, which ought to have given the Romans a distaste for civil wars: two brothers, who had chosen opposite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound without knowing him; but, when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and, finding him at the last gasp, *Dear brother*, he cried out, *tho' different interests have divided us, one common pile shall unite us*. This said, he plunged into his own body the sword, which was yet stained with the blood of his brother, and died by his side. This moving accident made some impression on the soldiery; but passion and party-zeal, or rather fury, soon hardened all hearts; so that all regard to friends and relations was laid aside by both parties^r.

As *Cinna's* forces increased daily, he formed a fourth army, which he put under the command of *Papirius Carbo*. This Rome in filled the city with dread and confusion. The two consuls who defended it, *Octavius* and *Merula*, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to sustain the attacks of an enemy. *Octavius* was so scrupulous an observer of the most venerable customs in Rome, that they in vain pressed him, even in this crisis, to arm the slaves in defence of the city. They could only get this answer, *That he would not make slaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away Marius*. He was, indeed, a man of good sense and understanding, and supported the dignity of his office with a becoming majesty; but placed too great a confidence in auguries, and was more intent on consulting diviners, than men skilled in military affairs. As for *Merula*, he relied more on the protection of *Jupiter*, whose flamen he was, than on the valour of the many brave men he had under his command. The senate therefore had recourse to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Numidicus*, who was making war upon the revolted *Samnites*, with a considerable body of Roman troops. The senate, well acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, sent him orders to put an end to that war, upon as honourable conditions as he could, to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and return himself to Rome.

^r OROS. l. v. c. 19. LIV. epit.

Marius
gains over
the Sam-
nites.

Marius
takes
Ostia.

Pompey
saves his
father's
life.

METELLUS, pursuant to his orders, immediately entered into a treaty with the *Samnite* generals; but, while the negotiations were carrying on, *Marius*, by offering the *Samnites* more advantageous terms than *Metellus* had done, gained them over to his party; so that *Metellus*, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital; where he no sooner appeared, than the soldiers, dissatisfied with the indolence of the consuls, loudly demanded him for their general, declaring, that, under the conduct of so brave a commander, they did not fear repulsing the enemy, and saving *Rome*; but *Metellus*, as modest as brave, rejected these seditious applauses with indignation, upbraided the soldiers with want of discipline, and openly declared, as he was too strictly observant of the old customs and laws, that he would not assume an office, which properly belonged to the consuls. This made many of the citizens despair of being able to defend the city; and they deserted in companies to *Cinna*, whose generals were not so scrupulously virtuous. *Sertorius* was the only man among them who had any noble sentiments; the others had neither honour nor virtue. In the mean time *Marius* made himself master of all the maritim places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; took *Ostia* itself by treachery, pillaged it, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and, building a bridge over the *Tiber*, cut off all communication between the city and the sea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and, posting himself on the *Janiculum*, blocked it up on that side.

THO' the capital was greatly weakened by daily desertions, yet *Octavius* found means to raise a considerable army in it, with which he encamped under the walls, as did likewise *Q. Metellus* and *Pompeius Strabo*, each of them commanding a separate body. *Cinna*, who scrupled no attempt, how villainous soever, which could serve his cause, undertook to get *Pompeius Strabo* assassinated in his tent; but his son saved his life; which was the first remarkable action of *Pompey the Great*. Young *Pompey*, who was making his first campaign under the proconsul his father, had chosen for his companion one *Terentius*, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous *Cinna*, by many alluring promises, gained over *Terentius* to his interest, and prevailed upon him to undertake the assassinating of the general and his son, and at the same time the seducing of his army, and carrying the legions to *Sylla's* camp; but young *Pompey*, receiving notice of this wicked design, a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; so that none of the conspirators, who had designed to set fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appease the fury of the legionaries,

* PLUT. APPIAN. LIV. *ibid.*

who

who hated their general, by such acts of prudence as were worthy the oldest commanders. Some of the mutineers had forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to desert to *Cinna*. Hereupon the general's son, laying himself flat on his back in their way, cried out, "That they should not break their oath, and desert their commander, without passing over his body." By this means he put a stop to their desertion, and afterwards wrought so effectually upon them by his affecting speeches, and engaging carriage, that he reconciled them to his father^t.

IN the mean time *Marius*, who was encamped on the *Janiculum*, used his utmost efforts to make himself master of the strong fort built on that hill, and was very near succeeding in his attempt, by the treachery of one *Appius Claudius*, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received some favours of *Marius*, opened one of the gates to him; but the garison, tho' surpris'd, made a brave resistance; and in the mean time, *Octavius* and *Pompeius Strabo* hastening to their relief, a sharp engagement ensued, which ended wholly to the advantage of the consular troops^u.

Marius

makes a

fruitless

attempt on

the Jani-

culum.

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the city was soon reduced to a most deplorable condition: a plague broke out among the troops of *Pompeius* with such violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thousand men. Soon after, the general himself was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of mischief in his army. As *Pompeius* was a very wicked man, capable of the greatest crimes, and had assassinated a consul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death as a punishment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the streets of the city, and then threw it into the *Tiber*^w. The command of his army was given to *L. Crassus*, who, together with *Octavius* and *Metellus*, went and encamped near the hill *Alba*, along the *Appian* way, with a design to open a communication with the country on that side; but *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, joining their forces, posted themselves above the consular troops, on the same *Appian* way; so that no provisions could be conveyed from the country to the city. And now a famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the senate, as if they kept up a war for their own private interest, which exposed them, their wives and children, to the danger of being starved. To make the disorder in *Rome* still greater, *Cinna* treated underhand with the citizens, and, by his emissaries, prevailed upon most of the slaves to shake off their masters yoke, and take refuge in his

A plague

in the

army of

Pompeius.

Pompeius

Strabo

killed by

lightning.

^t PLUT. in Pomp.^u PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.^w VELL.

PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 21. JUL. OBSEQ. c. 116.

camp,

Rome reduced to great streights.

The senate treats with Cinna.

Cinna acknowledged consul.

Cinna and Marius enter Rome.

camp, where they were declared free. The example of the slaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deserted openly, and in large companies.

THE same spirit of mutiny and desertion reigned in the consular army, which visibly decreased; insomuch that *Metellus*, despairing of being able to save *Rome*, left the camp, and retired into *Liguria*, whence he soon after passed over into *Africa*. The senate, seeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general insurrection, thought it time to come to a treaty with *Cinna*; and accordingly sent deputies to his camp, with some overtures of peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, asked, whether they were come to treat with him as consul, or only as a private man. This question, which they did not expect, surprised them; and as they had no instructions touching so nice a point, they desired leave to return to *Rome* to consult the senate. The conscript fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what answer to give, nor what course to take. They thought it inconsistent, both with honour and justice, to depose *Merula*, a wise magistrate, whom they had, in a manner, compelled to quit the office of high-priest of *Jupiter*, and accept of the consulship. On the other hand, as the city was closely blocked up on all sides, and the famine increased daily, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared, that the populace would rise, and let the enemy into the city.

IN this dilemma, *Merula* himself, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely abdicated, and, by his abdication, left the senate at liberty to acknowledge *Cinna* for lawful consul*. Accordingly the conscript fathers sent back their deputies to him, with instructions to treat with him as consul, and to invite him to *Rome*, to exercise there the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would spare the blood of the citizens, and put no *Roman* to death but by due form of law. *Cinna* refused to take that oath; but protested, that he would never give his consent to the death of any citizen. He even sent word to the consul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiss to retire from the city till the storm was blown over. During this conference, *Marius*, who stood by, said nothing; but the sourness of his countenance, and the sternness of his looks, threatened the city with blood and slaughter. As soon as the messengers were dismissed, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the senate having ordered the gates to be opened to them. *Cinna* entered the city with a strong guard; but *Marius* halted at the gate, and, when he was pressed

* DIODOR. apud VALES.

to advance, he replied with a sarcastical tone, That he was a banished man, and, consequently, debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occasion for his service, they must get that law repealed, which drove him into exile. Hereupon *Cinna* marched directly to the forum; and, having assembled the people, proposed to them the disannulling of the decree which proscribed *Marius* and his adherents; but *Marius*, impatient to shed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, pulled off the mask, and, without waiting for a lawful repeal, entered the city, surrounded by his guards, chosen from among the slaves, who had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans* (N).

THE first order he gave these cruel and inhuman assassins, *Marius*'s was, immediately to murder all those, who, coming to him, and meeting him in the streets, saluted him, and were not answered with the like civility. This signal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly massacred before his eyes. *Q. Ancharius*, a senator of great distinction, who had been honoured with the prætorship, chose to pay his compliments to *Marius*, when he was offering a sacrifice in the capitol; but the tyrant casting a fierce look upon him, he was instantly cut in pieces, in the very temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the present, exercised his cruelty only on his colleague *Octavius*, who still took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the instigation of *Cinna*, slain in his curule chair by *Censorinus*.

PLUT. in Mario.

(N) We are at a loss to know how *Marius* came to give his guards this name. *Thuanus*, as appears from a note in the margin of his *Plutarch*, thought there was a fault in the text, and that, instead of *Bardiæans*, we ought to read *Bardyetes* or *Bardyates*; for the *Bardyotes* were a most barbarous nation in *Spain*; and this might naturally induce *Marius* to call his guards by that name, on purpose to frighten the people, and make them tremble at the fierceness of their nature. There is a good deal of reason for this conjecture. However, *M. Dacier*, in her notes on *Plutarch*, offers another: *Plutarch*

tells us, says she, that the greatest grievance of the people was the abominable licentiousness and infamous debaucheries of those guards. It may therefore not absurdly be conceived, that *Marius*, on that account, called them not his *Bardiæans*, but *Bardeans*, from the Greek word βαρδῆν, which, in the *Ambracian* dialect, signifies to ravish women. But, after all, this may be refining too much on the matter, as the same writer observes. Perhaps *Plutarch* wrote not βαρδῆν, but μαγιστῆρ, that is, the *Marians*, or the life-guard of *Marius*.

BUT *Marius's Bardians*, or *Bardiates*, set no bounds to their lust, cruelty, and avarice: they first murdered their former masters, abused their children, and insulted their wives in the grossest manner; then they extended their cruelty and licentiousness to all ranks of persons, not sparing the most venerable matrons in the republic; and carried their iniquities to such an excess, that *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having consulted together how to rid *Rome* of this barbarous crew, resolved to put them all to death; and accordingly sent a detachment to surprise them one night while they were asleep in the camp, and cut them off to a man. *Marius* was much grieved at the loss of his favourite guard; and, being afraid, as he breathed nothing but blood, that *Cinna* had already satisfied his revenge, he desired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to deliberate what kind of government they should settle, since all the power was devolved upon *Cinna*, after the death of his colleague. At his request, *Cinna*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, came to confer with him; and, in this conference, *Marius* is said to have spoken like a madman. *Sertorius*, the only man among them who had any good principles, or sense of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: *Cinna* and *Carbo* concurred in his sentiments, and the resolution they took, was, to murder, without mercy, all the senators who had opposed the popular faction. Pursuant to his resolution, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, *C. Numitorius*, and *M. Bæbius*, all senators of great note, were murdered in the streets. *P. Crassus*, a young senator, endeavoured to make his escape; but, being closely pursued by *Caius Flavius Fimbria*, one of the most furious zealots of *Marius's* party, his father, meeting him, killed him, for fear he should fall into the hands of his enemies, and then presented himself before the bloody *Fimbria*, by whom he was inhumanly massacred. This slaughter lasted five days, during which time the best part of the senators were cut off, their heads were stuck upon poles over-against the rostra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, *Metella* the wife of *Sylla*, and daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her children, escaped this general slaughter. *Marius*, indeed, caused a strict search to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by some of *Sylla's* friends. *Marius*, highly exasperated at their escape, caused their house to be rased, their goods confiscated, and *Sylla* himself to be declared an enemy to his country².

WHILE *Marius* was thus venting his brutal rage on *Sylla's* friends in the city, his soldiers, the ministers of his cruelty, were,

² PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

like so many blood-hounds, dispersed about the country, in search of those who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the highways, swarmed with assassins. On this occasion *Plutarch* observes, with great concern, that the most sacred ties of friendship and hospitality are not proof against treachery in the days of adversity; for there were but very few who did not discover their friends who had fled to them for shelter (O).

MARCUS ANTONIUS, grandfather to the triumvir, and the Marcus greatest orator that had appeared in *Rome* till his time, felt the fury of *Marius*. He fled to the house of a faithful friend in the country, who endeavoured to save his life with great tenderness and affection. His friend was in low circumstances; but, being proud of having under his roof one of the greatest men in *Rome*, resolved to entertain him in the best manner he could. Accordingly he sent his servant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for some of the best wine he could get. The vintner, perceiving the servant nicer than usual, tasting of several sorts, and not satisfied but with the very best, asked him, What made him so hard to please. The servant told him, in confidence, as his trusty friend and acquaintance, That the wine was for the illustrious *Marcus Antonius*, who made so great a figure in the senate. My master, said he, keeps that great man concealed in his house, and is resolved, on this occasion, to stretch his purse, and make as much of him as he can. The servant was no sooner gone, than the vintner went to *Marius*, who was then at supper, and told him he could deliver *Antonius* into his hands. At this news *Marius* gave a great shout, clapped his hands for joy, and was for rising from table, and going to the place himself; but, being prevented by his friends, he sent *Anius*, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body of soldiers, commanding him to bring *Antonius's* head with all speed. *Anius* himself waited at the door, and sent in his soldiers to dispatch the orator, and bring him his head; but the assassins, notwithstanding their natural barbarity,

(O) He therefore, with a great deal of reason, commends and admires the fidelity of the slaves of *Cornutus* in that general defection. *Cornutus* had retired to an house in the country; and his faithful slaves, observing a company of soldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their master in the most private part of the house; and then taking up the body of one, whom the tyrant's officers had

just murdered, carried it to the house, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and shewed it in that condition to the soldiers, pretending it was the body of their master. They then buried it with great pomp and solemnity; and by this innocent artifice, which was perceived by nobody, they saved *Cornutus*, and conveyed him into *Gaul*.

were so struck at the sight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his eloquence, when he began to speak, and beg for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would touch him. *Anius*, impatient at their delays, went into the room; and, seeing his soldiers all weeping, and quite softened by the eloquence of that great orator, checked them severely, and with his own hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Marius*, who, after he had made it matter of sport to his guests, ordered it to be stuck on a pole with the rest before the rostra. Such was the end of the greatest orator *Rome* had ever bred. *Cicero*, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that *Italy* equalled *Greece* itself in the art of speaking^a.

AND now the rage of the other tyrants, after so many murders, began to abate. But *Marius* still thirsted after more *Roman* blood. He wanted to destroy two men, who had been honoured with the fasces. These were *Lutatius Catulus*, who had been *Marius*'s colleague in the consulate, and his partner in the triumph over the *Cimbri*; and the virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had generously resigned the consular dignity, to make room for *Cinna*. Great interest was made for *Catulus*; but to all those who interceded for him, *Marius* returned this cold answer, *He must die*. Hereupon *Catulus*, shutting himself up in a room, smothered or poisoned himself. *Merula* likewise robbed his enemy of the cruel pleasure of putting him to death. As he was high-priest of *Jupiter*, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die, and then, seating himself in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled some time, he advanced to the altar, sprinkled it with blood, and, uttering many imprecations against the tyrants, devoted them to *Pluto*, and the infernal gods^b.

THE consulate of *Cinna* being near expiring, the citizens, who had seen the streets for some time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for some respite. But *Cinna*, unwilling to trust them with choosing him a successor, of his own authority nominated himself and *Marius* consuls for the next year. Accordingly, on the calends of *January*, they took possession, one of his second, the other of his seventh consulship. *Marius* was now seventy years of age; but neither his ambition, nor his cruelty, were yet satiated. As he was coming out of his house to be invested, according to custom, in his office, *Sextus Licinius* unhappily fell in his way, and was, by his order, immediately thrown down from the *Tarpeian*

Catulus
and Me-
rula kill
them-
selves.

Cinna
names him-
self and
Marius
consuls.
Year of
the flood
2263.
Bef. Chr.
85.
Of Rome

663.

alibi passim.

^a PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. CIC. in Bruto, &

^b VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 22. FLOR. l. iii. c. 21.

rock.

rock. The same day he proscribed two prætors; and his son, no less cruel than himself, killed the same day a tribune of the people with his own hand.

In the mean time, news came from all parts, that *Sylla*, having put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, was returning into *Italy* at the head of a great army. Soon after the senate received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein, with a lively stile, he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him. After enumerating the many services he had done the republic in her wars with the king of *Numidia*, with the *Cimbri*, the allies, and lastly with *Mithridates*, the most powerful king in the east, he concluded thus: "For these important services you have rewarded me, by setting a price upon my head; my friends are murdered without mercy; my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country; my house is rased; my goods confiscated; and all the laws made in my consulship absolutely annulled. You may expect, conscript fathers, to see me in a little time at the gates of *Rome* with a victorious army: and then I shall find means to revenge the personal injuries I have received; and to inflict signal punishments, both on the tyrants themselves, and the ministers of their tyranny." This letter gave the two consuls a great deal of uneasiness. *Marius*, now worn out with hardships and years, could no longer bear up his spirits, flagging at the apprehension of a new war, which his own experience represented to him as very dangerous. He considered, that he had not now to do with an *Octavius* or *Merula*, at the head of an undisciplined rabble, but with *Sylla*, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of *Rome*. At the same time, he called to mind all his past misfortunes, his flight, his banishment, the many dangers he had undergone, his tedious wanderings, &c. and, dreading to be exposed anew to the same hazards, in so advanced an age, he fell into great troubles, nocturnal frights, and broken slumbers, fancying every moment, that he heard a voice telling him, that *the den, even of an absent lion, ought to be dreaded*. To divert these tormenting thoughts, he had recourse to a remedy, scarce known in those days, but too common in ours. He gave himself up to excessive drinking, choosing rather to lose his reason, than to be continually haunted with melancholy thoughts. This new way of living soon bred a distemper, which led him to his grave. *Posidonius* the philosopher, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that, having over-heated his blood by too much drinking, he fell into a pleurisy. The same philosopher adds, that he went to his house, when he

PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.*

was confined to his bed, and discoursed with him about some affairs relating to his embassy at *Rome*. But *Caius Piso* seems to insinuate, that he himself hastened his end, though he does not tell us in what manner. He only relates, that *Marius*, walking one night after supper with some of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures, which he concluded with saying, that it did not become a man of his years to trust any longer so unconstant a goddess as fortune. Having ended his discourse, he embraced all about him with a tenderness very uncommon to him, went home, and took to his bed. He was seized with a delirium, during which, fancying himself general in the war against *Mithridates*, he used such motions and gestures, as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length, after seven days illness, he died, some say on the seventeenth, others on the thirteenth day of his seventh consulship.

AND now the distressed city fondly imagined, that the intestine calamities, which had reduced her to the last extremity, were buried with *Marius*. But she soon perceived, that she had only changed her tyrant. *Cinna*, the surviving consul, associated with himself in the government, though not in the office of consul, young *Marius*, who, as he had inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the senators he could find in *Rome*, or its neighbourhood, to the sword. As all the power was lodged in the hands of *Cinna* and young *Marius*, they got *Valerius Flaccus*, a creature of old *Marius*, named to succeed him in the consular dignity. He no sooner entered upon his office, than he passed a most unjust law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors one-fourth of what they owed. Having, by this law, gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new consul debated with *Cinna* and *Marius*, how they should prevent the return of *Sylla*, who had under his command a victorious and well-disciplined army. The expedient they agreed on, to put it out of the power of that general to give them any uneasiness, or to obstruct their wicked measures, was to nominate a person to succeed him in the command of the army in the east, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, since he had been proscribed by a decree of the senate.

PURSUANT to this scheme, the new consul, *Valerius Flaccus*, was appointed to command the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, and make war with *Mithridates*. But, as *Valerius* was no soldier, *Cinna* and *Marius* gave him for his counsellor and lieutenant *C. Fulvius Fimbria*, a senator, greatly esteemed by the troops for his valour. *Fimbria*, though intirely addicted to the *Marian* faction, both despised and hated *Valerius*. However, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of *Cinna* and *Marius*, who were absolute masters in *Rome*. A squadron of

of ships was sent, with a considerable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of *Thessaly*, and there wait for *Valerius*, who was to follow with the rest of the army. *Sylla* was, at that time, busy in resettling *Greece*, after having defeated *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, two of *Mithridates*'s generals. The troops therefore that were to serve under *Valerius*, hearing of *Sylla*'s victories, instead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deserted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconsul, under whose conduct they promised themselves great booty and glory. When news of this desertion was brought to *Rome*, it was resolved there, that *Valerius* should embark with two legions, and sail directly for *Asia*, to carry on the war there with *Mithridates*. However, he did not leave *Rome* before *December*, towards the end of his consulship, which was no sooner expired, than *Cinna*, without so much as assembling the comitia, declared himself consul the third time, and chose for his colleague *Papirius Carbo*, one of the most furious zealots in *Rome* for the *Marian* faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the interest of the reigning tyrant. In short, the face of the republic was intirely changed, and the antient laws and institutions quite abolished. All the friends of *Sylla*, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their estates confiscated. Men of any honour or probity were ashamed to live in a city, which was now become a nest of robbers and assassins. They therefore fled in crouds, and retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, imploring his protection against their domestic tyrants. Upon their arrival, *Sylla* hastened to put an end to the war with *Mithridates*; which he had no sooner done, in the manner we have related at length in our history of *Pontus*, than he resolved to return to *Italy*, where *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo*, as we have said, had appointed themselves consuls. The former, to establish himself more firmly in his usurped authority, married his daughter *Cornelia* to a young patrician, whose extraordinary talents were already admired in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæsar*, who afterwards followed the steps of Cæsar, his father-in-law; and, being no less wicked, and more successful, turned at last the republic into a monarchy. *Sylla*, before he left *Asia*, wrote a letter to the senate, of great temper and moderation; but, when their deputies came to meet him at *Dyrrachium*, and intreat him not to carry his resentments so far as to produce a civil war, he spoke a very different language, telling them, that he was coming to *Rome* full of rage and revenge; and that all his enemies, if the *Roman* people consented to it, should perish, either by the sword, or the axes of the common executioners. Hereupon the two consuls ordered *Marius*, and the other heads of the party, to raise forces, and

recruit the legions. Several armies were levied with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to support the cause of the consuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewise brought from *Sicily* to guard the coasts of *Italy*. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party assisted, it was resolved, that one of the consuls should go and meet *Sylla* before he entered *Italy*, and carry the seat of the war into *Dalmatia*. This *Cinna* took upon himself, and accordingly caused some of his forces to be immediately transported thither. But the rest of his soldiers refused to go on board, and began to mutiny. *Cinna* assembled his troops in order to appease them, when one of the lictors, who surrounded the consul as usual, struck a soldier who drew too near to the general. The soldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his assistance. Upon this the stones flew about, and the legionaries, who were next to the consul, fell upon him sword in hand. *Cinna* fled; but a centurion, overtaking him, buried his sword in his body^d (P).

Cinna killed by one of his soldiers.

Several armies raised against Sylla.

UPON the death of *Cinna*, *Carbo* continued sole master of the administration, till the end of the year. His first care was, to bring back the troops which his colleague had sent into *Dalmatia*. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies, and in the *Roman* colonies, to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raised for this purpose, amounted to two hundred thousand men. They were divided into several bodies, commanded by different generals; to wit, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, whom *Carbo* had got chosen consuls, *Appius Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, the brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himself in *Asia*, *M. Marius*, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damasippus*. In the mean time, *Sylla* was preparing to embark at *Dyrrhachium*, now *Durazzo*, where he had ordered his fleet, consisting of an hundred and twenty sail, to wait for

^d LIV. APPIAN. ibid. Auct. de vir. illustr.

(P) *Plutarch* relates this matter very differently. He says, that *Pompey* came to *Cinna's* camp; and that the cold reception he met with there, giving him reason to believe, that his life was not safe, he privately withdrew. His absence raised great murmurs in the army, the soldiers imagining, that *Cinna* had sacrificed him to his jealousy. This report being spread among the troops, they first demanded young *Pompey* with loud clamours, and then fell with great fury on the general, whom they charged with his death, and cut him in pieces (8).

(8) *Plut. in Pomp.*

him.

him. When every thing was ready, he assembled his troops, and, in the harangue he made to them, gave them by several hints to understand, that he was under some apprehension, lest they should disperse, and retire to their respective homes, as soon as they found themselves on their native shore. Hereupon the Sylla's whole army, of their own accord, took a new oath, promising ^{troops bind} to stand by him to the last, and to commit no devastations in ^{themselves} Italy, which might raise the country against him. They even ^{by an oath} offered him all the gold and silver they had got in the war with ^{to stand by} Mithridates. But Sylla, thanking them for their generosity, ^{him.} declined their offer; and, being now well assured of their fidelity and affection, he embarked, and put to sea, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals, and four hundred and fifty cohorts^e.

He had a prosperous passage, and landed his troops to the Sylla's number of forty thousand men at *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, in Italy, without meeting with any opposition. There the army rested a few days to refresh themselves after the fatigues of the sea, and then began their march cross *Calabria* and *Apulia*, in search of the enemy. On his march, he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who, during the tyranny of old *Marius*, had fled into *Liguria*. Sylla, who had no other title but that of proconsul, received him as his colleague, and both advanced at the army into *Campania*, keeping their troops under the most exact discipline. The consul *Norbanus* was encamped between *Capua* and *Casilinum*, in order to stop Sylla's march; which the proconsul no sooner understood, than he dispatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully dissembled the rage he concealed in his heart, is uncertain. However that be, his offers were rejected, and his deputies grossly insulted; which so incensed Sylla's troops, that they ran to arms without orders from their general, drew up in battalia, and went out to insult *Norbanus* in his camp. Here-^{The consul} upon an action ensued, in which the consul was defeated, and *Norbanus* six thousand of his men killed on the spot. The fame of this ^{defeated by} action drew many of the contrary faction to Sylla's camp, and Sylla, amongst the others *Cethegus*, *Verres*, and *Piso*, all three men of great distinction, and hitherto most furious zealots of the *Marian* faction. *Verres*, who was quæstor of the proconsul *Carbo's* army, brought with him his military chest, a present very acceptable to Sylla.

BUT, in the mean time, the consul *Scipio* drawing near, the proconsul's army was, in a manner, surrounded by the innumerable forces of the enemy. In this distress Sylla had recourse to his old artifice, of pretending to treat of peace; and accord-

^e PLUT. in Sylla.

*The consul
Scipio's
troops
gained
over by
Sylla.*

ingly sent deputies to the consul's camp to propose an accommodation, pretending that he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic must be exposed by a civil war. *Scipio*, who was sincerely disposed to peace, hearkened to the overtures that were made him, and, by way of preliminary, agreed to a truce; during which, there being a free intercourse between the two camps, *Sylla's* men found means to seduce the whole consular army; insomuch that, when *Sylla* detached twenty cohorts, as it were, to force the consul's trenches, the consular troops, all to a man, came out to meet them, and, joining them, marched back with them to *Sylla's* camp. The consul, and his son, being deserted by their whole army, which consisted of forty cohorts, were seized by *Sylla's* soldiers, who delivered them up to their general. But he, being under no apprehensions from commanders, who could be so easily overreached, set them both at liberty, and gave them a guard to conduct them safe to the nearest quarters of their friends. When news of this general desertion were brought to *Carbo*, who was then encamped in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he cried out in great surprize, *We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable than the lion*^f.

*Pompey,
but 23
years old,
declares
for Sylla,
and raises
three legi-
ons.*

*His first
victory.*

THE news of the great advantages *Sylla* was daily gaining over the generals of the adverse party, prompted young *Pompey* to declare for him. He assembled troops in *Picenum*, where his family had a great many friends and clients; and, taking upon him, of his own authority, the title of general, though he was then but twenty-three years of age, obliged most of the towns of *Picenum* to declare for *Sylla*. The small army he commanded increased so fast, that, in a short time, he had men enough to form three legions; and at the head of these, after he had appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*. The march of the brave youth, which was signalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded armies in that neighbourhood, under the consuls. *Carinas*, *Caelius*, and *Brutus*, agreed to obstruct his march, by attacking him in different places. *Brutus* opposed him the first with a considerable army, consisting chiefly of *Gaulish* horse. But *Pompey*, at the head of his own cavalry, defeated that of the *Gauls*, after having killed, with his own hand, the *Gaul* who commanded them. He then fell sword in hand on *Brutus's* infantry, cut most of them in pieces, and forced the rest to save themselves by a disorderly flight. This success, which was chiefly owing to the young general's personal bravery, so damped the courage of the two other generals, that they resolved to quit the field, and leave the country

open to the conqueror. However, he had not advanced far before he was met by the consul *Scipio*, who, since the desertion of his troops, had raised a new army. But the infantry on both sides were no sooner in fight, than the consul's troops went over to the young hero; so that *Scipio*, deserted a second time by his army, was forced to retire with shame. *Pompey's* name being now become formidable to the adverse party, *Papirius Carbo*, quitting *Gaul*, hastened after him, in order to prevent his joining *Sylla*. His cavalry came up with him at the river *Æsis*, which divides *Picenum* and *Umbria*; but the young general having repulsed them with great vigour, pursued his march, and at last reached *Sylla's* camp, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem, and sincere friendship. *Sylla*, charmed with the account he gave him of his exploits, honoured him, though he had not yet a seat in the senate, with the title of *imperator*, which the legionaries gave but rarely to their bravest generals.

ROME being greatly alarmed at the increase of *Sylla's* army, the two consuls as well as *Carbo* drew near it, in order to keep up their party there, and defend the city in case of an attack. The consul *Norbanus* encamped without the walls on the road to *Campania*; and *Carbo* entering *Rome* at the head of his army, forced the senate to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the patri- cians, who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to their country. The rest of the campaign was employed on both sides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to corrupt the allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great master in that art, sent considerable sums into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and by that means gained over several *Gaulish* nations to his interest. On the other hand, the opposite faction sent *Sertorius* into *Spain*, to keep those vast provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for *Sylla*. At the same time young *Marius* prevailed on the *Samnites* to join him with an army of forty thousand men, under the command of *Pontius Telesinus*, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates.

AND now the consular year being near expired, *Carbo*, who tyrannized at *Rome* without controul, forced the tribes to choose himself and young *Marius* consuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very severe, suspended hostilities on both sides for some months, the consuls made it their whole business to raise money for the support of the troops which they had levied in most of the provinces of *Italy*. But the public treasury being quite exhausted, they extorted a decree from the senate, empowering them to strip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and silver they found in them into money.

^g PLUT. in Pomp. ^h APPIAN. LIV. PLUT. ibid.

The consuls having now wherewithal to pay their troops, and the rigour of the season being abated, their armies took the field, and went in quest of the enemy. The first battle was fought on the banks of the *Æsis*, between *Carinas*, one of the consuls generals, and *Metellus Pius*, who was immoveably attached to *Sylla*. The action proved very bloody, and lasted from morning to night. But *Metellus* at length obliged *Carinas* to retire, and soon after made himself master of his camp. The news of this defeat exasperated young *Marius* to such a degree against *Sylla* and his adherents, that he sent orders to *Junius Brutus*, then prætor in *Rome*, to put all *Sylla's* friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmost cruelty; not one of those, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was spared. Among the slain were *Papirius Carbo*, the consul's brother, *P. Antistius*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, *L. Domitius*, and the great *Mutius Scævola*, pontifex maximus. The latter took refuge in the temple of *Vesta*; but the prætor's agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar ⁱ.

Carinas
defeated by
Metellus.

The cruelty
of young
Marius.

Marius
defeated
by Sylla.

Marius
fies to
Præneste.

THE account *Sylla* received of these cruelties, made him resolve to quit *Campania*, and draw near to *Rome*. Accordingly, he advanced to a place called *Sacri portus*, between *Signia* and *Præneste*, where he was met by young *Marius* at the head of eighty-five cohorts. *Sylla* resolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which the night before he imagined to see old *Marius* advising his son to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal consequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparalleled bravery. The success was long doubtful; but at length *Marius's* right wing gave way, and the dispute was ended by the desertion of seven of his cohorts, who all in a body went over to *Sylla*. Their example drew many others, which struck the consular army with such terror, that they all betook themselves to flight, and dispersed about the fields. The conqueror pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. The vanquished, seeing themselves closely pursued, fled to *Præneste* in such numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to shut the gates before the consul arrived; so that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that means escaped for the present the fury of his pursuers. All the rest, who were left without the walls, perished by the swords of the enemy. *Sylla*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us in his memoirs, that on this occasion twenty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners; whereas he lost in all but three-and-twenty men ^k.

ⁱ APPIAN. *ibid.* VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 26. CIC. ad Fann. ix. 21. & ad Att. viii. 3. ^k PLUT. in *Sylla*.

SYLLA, flattering himself, that he should put an end to the Præneste war by taking *Marius*, instantly invested *Præneste*: but as the invested place was too strong to be taken by assault, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view he surrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper distances to prevent the conveying in of any provisions. He committed the care of the blockade to one *Lucretius Ofella*, a soldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from *Marius*'s party. As for himself, he marched with a strong detachment towards *Rome*, which, he was informed, the friends of *Marius* had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppressed with famine, and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; so that he entered the city without opposition, and encamped in the *Campus Martius*. And now seeing himself master of the capital, he assembled the people, complained to them of the injustice done him by his enemies, confiscated the estates of all those who adhered to *Marius*, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of those who had opposed him; and then, without staining his first coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before *Præneste*¹.

IN the mean time *Carbo*, having raised a numerous army in *Great ad-Cisalpine Gaul* and *Herturia*, drew near to *Præneste*, with a design to throw succours into the place. But *Sylla* meeting him, a bloody action ensued, which lasted from sun-rising to sun-set, without any advantage on either side. During the engagement, *Marcus Censorinus*, one of *Carbo*'s generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulsed by *Pompey* and *Crassus*. A few days after, these two generals were attended with equal success against *C. Albinus Carinas*, whom they defeated, after having killed five thousand of his men. *Sylla*'s other generals gained still greater advantages in several parts of *Italy*. The two *Servilii* beat the consular troops near *Clusium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated another army near *Fidentia*; and *Metellus* gained a signal victory over the united forces of *Carbo* and *Norbanus*, in the neighbourhood of *Faventia*. Ten thousand of them were cut in pieces, and six thousand went over to *Metellus*. Upon the news of this defeat, a legion, which lay at some distance from *Metellus*'s camp, under the command of *Albinovanus*, immediately forsook him, and joined *Metellus*. Hereupon *Albinovanus*, thinking himself no longer safe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in so criminal a manner, as has made his name infamous. He invited *Norbanus*, his general, *Apustius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, and most of the chief officers of his

¹ PLUT. in *Sylla*.

party, to an entertainment. *Norbanus* was prevented by an unforeseen accident, from complying with the invitation; and this saved him; for the rest, when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarously massacred by a band of assassins, whom the traitor had hired for that purpose. Such are the effects of party-zeal, and domestic dissensions. *Albinovanus*, thinking himself sufficiently recommended to *Sylla* by this black piece of treachery, withdrew to his camp with all the accomplices of his crime. *Norbanus*, not knowing any longer whom to trust, went on board a vessel, which he found ready to set sail for *Rhodes*, and arrived safe in that island. *Sylla* sent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*; but while they were deliberating, how to behave in so nice an affair, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a determination, by stabbing himself in the middle of the market-place^m.

Norbanus
flies to
Rhodes,
where he
kills him-
self.

In the mean time *Carbo*, after having attempted several times in vain to relieve his colleague *Marius*, closely besieged in *Prænestæ*, retired into *Hebruria* to reinforce his army there with new levies. But while he was encamped near *Clusium*, news were brought him, that *M. Lucullus* had, with sixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his best troops, under the command of *Quinctius* in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, killed eighteen thousand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune struck *Carbo* with such terror, that despairing of success in *Italy*, he withdrew privately from his army, though thirty thousand strong, and with a few friends embarked for *Africa*, to carry on the war there. Upon the news of his flight, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* hastened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of *Clusium*, which, as it was destitute of a general, made but a faint resistance; twenty thousand men were killed upon the spot, and the rest either taken or dispersed. And now one of the three chief supporters of the *Marian* faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to perish with want in an invested town without any hopes of escaping, *Sylla* began to think the war at an end. But a new enemy, more brave and resolute than any *Sylla* had yet encountered, entering the lists against the conqueror, had like to have humbled him, and turned the scales in favour of the opposite party. This was *Pontius Telesinus*, a *Samnite* of noble extraction, and great experience in war; who, having raised an army of forty thousand men, partly *Lucanians*, and partly *Samnites*, joined them to those of *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Censorinus*; and with these three chiefs advanced boldly to make a last effort, and either relieve *Marius* in *Prænestæ*, or perish in the attempt. *Sylla*, being informed

Telesinus
the Sam-
nite joins
the gene-
rals of the
Marian
faction.

^m PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army; and at the same time sent orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another body, to follow *Telesinus*, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front.

THE *Samnite*, finding himself in a manner surrounded by two armies, so that he could neither advance nor retire without being attacked by both at the same time, decamped silently in the night, and over-reaching the two generals, instead of pursuing his march to *Præneste*, took the route to *Rome*, which he knew was not in a condition to sustain a siege. His march was so expeditious, that before break of day he came within ten furlongs of the *Collatine* gate. His approach threw the city into the utmost confusion. The gates were immediately shut; the men ran to arms, and appeared on the walls; the women all in tears crowded to the temples to implore the assistance of the gods. *Telesinus* was a second *Hannibal* at the gates of *Rome*, and already thought himself master of it. He then pulled off the mask, and shewing himself as much an enemy to *Sylla* as to *Marius*, declared to his troops, who were mostly *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, that his design was not to assist one *Roman* against another, but to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation, utterly destroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. He walked through all the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to lay hold of the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and putting her out of a condition of pretending to lord it over the rest of *Italy*. Let fire and sword, said he, destroy all; let no quarter be given; mankind can never be free so long as one *Roman* is left alive. His troops, fired by such a speech, advanced with great fury.

THE *Roman* youth marched out to oppose them, under the conduct of *Appius Claudius*, a young patrician of noble extraction, and great hopes. But he was killed, and the rest forced back into the city with great slaughter. In the mean time *Sylla* receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached seven hundred horse under the command of *Balbus*, with orders to ride full gallop to *Rome*, and throw themselves into the city, while he advanced with the utmost expedition at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of *Balbus* raised the drooping spirits of the citizens, who had given themselves up for lost. But the sudden appearance of *Sylla* at the head of his army occasioned such joy among all ranks of men, as can hardly be expressed. He arrived about noon, and encamped near the temple of *Venus*. After he had allowed his men a few minutes to refresh themselves, he called them again to arms, and drew them up in order of battle. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus*, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to dissuade him from exposing his troops, harassed and spent as they were, to a desperate push, when all lay at stake.

They

Engages
Telefinus.

Sylla's
left wing
defeated.

Sylla in
great dan-
ger.

Sylla
forced to
fly to his
camp.

They remonstrated to him, that he had not a *Marius* or a *Carbo* to deal with, but an experienced general, at the head of the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, two of the most warlike nations in *Italy*, and the most inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name. But *Sylla*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the sharpest and most bloody that had happened during the whole course of the war. The *Samnites*, animated by the example of the brave *Telefinus*, behaved with their usual valour, and put the left wing of the *Romans*, where *Sylla* himself commanded, into great confusion. Several cohorts fled, and intire legions, not able to keep their ground against the *Samnites*, who pushed them with incredible vigour, began to retire.

SYLLA did all that lay in his power to rally them, and bring them back to the charge. He even presented himself, sword in hand, before the runaways, to stop their flight. But all in vain; the legionaries, who had behaved so gallantly in *Asia*, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of saving themselves by a shameful flight; some of them hastening back to their camp, and others striving to get into the city. The *Samnites* made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and *Sylla* himself narrowly escaped death. As he was flying from line to line, mounted on a white courser, two *Samnites*, knowing him by his equipage, leveled their javelins at him, which one of his attendants perceiving, gave his horse a lash, which made him bounce forward so seasonably, that the javelins just grazed upon his tail, and fell deep into the ground at some distance from him. In this imminent danger *Sylla* took out of his bosom a little golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from *Delphi*, and constantly carried about him in all engagements; and as danger and fear usually awaken religious sentiments, he addressed himself to it in the following words: *Great Apollo, the Pythian, thou who hast granted Cornelius Sylla victory in so many engagements, and raised him to the highest pitch of glory, hast thou at last brought him to the very gates of his native city, to fall there ignominiously with his fellow-citizens?* He then endeavoured anew to rally the fugitives. Some of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on the enemy. But when he found all was to no purpose, and the left wing intirely broken, and put to flight, he had no resource but in a retreat; and accordingly endeavoured with the rest to gain the camp, after having lost a great number of his friends, and some of the most considerable officers of the army. A great many of the citizens likewise, whose curiosity had led them out to be spectators of the engagement, were trod under foot by the enemies horse; others were shut out and left at the mercy of the victorious *Samnites*, and some, among whom were several senators,

stifled

filled in the croud. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp before *Prænestæ*, which they filled with terror, reporting that *Sylla* was certainly killed, his army cut in pieces, and *Rome* in the hands of the *Samnites*ⁿ.

IN the mean time *M. Crassus*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, having put to flight *Carinas*, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpectedly upon the victorious *Samnites*, charged them with unparalleled bravery, overpowered them, and at length by putting them to flight, saved, we may say, *Rome* from undergoing the fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*. *Sylla* was defeated; *Rome* was not in a condition to stand a siege; and the brave *Samnite*, not knowing the fate of his left wing, was advancing to the gates of the defenceless city, crying out to his soldiers, as they marched along, *Courage, my brave Samnites, courage! we shall be soon masters of Rome. There is no safety for us, till we have destroyed that den of wolves, which watch all opportunities to devour us.* And indeed, had it not been for *Crassus*, this great metropolis had been buried in its ruins, and liberty restored to the rest of the world. The *Samnites*, now no more conquerors, but conquered, fled to *Antemnæ*, whither *Crassus* pursued them, and from thence sent an express to acquaint *Sylla* with his victory. In this engagement *Telesinus* was killed at the head of his troops, after having given such proofs of valour as intitled him to a place among the greatest heroes of antiquity. *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Censorinus*, were all taken prisoners, and soon after beheaded by *Sylla's* orders^o.

THAT general, upon notice given him by *Crassus* of the defeat and flight of the enemy's army, hastened to *Antemnæ*, and there, as he had now no enemy to fear, he gave the first instances of his cruel and barbarous temper. For as he approached the place, three thousand of those unhappy people, who had taken shelter there, having sent deputies to him, intreating him to spare their lives, and promising him an inviolable fidelity, the cruel general answered, that he would spare their lives, provided they put such of their comrades to death as refused to join them. Upon this they fell upon their fellow-soldiers sword in hand, killed a great number of them, and then presented themselves before *Sylla* without arms, and in the posture of suppliants. He pretended to pardon them, and carried both those who had surrendered, and the rest, to the number of six, or, as *Appian* will have it, eight thousand men to *Rome*, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival, he caused those unfortunate persons to be shut up in the circus; and then summoned the senate to meet in the temple of *Bellona*,

ⁿ PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* ^o PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* VELL. L. II. C. 27. STRABO, l. V. p. 249.

Several
thousands
of pri-
soners mas-
sacred by
his orders.

which stood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his speech, his troops, pursuant to their orders, entered the circus, and fell sword in hand on the unfortunate prisoners confined there. The cries and groans of so many men butchered in so narrow a place, alarmed the senators, who were not acquainted with his orders, and filled them with terror. But Sylla, with great unconcern and composure in his countenance, addressing himself to the conscript fathers, *Attend, said he, to what I am saying, and don't trouble your heads about what is doing without-doors: the noise you hear is occasioned by some offenders, whom I have ordered to be chastised.* He then continued his discourse with great calmness, telling the fathers, that he designed to settle the republic upon the same foot on which it stood in the best of times. But when the senators were informed of the massacre in the circus, they plainly saw that they were still under tyranny, and had only changed their tyrant, which was to them matter of no less surprize than grief and terror: for in Sylla the nobility had hoped to find a friend, and the people a protector. He had been from his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of so compassionate a temper, that he had been often seen to weep upon very slight occasions. But the change of fortune introduced, in a manner, a change of nature, and begot pride, arrogance, inhumanity, and all those vices, which, generally speaking, attend an uncontrouled power and authority^p.

Præneste
surrenders.

Marius
killed.

THE inhabitants and garison of *Præneste* no sooner heard of the defeat of *Telefinus*, than they delivered up the city to *Ofella*. *Marius* endeavoured to make his escape through some subterraneous passages; but finding them all guarded, where they opened into the country, by Sylla's soldiers, he laid violent hands on himself, as some writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others say, that *Pontius Telefinus*, brother to him who commanded the *Samnite* army, and the young consul, engaged in a single combat, with a design to kill each other, and that *Pontius* falling first, *Marius* ordered a slave to kill him. His head was brought to Sylla, who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, *What did this rash boy mean, said he, in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learnt to handle the oar?* His head was afterwards, by Sylla's order, exposed in the forum, to inspire terror. All the *Samnites* and *Prænestines* able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the city was given up to be plundered; so that from being one of the most populous and rich cities of *Italy*, it became at once the most poor and desolate. *Plutarch* tells us, that Sylla, upon the news

of the surrender of *Prænestæ*, hastened thither, in order to bring the inhabitants and *Samnite* prisoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death with some shew of justice. Accordingly, he began with citing each particular person before his ^{cruelty to-}tribunal, and after hearing their defence, pronounced sentence ^{towards the} like an impartial judge: but finding this a work of too much ^{Præne-}time, he ordered them all, to the number of twelve thousand ^{stines.} men, to be cooped up close in one place, and gave a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly massacred in the presence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of those unfortunate men, with as much calmness and unconcern, as if he had been assisting at a public show. He was pleased to except one out of the number of the victims, and offered him his life, because he had formerly entertained him in his house. But the generous *Prænestine* rejected the offer with the utmost indignation: *I scorn*, said he, *to owe my life to the butcher of my country.* This said, he mixed among his fellow-citizens, and perished in the general slaughter. About the same time *Norba*, a city of *Campania*, being after a *Norba* long siege reduced to the last extremity by *Æmilius Lepidus*, one ^{taken.} of Sylla's generals; the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the *Prænestines*, set fire to their houses, and perished with all their effects in the flames ^a.

THE taking of *Prænestæ* and *Norba* put an end to the civil war in *Italy*. Sylla therefore, having placed in all the *Italian* provinces such governors, as were intirely at his devotion, and pitched several little camps in different districts, to keep the country in awe, returned to *Rome*, which he entered at the head of his troops. The same day he assembled the people in the comitium, and told them with an haughty air, that he had con- ^{His speech}quered; but that those, who had made him take arms against ^{to the peo-}his country, should expiate the blood they had made him shed, ^{ple in the}with their own. *I will not spare one*, said he, *who has borne* ^{comitium.} *arms against me. They shall all perish to a man.* These words, from a man who was absolute master of their lives and fortunes, made the most resolute tremble. They filled the whole city with dread and horror; and the consternation was doubled the next day, when they saw fixed up in all public places a list of proscribed persons, containing the names of forty senators, and sixteen hundred knights. If any man gave shelter to a person ^{His pro-}proscribed, though his son, his brother, or his father, death was ^{scriptions.}the certain reward of his humanity; whereas the assassin was recompensed with two talents, though a slave had murdered his master, or a son his father. The children and grandchildren

^a PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. LIV. *epit.*

Catiline
the mini-
ster of his
cruelties.

of those he proscribed, were by an edict declared infamous, and their estates confiscated. The tyrant chose such agents to execute his decrees, as had even less pity than himself. The chief of those was the infamous *Catiline*, whose seditious enterprizes we shall relate hereafter. That profligate wretch, though yet very young, had some time before killed his brother; and now, to justify his crime, he prevailed upon *Sylla*, to insert his brother's name among the proscribed. This favour so attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief instrument of all his cruelties. At the head of a band of assassins he scoured the streets, and killed many knights and senators before they knew they were proscribed. The persons named in the list were sought for in their own houses, in the porticoes, and even in the temples; whence they were dragged to *Sylla*, and cruelly butchered in his presence.

Rome
turned into
a shambles.

Metellus's
courage.

THE massacre was not confined to those named in the list. *Sylla* extended his revenge to all who had borne arms against him, of what rank soever, or condition. Nay, his cruel agents took this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the most innocent and peaceable with the most guilty, out of some private grudge, or purely for the sake of their wealth and rich furniture. In short, the slaughter was so dreadful, that *Sylla* was reproached with it even by his best friends. Among others a young senator, named *Caius Metellus*, ventured one day to ask him in full senate, when he designed to put a stop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens. *We do not*, said he, *intercede for such as you have resolved to destroy; but only desire you to free those from their uneasiness, whom you have determined to save.* *Sylla*, without seeming to take this bold speech amiss, answered coolly, that he knew not yet whom he should save. *Name to us then*, replied *Metellus*, *those you have determined to destroy.* *That I will do*, answered *Sylla* very smartly, and immediately caused a new list to be fixed up of eighty citizens, whom he proscribed, most of them senators, and persons of great distinction. The next day he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the third. Among these were *Carbo*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, and *Marcus Marius*; the three former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the great *Marius*, and highly favoured by the people, was seized by *Catiline*, and put to death, after having suffered the most exquisite torments tyranny could invent. He was whipped thro' all the streets of *Rome*, and, after this ignominious punishment, carried beyond the *Tiber*, where by *Sylla's* barbarous agents his eyes were put out, his hands and ears cut off, his tongue torn out, all his joints dislocated, and his bones broken. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one *Marcus Plætorius*, being moved at such an affecting sight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young

M. Ma-
rius put to
a cruel
death.

young man; which so offended *Sylla*, that he ordered him to be killed upon the spot. Even that natural compassion for the unhappy, which no man of any humanity can prevent, was judged criminal, and worthy of death (Q). And now after nine thousand senators, knights, and citizens, had been inhumanly murdered by *Sylla*'s agents, he assembled the people, and told them, that he had proscribed as many as he could think of at present; and as for those he had forgot, they should be proscribed too, as soon as he could call them to his memory^r.

FROM *Rome Sylla* extended his cruelties to the neighbouring *The neighbouring* cities that had declared against him, and used them without *bouring* mercy. Some were dismantled, others oppressed with heavy *cities grie-* taxes, and immense sums raised upon the inhabitants. All the *vously op-* effects of the inhabitants of *Florentia*, *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and *pressed by* *Sulmona*, were confiscated, and sold to the best bidder. Some *Sylla*. cities were intirely demolished, and the citizens all to a man proscribed. The allies as well as the *Romans* submitted, without resistance to the tyrannical yoke. *Cato* alone, known afterwards by the name of *Cato Uticensis*, or *Cato of Utica*, though at this time but fourteen years of age, discovered some remains of the old *Roman* spirit. As *Sylla* shewed a great regard for him on *The noble* account of his antient friendship with his father, his governor *spirit of* *Sarpede* brought him frequently to the tyrant's house, which *young* looked like a prison, great numbers of citizens being confined *Cato*.

^r PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.* FLOR. lib. iii. c. 21. SENECA de ira, PLIN. l. xxxiv. OROS. l. viii. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2.

(Q) *Marius* was scarce expired in his torments, when *Catiline* cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy in the forum, presented it to *Sylla*, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the shocking present, and beheld it without shewing the least concern. As for *Catiline*, his hands being daubed with the blood he had shed, he went and washed them in the *holy* or *lustral* water, placed at the gate of *Apollo*'s temple (9). For the heathens had vessels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called *lustral* or *holy*. In this water, such as intended to go into

the temple, washed their hands by way of purification. They likewise sprinkled it on the assembly, to cleanse them from their impurities. An exclusion from the use and benefit of this lustral water was looked upon by the *Greeks* as a kind of excommunication. For this reason *Oedipus*, in the first scene of the second act in *Sophocles*, forbids those who had been guilty of the death of *Laius*, the use of the lustral water. But here the profligate *Catiline*, after the murder he had committed, washes his hands in that water, intending by such an impious action, to affront and defy religion.

(9) *Plut. in Sylla.*

there, and many daily executed. One day the young Roman seeing a great many heads presented to the tyrant, which were said to be of great men, he asked his governor, how it was possible, that the author of so many murders could escape being murdered himself. *Because he is more feared,* replied *Sarpedo*, *by the disheartened citizens, than hated. Give me a sword then,* answered the intrepid youth, *and I will with one blow deliver my country from the tyrannical yoke.* *Sarpedo* was surprised at the courage of his pupil, but ever after kept a watchful eye over him, lest he should by some rash attempt expose himself and his family to utter destruction^s.

Sicily submits to Pompey. WHILE *Italy* was thus groaning under the oppression of the tyrant, *Pompey* was employed against his enemies in *Sicily*, which was governed by *Perpenna*, *Carbo's* friend, a man greatly attached to the *Marian* faction. But upon *Pompey's* landing, he abandoned the island, and retired to *Carbo*, then in *Africa*. The *Sicilians* no sooner heard of his flight, than they came in crouds from all parts of the island, to make their submissions to *Pompey*. *Catanea* was the only city that seemed determined not to submit. But *Pompey*, having begged of the inhabitants as a favour, to admit into their city his sick men, and they complying with his request, he sent the flower of his troops, and by that means made himself master of the place. In the mean time *Carbo*, not thinking himself safe in *Africa*, retired to the island of *Cossura*, between *Sicily* and *Africa*, with a design to pass from thence into *Egypt*. But *Pompey*, being acquainted with his design, sent a squadron of gallies to invest the island, ordering his officers to seize *Carbo*, and all the outlaws, who attended him, and bring them to *Sicily*. *Carbo*, finding he could not escape, came and surrendered himself to the commander of the squadron. He had formerly saved *Pompey's* estate, which the tribunes were for confiscating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. He could not therefore believe, that party-zeal had effaced all sense of gratitude in the heart of a friend. But he found, to his great surprize, a man, whom he had highly obliged, and saved from beggary, become, through his attachment to *Sylla*, his implacable enemy. The young general ordered the old magistrate, who had been dignified with three consulates, to be brought before him loaded with chains; suffered him to fall prostrate at his feet, and received his submission with such an air of pride, as was shocking even to his friends. After he had reproached him with his cruelties, and the disturbances he had raised in the republic, he pronounced sentence of death against him, which was immediately put in execution. However, he suffered most of those *Romans*, who

Carbo
taken, and
put to
death by
Pompey.

^s PLUT. in Cat.

were taken with *Carbo*, to make their escape; which, with his prudent and mild conduct towards the *Sicilians*, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to punish the inhabitants of *Himera* with great severity, for having been more sanguine than the rest of the *Sicilians* in the cause of *Marius* and *Carbo*, *Sthenis*, their chief magistrate, told him, that he was the man who had stirred up his fellow-citizens against *Sylla*, and that therefore he alone ought to be punished. *Pompey* was so taken with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his sake the city, but received him into his friendship. As his soldiers, accustomed to slaughter, put many of the *Sicilians* to death without his orders, he caused their swords to be sealed up in their scabbards, and severely punished those whose seals were found broken. By these acts of clemency towards the *Sicilians*, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himself by the death of *Carbo*. Nay, it was generally thought, that his behaviour towards the chief supporter of the *Marian* faction was much against his inclination, and the bent of his good-nature. At least it is certain, that he made no inquiries after his friends in *Sicily*, and that he not only connived at the escape of many who were seized, but conveyed them away privately himself.¹

AND now *Sylla* being absolute master of *Rome*, and all the countries subject to the republic, except *Spain*, resolved to leave the senate and people a shadow at least of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for some days, desiring the conscript fathers to choose one of their own body in his absence to govern the commonwealth, which, since the death of the consuls, had no legal magistrate. The fathers, out of *L. Valerius* complaisance to *Sylla*, created *L. Valerius Flaccus* interrex: he was president of the senate, and wholly devoted to *Sylla's* interest; and this gave him an opportunity of bringing the senate to execute the scheme he had formed. He wrote to *Valerius*, desiring him to declare to the senate and people, that since affairs were yet unsettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator should be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were redressed. In his letter he intimidated, that at the request of the conscript fathers, he would accept of the employment. This proposal, which tended to the establishing of regal authority in *Rome*, surprised the senators. But the remembrance of so much bloodshed, of so many proscriptions and assassinations, chilled every heart; and the law passing without opposition, *Sylla* was declared dictator without any limitation of time. Thus the *Romans*, after many ages, fell again under the absolute

¹ PLUT. in Pomp. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 3. 5, & 6. c. 2. 8. DIODOR. apud VALES. LIV. epit.

Year after power of one man ; which proved a fatal blow to the republican
 the flood government, and paved the way to absolute monarchy. As
 2268. flattery is the usual consequence of slavery, the people, formerly
 Bef. Chr. so jealous of their liberty, worshiped the idol they had set up,
 80. erecting to their tyrant an equestrian statue of brass in that
 Of Rome very comitium, where they had seen the heads of so many illu-
 668. strrious citizens exposed to public view.

C H A P. X.

*The History of Rome, from the perpetual Dictatorship of
 Sylla to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and
 Crassus.*

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, or, to speak more properly,
 king and absolute sovereign of Rome, undertook the refor-
 mation of the government, being seconded therein by *L. Vale-*
rius Flaccus, whom he appointed his general of the horse. The
 first law he enacted, related to the election of the chief magistrates,
 and imported, that no man should stand for the prætorship till
 he had been quæstor, nor be elected consul till he had been
 prætor, which was only the revival of an antient custom. Not-
 withstanding this law, *Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the
 siege of *Præneste*, presuming on that merit, appeared among
 the candidates for the consulate, though he had not yet borne any
 office in the republic. Sylla put him in mind of the law he
 had just enacted ; but the bold candidate, presuming too much
 on his past services, and the favour of the people, continued
 to solicit their suffrages ; which so provoked the dictator, who
 saw him from his tribunal, that he dispatched a centurion, with
 orders to cut off his head. This execution raised the indignation
 of the assembly ; but Sylla made them thoroughly sensible, that
 they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expressive fable ;
 A ploughman, said he, being tormented with vermin, pulled off
 his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was busy at his work,
 they began to molest him anew, and the ploughman killed a far
 greater number of them the second time than he had done the first.
 They returned to disturb him a third time ; and then the poor labour-
 er, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire ; and got rid
 of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourselves. Your
 seditions have hitherto cost you but little blood. Take care that the
 case of the vermin be not one day your own ^a. This fable, coming
 from a man invested with an absolute power, made the whole
 assembly tremble ; the tumult was immediately appeased, and
 the election of the consuls made agreeable to the dictator's will.

^a APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i.

The persons chosen were *M. Tullius Decula* and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief officers of *Sylla's* army. They both set out for the provinces allotted them, the former for *Gaul*, and the latter for *Macedon*, leaving *Sylla* to reign alone in the capital, *Sylla* where he made several laws, which were all, except that relating ^{makes se-} to proscriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That ^{veral good} law ordained, that those, who escaped death after their pro- ^{laws.} scription, should be killed where-ever they were found; that those who concealed them, should be liable to the same punishment; that their effects should be sold to the best bidder; and that their children should be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law, he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted, that, for the future, no tribune should be allowed to speak in the assembly of the people for or against any law in agitation; that only senators should be chosen tribunes; and that those who had borne this office, should be for ever excluded from the superior offices. This made the ambitious disdain seats in a college, beyond which they could not rise. But the tribunes soon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and shadow of magistrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs, appointed to keep and explain the *Sibylline* books, were, by another law, reinstated in their former honours, and impowered to fill up the vacancies in their respective bodies; a prerogative as old as their institution, but which had been transferred from them to the people, in the times that the plebeian faction prevailed. To each of these colleges he added five new members, so that they were no longer called decemvirs, but quindecimvirs, their number being increased from ten to fifteen. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* having been burnt two years before, and the *Sibylline* books, which were lodged there, destroyed in the flames, *Sylla* charged the quindecimvirs to repair that loss, by searching for copies, or at least fragments of them, in the cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, *Ilium*, &c. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger, but not so authentic, as the originals that had been kept at *Rome* ever since the time of *Tarquin the Proud* ^b (A). *Sylla* had the mortification to

^b APPIAN. *ibid.* POMPONIUS de orig. juris. TACIT. *annal.* lib. xi. CIC. de legib. lib. iii. ULPIAN. *digest.*

(A) There is a great disagreement among the antients, as to the number of the *Sibyls*. *Suidas* says, there were fourteen; *Ælian* reckons but four; *Solinus* only three; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But most authors follow *Varro*, who tells us in express terms, that they were ten. Some modern writers indeed,

to see some of his laws abrogated before he died; but the greatest part of them continued in force, and are parts of the *Roman* law to this day.

AND

indeed, without any regard to the authority of *Varro*, or the other antients, are for uniting all the *Sybils* in one: so that, according to them, different names were given to one and the same *Sybil*, from the different places where she uttered her oracles. She had, say they, no fixed abode; but, being led by the spirit, that inspired her, she first published her predictions in the city of *Erythræa*, the place of her nativity; then rambled about the world; and at length ended her rambles, and her life, at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. But, be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Sibyls* were held in great veneration at *Rome*, and among the eastern nations. A collection was made of the oracles they uttered, and copies of them multiplied in most cities of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*. The pagans looked on these prophetic rhapsodies as a mysterious book, containing the decrees of fate. They were the usual resource of people in times of calamity, and in important affairs, whereof the success was doubtful. *St. Jerom* was of opinion, that God gave them this wonderful gift, as a reward for their chastity; others pretend, that the devil discovered future things to them; and some ascribe the enthusiasm, with which they were seized, to a melancholy disposition. They were, in all likelihood, fanatical women, who gave themselves the airs of prophetesses, in order to impose on the credulity of the simple. The pagan authors

themselves own the terms, in which their prophecies were couched, to have been very obscure and ambiguous; so that they were capable of the different interpretations which each person thought fit to give them. *Cicero* does not dissemble, that the different rhapsodies of the *Sibylline* books were written and disposed in such a manner, as to be easily accommodated to all sorts of events. *Callide enim, qui illa composuit*, says that writer (1), *perfecit, ut quodcunque accidisset, prædictum videretur*. "For he who composed them, artfully contrived, that whatever the event were, it should appear to be foretold." The same judgment ought to be made of the collection, which, by *Sylla's* orders, was substituted in the room of the old books, after the burning of the capitol. The different fragments, out of which the *quindecimvirs* composed this volume, contained the dregs of superstition, and were, we may say, a jumble of all the dreams of paganism. Afterwards, some men, who pretended to inspiration, enlarged this volume as they thought fit; which obliged the emperor *Tiberius* to put a stop to this enormous abuse by a very severe decree. As to the eight books, which now bear the name of the *Sibyls*, critics agree, that they are the work, at least in part, of some Christian of the second century. Some of the fathers, not aware of the imposition, often quoted the books

(1) *Cic. de divinât. lib. ii.*

AND now *Sylla*, ruling in *Rome* without controul, under *Sylla* gives pretence of supplying the places of the many *Roman* citizens, liberty and who had perished in the civil wars, gave liberty, and the right of *Roman* citizenship, to ten thousand slaves, whom, from his own of *Roman* citizenship name, he called *Cornelians*. These were bound, in gratitude, to 10,000 slaves. to fight and vote for him on all occasions. In the next place, he rewarded his old legionaries, who had served under him in the *Levant*, and in *Italy*, bestowing upon them the lands of the *municipia* and colonies, which had declared against him. Thus, Rewards his old legionaries. surrounded by a guard of freed-men in *Rome*, and supported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or insurrections among the allies. As *Sylla's* triumph all was quiet in the capital, *Sylla* thought this a proper time to decree himself a triumph for his conquests in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Pontus*. *Rome* had not, for a long time, seen one so magnificent. It lasted two days, on the first of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thousand pounds weight of gold, and an hundred and fifteen thousand pounds weight of silver, which he had brought from *Greece* and *Asia*; and, on the second, thirteen thousand pounds weight of gold, and seven thousand

of the *Sibyls* in favour of the Christian religion; and hence *Celsus* styles the Christians *Sibyllists*. But *Origen* and *St. Austin* did not suffer themselves to be imposed on, and therefore speak of those books with contempt. In the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, the famous *Stilico*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history, caused those fragments of the *Sibylline* books, which had been collected by *Sylla's* orders, to be all burnt, the greatest part of the *Roman* senate having then embraced the Christian religion. However, *Stilico* was, on this account, severely censured by the noble poet *Rutilius* in his itinerary (2). Dr. *Hyde*, shocked at the contradictions and fabulous adventures with which the pagans filled the history of the *Sibyls*, found out a new way of accounting for them.

He observes in the constellation called the *Virgin*, a bright star, which the *Persians* called *Sambula*; and remarks, that the *Persians*, who were fond of judiciary astrology, looked on the sign of the *Virgin*, as having a greater power, than all the other celestial bodies, to discover future things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the sciences of the eastern nations, soon adopted these trifling opinions, and, agreeably to their genius, embellished them with their fictions. Their poets soon invented a *Sibyl virgin*, in allusion to the term *Sambula*; carried her into several countries; and made her act the part of a prophetess (3): so that, according to this eminent writer, whatever has been said, both by the antients and moderns, of the *Sibyls*, and their prophecies, is intirely fabulous.

(2) Vide *Dempster. ad Rosin. lib. iii. c. 24.* & *Polyb. histor. c. 3.*
Hyde de relig. Persarum,

(3) Vide

pounds weight of silver, which young *Marius* had saved out of the fire of the capitol, and *Sylla* had recovered at *Prænestæ* after his death. As soon as the procession was over, the conqueror, mounting the rostra according to custom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he ascribed all his successes to fortune, he ordered that no other title should be given him than that of *the Fortunate*; a title, in which he gloried as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had subdued^c (B). His triumph was succeeded by the most pompous games that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that in the *Olympic* games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the most skilful actors of *Greece* having left their own country, to display their art in the capital of the world^d.

Pompey's
successful
expedition
in Africa.

IN the mean time, the *Marian* faction began to revive in *Africa*. *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nephew to the great *Marius*, had raised there twenty thousand men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, to join him. Hereupon *Sylla* ordered *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had settled in tranquillity, and pass over with all possible expedition into *Africa*. *Pompey*, pursuant to his orders, immediately embarked five legions, and, landing in the *African* province, marched, without loss of time, against the enemy. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful storm arose; upon which *Domitius*, believing that *Pompey* would not attack him that day, sounded a retreat. But, while his troops were retiring in some disorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obstinate dispute, which lasted the greater part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty thousand men, *Domitius* left seventeen dead upon the spot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his shattered army. Thither *Pompey* pursued him, forced his camp, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* prisoner. In consequence of this success, he recovered all the cities of *Africa*, which had been drawn off from *Sylla's* party, entered *Numidia*, and, having reduced that part of it, which belonged to *Hiarbas* his prisoner,

^c APPIAN. *ibid.*

^d PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

(B) *Plutarch* tells us, that his wife having brought him twins, he named the male *Faustus*, and the female *Fausta*, which words signify *fortunate* or *lucky*. However, in his letters to the *Greeks*,

he stiled himself *Epaphroditus*, that is, *the beloved of Venus*; and his trophies, which were still extant in *Plutarch's* time, bore this inscription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus* (4).

(4) *Plu. in Sylla.*

gave

gave it to *Hiempsal*, who had always opposed the *Marian* faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, so rapid a progress, by a general of twenty-four years of age, alarmed Sylla jealous of the dictator himself, who ordered the young hero to disband his troops, and return to *Rome*. Both *Pompey* and his troops were sensibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not *Pompey* conducted himself with great temper. For, when his legionaries began to mutiny, he resolutely protested, that he would rather die by his own hand, than involve *Rome* in new troubles. Having thus appeased his troops, and disbanded three of his legions, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendship by the dictator, who went out to meet him, embraced him with great tenderness, and honoured him with the surname of *The Great*, ordering all, who were present, to give him that glorious title^c (C).

WHEN the time came for electing new consuls, *Sylla*, though dictator, stood for that office, and accordingly was elected with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Pius*, who had joined him upon his first landing in *Italy*. Never was any consular year more peaceable. All men trembled at the very name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans*, once so fond of liberty, were at length brought to submit tamely to the yoke of an imperious master. However, the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them such entertainments as now seem to surpass all credit. He consecrated the tenths of his whole substance to *Hercules*; and, on that occasion, made a general feast for all the people of *Rome*; wherein there was such an abundance, or rather profusion, of all the delicacies the sea, rivers, forests, or fields, could afford, that immense quantities of provisions were every day (for the feast lasted several days) thrown into the *Tiber*. *Plutarch* tells us, that the wine, with which he regaled the people, was forty years old and upwards. But the joy of this magnificent entertainment was somewhat abated by the death of his wife *Metella*, whom he had always respected, notwithstanding her irregularities (D).

IN

c PLUT. in Pomp.

(C) Such was, according to *Plutarch*, the origin of this surname; but *Livy* assures us, that he owed it to the flattery of his friends (5).

(D) However, the dictator's grief did not last long. A few

months after, he entertained the people with a shew of gladiators; and, as in those days men and women sat promiscuously together, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, and of the first quality, placed herself near *Sylla*.

(5) *Liv. lib. xxx. c. 45.*

Is unwilling to allow Pompey a triumph.

Pompey's bold answer to Sylla.

IN the mean time, *Pompey* was soliciting the senate and people for a triumph, which his late victories seemed indeed well to deserve, and the senate was willing to grant. But *Sylla*, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, opposed his pretensions, alleging a law, which enacted, that none but prætors and consuls should triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auspices; whereas *Pompey* was but a private Roman knight, and had gained his victories under the auspices of the dictator. But this did not discourage the young conqueror, who continued to make interest with the senate and people for the gaining of his point. *Sylla* told him plainly, that he would employ all his credit with the people against him; not doubting but that declaration, as he was master of the suffrages of the people, would make him despair of obtaining the honour he so ardently desired. But *Pompey*, not in the least discouraged, answered the dictator frankly, that his opposition mattered not, since more people adored the rising than the setting sun. These words the dictator did not well hear; but, observing no small surprize in the countenances of those who stood by, he asked what the young man had said. When it was told him, he wondered at his boldness, and then cried out twice, *Let him then triumph in the name of the gods.* *Pompey*, taking advantage of this answer, immediately ordered every

She was the daughter of *Messala*, and sister to the famous orator *Hortensius*; her name was *Valeria*, and she had been a few days before divorced from her husband. As she was gay and lively, tho' virtuous, and of an unblemished reputation, she came behind *Sylla*, and, resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took a little of the knap from off his robe, and then returned to her seat. The dictator turned suddenly about, and seemed to be much surprized with the familiarity, when *Valeria* addressed him thus: *It is not out of any want of respect that I have done this; but because I was desirous to partake of your good fortune.* This passage is very remarkable; for it shews us, that the superstition is of a very antient date, by which

men were persuaded, that commerce with, or touch of, a lucky person, was a means of making them partakers of his good fortune. *Sylla*, greatly pleased with this answer, and taken with the charms of *Valeria*, sent privately to inquire who she was, and to learn her name, family, circumstances, and character. From that time they did nothing but ogle each other in all public places, receive and return amorous glances, and wanton smiles. In short, the old warrior, captivated with a few affected glances, and coquettish airs, like an amorous youth, without experience or discretion, was continually pursuing the beautiful *Valeria*, till at length he gave way to his passion, and married her (6).

(6) *Plut. in Sylla.*

thing to be got ready for his triumph; and, to give more uneasiness to those who envied him, he ordered his triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants; for he had taken several of those warlike animals from the princes he had subdued in *Africa*. But the gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to pass abreast under it, he was forced to be satisfied with horses, as usual. Thus a Roman knight was distinguished triumphs. with the highest military honours, before he had attained to the age requisite for having a seat in the senate.

BUT the evil fate of *Rome*, was raising up against him a Julius formidable rival in the person of *Julius Cæsar*, who, in this Cæsar very year, made his first campaign in the east. He had married, makes his as we have observed above, the daughter of *Cornelius Cinna*, and first cam- obtained at the age of seventeen, if we may believe *Suetonius*†, paign. the office of high-priest of *Jupiter*, being supported by the *Ma-* rian faction, which then prevailed (E).

NOT long after, *Sylla* endeavoured to prevail upon him to divorce his wife *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his first daughter *Julia*. But the bold youth had courage enough to He resists resist this formidable master of *Rome* to his face, though he had *Sylla*. just before forced *Piso* to put away his wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved, and obliged *Pompey* to part with his wife *Antistia*, and marry *Æmilia*, daughter-in-law to *Sylla* by his wife *Metella*, who had been married to *Æmilius Scaurus*. The dictator, highly provoked against *Cæsar*, for daring to contradict his sovereign will, resolved to proscribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties, that the friends of the *Julian* family got the decree of proscription suspended. When they intreated him to excuse the sallies of a warm and presumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, *Sylla* answered, that he discovered in him, young as he was, several *Marius*'s. When *Cæsar* heard this, he stole out of *Rome*, and wandered He leaves some time in the country of the *Sabines*, where he had *Rome*, the misfortune to be one day surprised by a party of *Sylla*'s soldiers. But *Cornelius*, who commanded them, consented to let him escape, upon his paying two talents. And now, think- and retires ing himself no longer safe in *Italy*, he withdrew to the court of *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, where his residence is said to have proved fatal to his modesty, the private hours he spent with that

† *SUET.* in *Julio*.

(E) *Plutarch* indeed contradicts *Suetonius*, and tells us, that, when *Sylla* gave law in *Rome*, *Cæsar* stood for the priesthood of *Jupiter*; but was excluded from that dignity by the dictator.

prince,

prince, raising suspicions no ways to his honour & (F). After he had resided some time at the court of the *Bithynian* king he went to serve under *Marcus Minutius Thermus*, at that time prætor of *Asia* (G).

BUT to return to *Sylla*; he reduced this year *Nola* in *Campania*, and *Volaterræ* in *Hettruria*, the only two cities that held out against him. And now all *Italy* being in perfect tranquillity, he declined the consulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes *P. Servilius Vatia*, a man of merit, and his old friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who were accordingly chosen in the field of *Mars* (H).

Sylla abdicates the dictatorship. AND now *Sylla*, after having destroyed above an hundred thousand *Roman* citizens, taken away the lives of ninety senators, proscribed, or caused to be murdered, near two thousand six hundred knights, and buried numberless multitudes of the allies

Year of the flood 2270. in the ruins of their cities, resolved to lay down the power he had usurped, and put himself upon a level with the rest of the people. Had he consulted ambition or policy, he would never

Bef. Chr. 78. Of Rome 670. have taken such a resolution. The *Roman* people had set no limits to his power in point of time. There were no domestic troubles to create him any uneasiness, *Rome* being now accustomed to bear the yoke. His friends, who were as much interested as himself in his preservation, were a sufficient security to him against the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, so many dangers surrounded him in a private life, that he could not

& PLUT. in Cæsar.

(F) In this account we have followed *Plutarch*; for *Suetonius* says nothing of *Cæsar's* right; but, on the contrary, affirms, that *Sylla* granted him his pardon at the request of the vestals, of *M. Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta* (7).

(G) *Suetonius* says, that this general sent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the command of the fleet, which *Nicomedes* fitted out to assist at the siege of *Mitylene*, the only city in *Asia*, which refused to submit to the *Romans* after the treaty of peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Cæsar* distinguished himself at the taking of this city,

and merited several civic crowns, which were given to those who had saved the life of a *Roman* citizen (8).

(H) This year *Cicero* first pleaded in public in favour of *Roscius*, whose father had been proscribed and killed by *Sylla's* order. As he was not very cautious in his reflections on a government, which made *Rome* tremble, he thought it adviseable to leave his country, after he had given a public proof of his great genius. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his talents for oratory, and improved his taste for philosophy.

(7) Suet. in Julio.

(8) Suet. ibid.

reasonably

reasonably expect to be safe. But none of these considerations had weight with him ; he resolved to lay down his power, and restore the republic to her antient liberty, which must have proceeded from a greatness of mind, to which none of the antient historians have done justice. When he had taken this final resolution, he assembled the people, mounted the rostra, and surprised *Rome* with so unexpected a determination. He represented in a short speech, the miserable condition in which he had found the city at his return from *Asia* ; and added, that the republic being in great danger, he had been forced to use violent remedies ; that the loss of a little blood only would have increased the distemper instead of curing it ; that he had therefore thought it necessary to take a great deal of blood from a body so robust and diseased, in order to restore it to perfect health, &c. He concluded his speech with these words, which filled the heart of every true *Roman* with joy : *And now, Romans, I leave you to yourselves, I resign my office, divest myself of the unlimited power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole administration, and answer, in a private capacity, all the accusations that shall be brought against me.* This said, he dismissed his lictors, came down from the rostra, and walked a great while in the forum, discoursing familiarly with some of his friends before the multitude ; who, struck with admiration, looked on so unexpected a change as a prodigy.

*His speech
to the Ro-
man peo-
ple.*

THOUGH the city was then full of the children and friends of proscribed persons, yet none offered to insult him, except one young man, who followed him to his house, abusing him in a most scurrilous manner. *Sylla* did not deign to give him any answer ; but, turning to the few friends he had about him, *This usage*, said he, *will for the future deter any man from laying down the sovereign power, as I have done, if he once gets it into his hands.* A few days after, he retired to his fine country-house near *Cumæ*, spent there some days in more tranquillity than he could have done at *Rome*, and then returned to the city, lest his enemies should think, that fear had confined him to the country. In *Rome* he maintained the rank of a man of the first distinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs, than became a private person, whose great employments, and powerful friends, gave him more weight than a common citizen. At the very first election after his resignation, he had the mortification to see *Pompey*, his pupil, or rather his creature, assume an ascendant over him in the assembly of the people. *Pompey* used all his interest to get his friend *M. Æmilius Lepidus* first nominated consul ; *Sylla* on the other hand, solicited for *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to *Sylla* ; whereas the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a person of great probity,

*Is insulted
only by one
young man.*



Pompey wisdom, and experience. The emulation was greater between
resists Syl- the chiefs of the two parties, than between the candidates them-
la at the selves: but *Pompey*, who was extremely favoured by the people,
election of prevailed. His friend *Lepidus* was first nominated consul, not
consuls. by any merit or interest of his own, but by the power and solici-
 tation of *Pompey* (I). When *Pompey* was coming out of the
 assembly, overjoyed with his success, *Sylla* took him aside, and
 told him, that he had got the worst of men named consul before
 the most virtuous man in *Rome*; but that he had no reason to
 triumph in his victory, because he would find, when it was too
 late, that he had been nourishing a snake in his bosom. What
Sylla foretold proved too true, as we shall see in a more proper
 place.

*Sylla's de-
 bauched
 life in the
 country.*

IN the mean time the two consuls entered upon their office,
 and the misunderstanding, which arose between them, threatening
 the city with a new storm; *Sylla* withdrew again to his country-
 house, and there gave himself up to the most infamous de-
 baucheries, though full sixty years of age. The charms of his
 wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a scandalous commerce
 with actors and actresses. His chief favourites were *Roscus* the
 comedian, *Sorex* the chief mimic, and *Metrobius*, who acted
 womens parts on the stage. With these he spent whole days
 and nights in drinking and reveling, which brought a distemper
 upon him, that soon put an end to his life. His blood was cor-
 rupted, and bred an impostume in his bowels. This he was
 not aware of till the corruption infected his flesh, and his whole
 body swarmed with vermin. Many slaves were employed night
 and day in destroying them; but they multiplied so fast, that
 his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very food, were covered with
 them. He went often every day into the waters to cleanse his
 body; but being at last sensible, that his distemper was past
 curing, he applied himself to the finishing of his memoirs; in
 the twenty-second book of which he declared, that the *Chal-
 daeans* had foretold him, that after he had acquired great power and
 glory, he should conclude the last act of his life in full prosperity.
 Ten days before his death, he interposed in some disputes, which
 the inhabitants of *Puteoli* had among themselves, reconciled the

(I) There was no primacy or second place. The advantage
 distinction between the two con- of the consul first named was so
 suls. They were both equal in inconsiderable, that he could not
 dignity and authority. But it so much as assume the fasces first,
 was an honour to be named first; unless he was elder than his col-
 for the people gave stronger evi- league, or had a greater number
 dences of their zeal and affection of children, or was entering upon
 for him, than they did for the his second consulate.
 other, who was named in the

contending

contending parties, and prescribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died, he was informed that *Granius*, the chief magistrate of *Puteoli*, delayed paying the immense sums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by *Sylla's* death. Hereupon *Sylla* sent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his slaves to strangle him in his presence; but straining his voice in the heat of his passion, he broke the impostume, and voided a great deal of blood. This discharge weakened him to such a degree, that he passed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young by his wife *Metella*. *Valeria* was afterwards delivered of a daughter, named *Posthuma*, for so the *Romans* called those who were born after the death of their father^h. *Sylla dies.*

HE was, without all doubt, one of the greatest commanders *His cha-*
Rome ever bred, and as able a statesman. But most of the an-*racler.*
 tients seem to draw a veil over all his good qualities, and to have displayed only his cruelties and proscriptions, which, we own, betrayed a most cruel and inhuman temper. But after all, we ought not to forget that greatness of mind truly heroic, which appeared in his unexpected and surprising abdication. What could a man of the most refined virtue have done more, than restore his country to its antient liberty, reform the republic with excellent laws, revive and enforce the old institutions, and lay down his power as soon as it was no longer necessary for the public good? Could the warmest patriot have shewn a more generous regard for his country? His funeral occasioned a misunderstanding between the consuls. *Lepidus* was for having him carried to the burial-place of his ancestors, without any mark of distinction. But *Catulus* made use of all the authority his office gave him, and *Pompey* of his interest with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceased, which were due to his merit. And indeed never was a more magnificent funeral seen in *Rome*. His corpse being placed on a rich bier, *His fune-*
 was carried on the shoulders of four senators, and attended by *ral,*
 the pontifices, the vestals, the senate in a body, all the curule magistrates, the whole body of *Roman* knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had served under him in *Africa*, *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. The vestals and pontifices sung hymns in praise of the deceased, which were repeated by the senate, the knights, and the whole multitude. The body was burnt with great solemnity in the field of *Mars*, where no funeral pile had been raised ever since the time of the first kings. Many statues were erected to his memory, and a most magnificent

^h PLUT. in *Sylla*. LIV. epit. lib. xc. c. 4. APPIAN. bel. civil. lib. i.

and epi-
taph.

monument in the field of *Mars*, with an epitaph of his own composing, the substance of which was, *that no friend had ever done him so much good, nor enemy so much hurt, but he had returned both with usury*ⁱ. Of all his friends, who were almost numberless, *Pompey* alone, whose ingratitude gave him no small offence, was left out of his will.

New dis-
turbances
raised by
Lepidus.

SYLLA was no sooner dead, than new disturbances sprung up in the republic. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the consul did all that lay in his power to revive the old quarrels between the nobility and the people, hoping by that means to make himself as absolute a master of the government as *Sylla* had been. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla's* acts, which would have deprived the republic of the many wise laws the dictator had made. But he was therein resolutely opposed by his colleague *Catulus*; and the misunderstanding between the two chief magistrates was carried so far, that the senate, dreading the consequences of their quarrel, forced them to swear, that they would not take up arms against each other. Care was also taken to separate the two rivals, and to make the turbulent *Lepidus* set out, without delay, for *Transalpine Gaul*, which had fallen to him by lot. The incendiary indeed left *Rome*, at the head of a consular army; but instead of passing the *Alps*, continued in *Heturia*, till his consulate was near expiring. He then drew near *Rome* with his army, which he had taken care to strengthen with new levies in *Heturia*, and openly declared, that his design was to procure himself a second consulate by force, if he could not obtain it otherwise. He expected to have entered *Rome* without opposition; but to his great surprize, he found both his colleague and *Pompey* under arms, the one posted at the entrance of the bridge *Milvius*, the other at the foot of the *Janiculus*. As he was too far advanced to go back, he attempted to force his way into the city; but was repulsed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, and obliged to save himself by a shameful flight into *Hetruria*. The capital being delivered from all danger, by the defeat of the seditious consul, *Pompey* was ordered to march against *M. Junius Brutus*, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who had declared for *Lepidus*, and commanded a great detachment in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Brutus*, at the approach of *Pompey*, shut himself up in *Mutina*, where he was closely besieged, and at length forced to surrender up himself and his whole army at discretion. *Pompey* treated his troops with great humanity, but ordered *Brutus* himself to be beheaded, without regarding the hatred which so odious an execution might bring upon him^k.

Lepidus
defeated by
Catulus
and Pom-
pey.

ⁱ PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*
civil. ibid.

^k PLUT. in *Pomp.* APPIAN. *bell.*

IN the mean time *Lepidus*, having assembled his dispersed *Raifes* forces, and made new levies in *Hetruria*, and in the countries of ^{new forces;} the allies, appeared once more before *Rome*. But finding *Catulus* ready to receive him, and being at the same time informed of the defeat of *Brutus*, and reduction of *Mutina*, he retired a ^{but is -} second time into *Hetruria*. Upon his retreat, the great elections ^{obliged to} were made with the usual tranquillity, when *D. Junius Brutus*, ^{retire.} surnamed *Lepidus*, and *Mamercus Æmilius Livianus*, were chosen consuls. And now *Lepidus*, having lost all hopes of obtaining the consulate, left *Italy*, and went over to *Sardinia*, where he raised a new army, with a design to carry the war into *Sicily*. But he was prevented by death from pursuing the wicked measures he had taken. He is said to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, assuring him, that his wife, in his absence, ^{Lepidus} had proved unfaithful to him. His party fell with him; and ^{dies in} *Catulus* and *Pompey* shared between them the glory of having saved *Rome* from the new misfortunes that threatened her¹. ^{Sardinia.}

DURING these transactions at home, *Muræna*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Asia*, unjustly attacked the king of *Pontus*, and forced him into the second *Mithridatic* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our history of *Pontus*.

ITALY now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but the party *Sertorius* of *Marius* and *Cinna* was still kept up by the brave *Sertorius*, ^{retires to} whose noble exploits since his proscription and flight, we have, ^{Spain.} to avoid confusion, reserved for this place. Upon the first advantages gained by *Sylla* in *Italy*, *Sertorius*, who had been appointed by the *Marian* faction prætor of *Spain*, retired thither, to secure that country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a support to his declining party. Notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the *Barbarians*, through whose countries he passed, he got save to his government; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, so gained the affections of the nobility and the people, that all *Spain* declared for the new prætor. Thus that flourishing country was unfortunately brought to take part in the divisions of the republic, and by that means became the seat of the civil war, which ambition had begun at *Rome*. *Sylla* no sooner heard of the arrival of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, than he sent *Caius Annius* at the head of a powerful army, to drive him from thence. *Sertorius*, having timely notice of the dictator's design, immediately detached *Julius Salinator* with a body of six thousand men, to guard the narrow passes of the *Pyrenees*; which he did so effectually, that *Annius* upon his arrival, finding it impossible to open himself a way into *Spain*, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take.

¹ PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* SALLUST. *hist. lib. i.* FLOR. *lib. iii.*
C. 23.

Is driven
from
thence by
Annius.

Is joined
by a small
fleet of Ci-
lician pi-
rates.

Lands in
Spain.

BUT in the mean time, one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, being gained over by *Annius*, treacherously murdered *Julius Salinator*, which so terrified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the passes, and gave *Annius* an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of *Spain*. *Sertorius*, not being strong enough to keep the field, retired with three thousand men to *New Carthage*, and there embarking on board a fleet hastily got together, passed over into *Africa*, and landed on the coast of *Mauritania*. His men went ashore to supply themselves with fresh water; but while they were straggling about with too much security, the *Barbarians* fell upon them, and put many of them to the sword. This new misfortune forced *Sertorius* to sail back to *Spain*; but finding the whole coast lined with *Annius's* men, he put to sea again, not knowing what course to steer. At some distance from the coast, he fell in with a small fleet of *Cilician* pirates, who were cruising between *Africa* and *Spain*, and having prevailed on them to join him, in hopes of booty, he sailed for the island of *Pityusa*, now *Yvica*, on the coast of *Africa*, where he made a descent, overpowered the garison placed there by *Annius*, and got a considerable booty. This slight advantage brought *Annius* in person upon him, with a great fleet, having five thousand soldiers on board. Though *Sertorius's* fleet consisted of vessels not built for strength, but for lightness, he made ready to engage the enemy. But a violent storm arising, most of his ships were driven against the rocky shore, and dashed to pieces. *Sertorius* himself, with the small remains of his shattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to sea, and by the enemy from landing, was tossed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the sea ran very high, in great danger of perishing with all his men.

As soon as the storm was over, he passed the streights of *Gades*, and landed near the mouth of the *Bætis*. There he met with some seamen newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* islands (K), and was so taken with the account they gave him

(K) These islands, according to *Plutarch*, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow chanel, and distant about 10,000 furlongs from the coast of *Africa*. The description he gives us of them, agrees exactly with that which we read in the fourth book of the *Odysssey*. But after all, we are still at a loss to know, what country the antients meant by the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* islands. *Plato* describes them in a very pompous manner in his *Timæus* and *Critias*; and the great extent he allows them, has inclined some, namely *Ortelius* and *Sanfon*, to believe, that he meant *America*. But no one before Mr. *Rusbeck* ever dreamt, that *Plato* in describing his *Atlantis*, had *Scandinavia* in view, which comprehends the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Sweden*. That learned writer,

him of those happy regions, that being quite tired out with so many fatigues and dangers both by sea and land, he resolved to retire thither, and spend his life in peace and quietness, far from the noise of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no sooner communicated his design to the *Cilician* pirates, than they abandoned him; and choosing rather to rove about the seas in quest of spoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, set sail for *Africa*, to assist *Ascalis* king of *Mauritania* against his rebellious subjects. *Sertorius*, who only entertained a faint desire of a quiet and retired life, no sooner heard of this new war in *Africa*, than he likewise resolved to sail thither, and join the enemies of *Ascalis*. He lost no time, but immediately put to sea, and landing on the coast of *Mauritania*, marched directly against *Ascalis*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Tongis*, now *Tangier*, which he closely besieged. In the mean time *Pacianus*, whom *Sylla* had sent to assist the king, advanced against *Sertorius* at the head of a considerable army. Hereupon the brave general, leaving part of his forces before

Passes over into Africa.

writer, in love with the colds and frosts of his native country, finds all the charms of this renowned island in those northern and frozen countries. To convince others of this, he urges no fewer than an hundred and two arguments in his work, intitled *Atlantica*, and finds in certain ruins, not far from *Upsal*, the same situation and dimensions

which *Plato* gives to the capital of *Atlantis*. *Norway* and *Sweden* are, we allow, most pleasant and delightful countries; but we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Homer* had either of them in view, when he described the *Elysian fields*, which he places in the island of *Atlantis*. His description of that happy region is as follows:

Elysium shall be thine; the blissful plains
Of utmost earth, where *Rhadamanthus* reigns.
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.

We can hardly believe, that *stern winter smiles* either upon *Norway* or *Sweden*, that the fields there are *florid with unfading prime*, that *no inclement winds blow from the bleak pole*, &c. and

therefore are inclined to think, that father *Kircher* guessed better than *Mr. Rusbeck*, when he took the *Canaries* and *Azores* for the *Fortunate* or *Atlantic* islands.

Defeats the place, marched with the rest to meet *Pacianus*, whose
Pacianus, forces, though far superior to his own in number, he intirely
and takes defeated, flew the general himself, and took the whole army
the city of prisoners. After this victory, he not only reduced the city of
Tingis. *Tingis*, but made himself absolute master of the whole country.
 Having thus delivered the oppressed *Mauritanians* from the
 tyrannical yoke of *Ascalis*, he restored to them their estates,
 their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of
 such acknowledgements as the people freely offered him^m.

Is invited HOWEVER, his reputation flew cross the sea. The *Lusi-*
into Lusi- *tanians*, being threatened with a new war from *Annius*, sent
ania. an embassy to him, inviting him to come and take upon him
 the command of their armies. This was raising him to the
 height of his desires: he therefore immediately embarked with
 two thousand five hundred *Romans*, who had followed him in
 his flight, and seven hundred *Africans*, who were willing to
 share his fortune with him; and putting to sea, steered his
 course towards *Lusitania*. In his passage he happened to fall
 in with the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *Cotta*; but having
 forced his way through it, he arrived safe on the *Lusitanian*
 coast, landed his men, and marched strait to mount *Ballera*,
 the place of the general rendezvous. There he put himself at
 the head of that warlike nation, and became, in a manner,
Is made king of *Lusitania*; the natives, who were well acquainted
general of with his virtues, experience in war, and great abilities, in-
the Lusi- vesting him with an absolute and uncontrouled authority, and
tanians. committing to his care themselves and their fortunes.

His cha- AND indeed no man was more worthy to govern a state,
racter. or command an army. He was, according to *Plutarch*, free
 from all vices, and an enemy to all sorts of pleasures; in ad-
 versity and dangers undaunted, and no way puffed up with
 prosperity; but of an even mind, ever courteous, and ever
 obliging. He was sparing and backward in punishing, but
 in rewarding liberal and magnificent, even to prodigality. As
 to war, none of the most famous and renowned generals of
 antiquity understood that art better than *Sertorius*. He did
 not confine himself to one uniform method in ranging his co-
 horts, and disposing his squadrons, but varied it according to
 the character of his enemy. Though he approved of the order
 of battle established among the *Romans*, yet he would not
 servilely adhere to it on all occasions, but changed it when he
 thought proper, and by that means often broke the measures
 of the generals that opposed him. His masterpiece was the
 art of harassing the enemy, laying ambuscades, surprising them
 in narrow passes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding

Plut. in Sertor.

a general

a general engagement unless he was sure of victory. With these qualifications, *Sertorius*, at the head of eight thousand men, made war with four *Roman* generals, who had under their command an hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and two thousand archers and slingers.

TITUS DIDIUS, governor of *Bætica*, was the first champion who entered the lists with him, and gave him battle among the mountains. But that weak general was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and driven out of the field. Hereupon *Sylla* dispatched *Metellus*, one of the best generals then in *Rome*, to stop the progress of this new enemy. But the reputation of that great commander suffered much by this expedition. For he did not know which way to turn himself, having to do with a man of undaunted boldness, and uncommon sagacity, who was continually molesting him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but by the swiftness and dexterity of his *Spanish* soldiery, was continually changing his station, casting his army into all forms, and every day contriving new stratagems. *Metellus* on his first arrival, sent for *L. Domitius*, then prætor of *Hither Spain*, to his assistance. But *Sertorius*, being informed of the march of *Domitius*, detached *Hirtuleius* or *Herculeius*, his quæstor, against him, who gave the *Roman* prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon *Metellus* ordered *Lucius Lollius*, prætor of *Narbonne Gaul*, to leave his province, and join him. But *Hirtuleius* meeting him in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida*, gained a complete victory over him, dispersed his troops, and killed his lieutenant-general.

UPON the fame of these victories, all those who were dissatisfied with the government of *Sylla*, especially such of the proscribed persons as could escape his fury, flocked to *Sertorius* from all parts; insomuch that he soon saw in his camp such a number of illustrious *Roman* citizens, that he formed a senate of them, whose authority he set up in competition with that of the senate of *Rome*. Out of them he likewise chose his quæstors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected *Lusitania* into a new republic, which, as it consisted chiefly of *Romans*, rivalled that of *Rome*. *Sylla*, highly provoked to see a proscribed person thus reigning in *Spain*, and the republic robbed of one of the finest parts of her dominions, was continually sending fresh supplies to *Metellus*; but *Sertorius*, at the head of an handful of men, who were accustomed to range about the mountains, to endure hunger and thirst, and to live exposed to the wind and weather without fire or covering, so harassed the *Roman* army, that *Metellus* himself began to be quite disheartened. If he sent out his men in parties to forage, *Sertorius*, who was well

Harasses
Metellus's
troops. well acquainted with the country, scarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the whole army marched in a body, he was continually harassing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow passes, intercepting their convoys, cutting off their stragglers, &c. if they laid siege to any town, he presently appeared, besieged them, and reduced them to great straits for want of provisions. By this means *Metellus* suffered the same inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while *Sertorius* reaped all the advantages of a conqueror.

Challenges
him to end
the war by
a single
combat. THE latter, being informed that his rival had spoken of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, immediately sent him a challenge, inviting him to put an end to the war by a single combat. But *Metellus*, who was advanced in years, wisely refused to enter the lists with a strong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as *Theophrastus* observes, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into discredit with the undiscerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by some signal action, turned his arms against *Lacobriga* (L), a considerable city of the *Turduli*, which he hoped to take in two days time, there being but one well within the city. But *Sertorius* found means to convey into the city, before *Metellus* invested it, six thousand skins full of water, and to remove all those who could be of no service during the siege; so that *Metellus* continued a long time before the place, without gaining the least advantage over the enemy. When he had spent most part of his provisions, he sent out *Aquinus* at the head of six thousand men, to bring in fresh supplies from the neighbouring country. But the brave *Sertorius* falling unexpectedly on *Aquinus*, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the rest prisoners; the commander himself being the only man, who had the good luck to make his escape. And now *Metellus* being reduced to great straits for want of provisions, shamefully raised the siege, and withdrew from before the place amidst the hisses of the *Spaniards*, who insulted him from their ramparts^a.

Defeats
Aquinus,
and obliges
Metellus
to raise the
siege of La-
cobriga. *Civilizes*
the Lusi-
tanians. SERTORIUS having gained the esteem, love and admiration of the *Lusitanians*, by these repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and insinuating behaviour, changed their savage and furious manner of fighting, brought them to make use of the *Roman* arms, taught them to keep their ranks, and

^a PLUT. *ibid.*

(L) The antient *Lacobriga* is *Lagos*, a little city of *Spain* near thought to have stood where the bay of *Cadiz*, now stands.

follow their ensigns; and, in short, out of a confused multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-disciplined army. He likewise bestowed liberally upon them gold and silver, to adorn their arms, caused their shields to be wrought and ingraven with various figures, and by conversing familiarly with them, prevailed upon them to lay aside their own dress, and assume the *Roman toga*, or gown. But what delighted them most was, the care he took of their children. For he sent for all the children of the noblemen in those parts, placed them in the great city of *Osca* (M), and there appointed masters to instruct them in the *Greek* and *Roman* learning, that they might in due time, as he gave out, be capable of sharing with him the government of the republic. Under this pretence, he really made them hostages for the fidelity of their parents (N), who nevertheless were wonderfully pleased, to see their children going daily to school in good order, and handsomely dressed in fine long garments edged with purple. *Sertorius* paid large salaries for their learning, often inquired what progress they had made, examined them himself, and rewarded the most deserving with those *bullæ aureæ*, which were at *Rome* the chief distinction of children of high birth.

AT this time, a custom prevailed among the *Spaniards* and *Their* *Lusitanians*, that when a great commander was slain in battle, *tachment* all those who attended him died with him, either by the *to him* enemy's swords, or their own. This the inhabitants called an offering or devoting themselves (O). Of these *Sertorius* had

(M) The city of *Osca*, now *Huesca*, stood in the country of the *Hergetes*, a people of *Tarragonian Spain*. It now belongs to the kingdom of *Arragon*.

(N) This was a true fetch in politics. *Sertorius* knew how to ingratiate himself with the people, by the same means that assured him of their fidelity. *Alexander the Great* had done the same thing before him.

(O) The same custom obtained in *Gaul*, where a number of resolute men, called *soldurii*, devoted themselves to a prince, or some great commander, to share with him both his good and bad fortune, and either to fall with

him in battle, or kill themselves in case he was defeated. This was a point of honour, wherein none of them were ever known to fail (9). *Dio* tells us, that one *Sextus Pacuvius*, or *Apudius*, devoted himself in full senate to *Augustus* after the manner of the *Spaniards*, and would have forced all the rest to follow his example. But this was the action of a vile mercenary flatterer, who meant nothing of what he said, and did it only to ingratiate himself with his prince; wherein indeed he succeeded; for in courts hypocrisy often prevails over truth. This custom did not only prevail in *Gaul* and *Spain*, but in many

(9) *Cæsar de bell. Gall. l. iii.*

He makes
use of an
hind to im-
pose upon
the super-
stitious Lu-
sitani-ans.

had many thousands, all resolved to sacrifice their lives for his safety, and stand by him to the last (P). Nay, his soldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inspired, and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the superstitious *Lusitanians* by several artifices, and deluding impostures, among which that of the hind was none of the least. A *Lusitanian*, by name *Spanus*, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters, had just dropped an hind-calf, took up the fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, who used to reward very liberally those who presented him with fruit, fowls, or venison. As the young hind was milk-white, the general was wonderfully taken with it, reared it up with great care, and made it so tame, that it followed him where-ever he went, without being in the least frightened at the noise and hurry of the camp. As he was well acquainted with the superstition and credulity of the *Lusitanians*, he gave out by degrees, that the hind was inspired, that it was given him by *Diana*, and that it discovered hidden mysteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's designs or motions, he pretended that the hind had informed him of them in his sleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readiness. Upon the first notice of any advantage gained by the officers, who commanded under him, he used to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his soldiers to return thanks to the gods, for the account they should soon receive of some prosperous success (Q). By these and such-like devices, he brought the *Lusitanians* to

other parts of the world, and in our days in the island of *Ceylan*, and in the kingdom of *Tunquin*. Those who thus devote themselves, are in some places called, *The king's vassals in this world and the next*. We wish *Plutarch* had told us by what name those heroic persons were distinguished in *Spain*, as *Cæsar* has acquainted us what those of the same order were called in *Gaul*.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us, that his army being once defeated near a city in *Spain*, and the enemy pressing hard upon his broken troops, they, forgetful of their own danger, and concerned only for their general, took him upon their shoulders, and passing him from one to another, conveyed him into the city, and then skifted,

in the best manner they could, for themselves.

(Q) We meet in antient history with many examples of such devices made use of by the greatest generals, and wisest lawgivers, the better to impose upon the superstition and credulity of the people. A few years before *Marius*, as we have related above, imposed upon his soldiers by a *Syrian* woman, who passed for a great prophetess, and by tame vulturs, which he had accustomed to follow him, and come to him, when called. These juggling tricks were not only practised in the times of ignorance and darkness, but are renewed in our days, in the days of the greatest light and knowlege.

look upon him as a man sent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence *Metellus*, tho' an old and experienced general, could not, during *Sylla's* lifetime, gain the least advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare against him.

WHEN *Sylla* was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progress *Sertorius* made in *Lusitania*, resolved to send another general against him, with such a force as might crush him at once. All the officers of any note in *Rome* earnestly solicited so honourable a commission, and among the rest *Pompey*, who had just suppressed the troubles raised by *Lepidus*. We are told, that though all was quiet in *Rome*, *Pompey* appointed still kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refused to disband it, till the senate at last thought fit to decree him the government of *Lusitania*. *L. Philippus* was the first who made this motion in the senate, which was opposed by several senators, who were against bestowing so honourable an employment on a young man, before he had passed through the inferior offices. One of them, surprised at the motion, asked *Philippus*, whether his meaning was, that *Pompey* should be sent into *Spain* proconsul, that is, instead of a consul? No, replied *Philippus*, but pro consulibus, that is, instead of both consuls, intimating thereby, that the consuls for the year were men of no merit, and incapable of managing the war in that province. After a long and warm debate, a decree passed, appointing *Pompey* commander in chief of the army, that was to march into *Lusitania*, to the assistance of *Metellus*. It was no sooner passed, than *Pompey* set out from *Rome* at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of *Lepidus*.

IN the mean time the republic chose for her new consuls, *Cn. Octavius Nepos* and *Gaius Scribonius Curio*, who made it their whole business to support the regulations *Sylla* had made against the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had reduced their power almost to nothing, but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the college was at this time one *Cneius Sicinius*, whose chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turning into ridicule, the most proper gestures, and most serious discourses of the greatest orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to please the multitude; and depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to summon the consuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their antient prerogatives. The consuls obeyed the summons, and on the day

◦ PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

appointed

The tribunes attempt the recovery of their former power.

appointed appeared before the people, when *Curio* spoke with all the dignity of a consul, and all the force of a great orator, shewing, that the late disturbances owed their rise to the abuse of the too great power which the tribunes had usurped. While he was speaking, *Sicinius* mimicked all his gestures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people: but all in vain; truth prevailed over the fondness of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the same low condition, to which *Sylla* had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to *Curio*; for his colleague *Octavius*, who was troubled with the rheumatism, kept the whole time a profound silence, sitting on the rostra wrapped up in linen, and covered over with plaisters; which gave the facetious tribune an opportunity to rally him, as he came down from the rostra, and tell him with a sneer, That he was obliged to his colleague, who, by throwing himself about as usual, had saved him from being devoured by the flies. In short, *Sicinius* was so very witty, that he was assassinated before his office expired, and the republic delivered from a dangerous citizen ^P.

Julius Cæsar begins to shine at the bar.

THIS year *Julius Cæsar*, tho' but twenty-two years of age, began to shine at the bar. After he had signalized his valour at the siege of *Mitylene*, as we have related above, he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and this year accused *Gn. Cornelius Dolabella*, formerly prætor of *Macedon*, and honoured with the consulship and a triumph. He charged him with maladministration; but *Quintus Hortensius* and *Caius Aurelius Cotta*, the two greatest orators in *Rome*, pleaded with so much eloquence in favour of the accused, that he was acquitted. However, *Cæsar* gained the reputation of being one of the best orators of his age, and would have challenged the first place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greatest warriors (R). Not long after he had accused *Dolabella*, he embarked

^P Cic. in Bruto. QUINTIL. l. xi. & PLUT. in Craoss.

(R) In his pleadings, says *Plutarch* (1), he appeared with all the graces of an excellent orator, and gained much upon the affections of the people by the easiness of his address and conversation, in which he was accomplished beyond what could be expected from his age. He

was by nature excellently framed, says the same writer, for a perfect statesman and orator, and took great pains to improve his genius that way in his youth; but he never rose up to that pitch of eloquence, to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by those expeditions and designs,

(1) *Plut. in Cæsare.*

which

barked for *Rhodes*, with a design to improve himself in the art of oratory under *Apollonius*, one of the greatest rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his passage by some pirates, who, with a few large ships, and a vast number of small vessels, infested those seas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he smiled at them, as not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to pay them fifty, that is, nine thousand six hundred and eighty-seven pounds ten shillings. Accordingly he dispatched some of his domestics to raise the sum he had promised in the neighbouring cities, and in the mean time remained in the hands of those robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he spent among them, he applied himself to the study of eloquence and poetry, wrote verses, and composed speeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching those who did not admire them, with barbarity and ignorance. He conversed familiarly with them; but always treated them with an high hand, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they disturbed him when he had a mind to sleep. The pirates, ascribing this free way of talking to simplicity, and a juvenile vivacity, were mightily taken with it.

WHEN his ransom came, which the *Milesians* raised by a tax upon themselves, he immediately paid it; and being discharged, he went directly to *Miletus*, manned some ships there, and with them surprised the pirates, took most of them prisoners, and carried them to *Pergamus*. As it belonged to *Junius*, at that time prætor of *Asia*, to determine their punishment, *Cæsar* applied to him, while he was taking a progress through the *Asiatic* province. *Junius*, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great sums from the pirates, answered, That he would think at his leisure what to do with the prisoners. Upon which *Cæsar*, taking his leave of him, returned to *Pergamus*, where he ordered the pirates to be crucified; a punishment which he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and which they never dreamt he would be able to inflict upon them ^a (S). He then went

^a PLUT. in *Cæsar*.

which at length gained him the empire: whence he himself, in his answer to *Cicero's* panegyric on *Cato*, desires his reader not to compare the plain discourse of a soldier with the studied harangues of an orator, who was not only

endued with fine parts, but had employed his whole life in this one study (2).

(S) *Plutarch*, in this place, contradicts *Suetonius*, whom we have followed. The former writer tells us, that *Cæsar* was taken by

(2) *Plut. in Cæsar*.

the

to *Rhodes*, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician *Apollonius Molon* (T), who at that time had *Cicero* for his auditor.

the pirates near the island of *Pharmacusa*, on his return from *Bitynia*, where he had resided some time, at the court of king *Nicomedes*, as we have related above.

(T) *Plutarch* calls *Apollonius Molon*'s son, and of one man makes two; for *Apollonius* himself, and not his father, was called *Molon*, as is evident from *Suetonius*, *Quintilian* and *Cicero*, who often call him *Molon* simply, without the addition of the other appellative, which would have been very improper, if he had been only the son of *Molon*. *Plutarch* falls into the same mistake in the life of *Cicero*, as the learned *Rualdus* observes. Thus far *M. Dacier*, in her notes upon *Plutarch*. But that learned critic is certainly mistaken, it being evident from *Strabo*, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were two different men; for he tells us in express terms, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were both natives of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria*; that they were both scholars of *Meneclæ* the *Alabandian*; and that they both professed the same art at *Rhodes*, tho' *Molon* went thither later than *Apollonius*, who, on that account, applied to him that of *Homer* *Ὁ δὲ Μόλων* for he was likewise called by some *Molon*, by others *Μαλακός*, or the *Soft* (3). *Cicero* likewise distinguishes them, calling the one *Molon*, and the other *Apollonius* the *Alabandian*, especially in his first book *de oratore*, where he introduces *M. Antonius* speaking of him thus; *For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he*

taught for money, he did not suffer any, whom he thought incapable of becoming orators, to lose their time and labour with him; but sent them home, exhorting them to apply their minds to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified. It were much to be wished, that those who, in our days set up for teachers and schoolmasters, were as honest and disinterested as *Apollonius*. Of this *Apollonius* *Plutarch* relates, that as he was not well versed in the *Latin* tongue, he desired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*. The *Roman* was mightily pleased with this motion, supposing, that *Apollonius* could better correct him, in case he should say any thing amiss; but while those who were present, amazed at his eloquence, and the purity of his diction, strove to outdo one another in commending him, *Apollonius* neither expressed any satisfaction in his countenance while his disciple was speaking, nor applauded him after he had done; but, without uttering a word, continued in his place musing and pensive. When he observed *Cicero* to be uneasy at this behaviour, he addressed him thus: *Take courage, Cicero; I both praise and admire you; but I am sorry for poor Greece, when I see the two only ornaments that were left us, learning and eloquence, transferred by you from us to the Roman.* This *Apollonius* supplied *Apion* the grammarian, if *Josephus* is to be credited (4), with the many falsehoods he published against the *Jews* and their temple.

(3) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661.

(4) *Josephus*, contra *Apion*, l. ii.

In the mean time *Pompey*, having spent the winter in *Narbonne Gaul*, and in the beginning of the spring passed the *Pyrenees*, after having surmounted the obstacles which some *Gaulish* nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of *Hither Spain*. There he was informed, that the *Roman* troops, under the command of *Perperna*, or *Perpenna*, had, in spite of their general, joined *Sertorius*, and taken the military oath to him. *Perperna*, after the death of *Lepidus*, whose lieutenant he was, *Perperna* had got together the remains of his army, amounting to fifty-^{retires to} three cohorts, that is, about thirty-three thousand men; and *Spain*. had marched with them into *Spain*, intending to settle there, as *Sertorius* had done, and to make war with *Metellus* by himself, thinking it below a man of his birth and rank, to act in subordination to one, who was not even a *Roman*; but when *His troops* his soldiers understood, that *Pompey* had passed the *Pyrenees* at *join Ser-* the head of a mighty army, they took up their arms and en-*torius*: signs, and threatened to abandon *Perperna*, if he did not instantly lead them to *Sertorius*, and resign the command to a general, who was able to defend himself, and those who served under him. *Perperna* complied, tho' much against his will, with their desire, joined *Sertorius*, and served under him as a subaltern.

SERTORIUS, now at the head of a very considerable army, *who* took the field, in order to stop the progress of *Pompey*, whose *marches* high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a strong *against* prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, at *Pompey*. most about thirty, had been honoured some years before with a triumph, and the surname of *Great*, and was now impowered to act separately and independently of *Metellus*, with the title of proconsul. Upon his arrival, several cities, which had hitherto continued faithful to *Sertorius*, began to waver, and seemed inclined to open their gates to a general, whose great fame had already reached the most remote corners of *Spain*. *Sertorius* therefore, to prevent their defection by some signal action, and to make them sensible that *Pompey's* protection could avail them little against his power and resentment, entered the province of *Hither Spain*, which was most devoted to the republic, and there, tho' *Pompey* was advancing full march against him, laid siege to *Lauron*, now *Liria*, a strong *Sertorius* city on the banks of the *Turia*. *Pompey*, not doubting but *besieges* he should be able to raise the siege, marched quite up to the *Lauron*; enemy's lines, and thinking he had inclosed them between his own army and the city, found means to convey a messenger into the place, to acquaint the garison, that those who besieged them were themselves besieged, and would be soon obliged to retire with shame and disgrace. *Sertorius*, when informed of this message, smiled, and turning to his officers about him, *I* will

will teach Sylla's disciple, said he, that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him as before him. Having thus spoken, he sent orders to a detachment of six thousand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to Pompey, and fall upon his rear, if he should offer to force the lines.

and takes
it before
Pompey's
face.

POMPEY, surpris'd at their sudden appearance, durst not stir out of his camp; but was forced to sit still, and see his friends and confederates ruined before his face: for the besieged, despairing of relief, delivered themselves up to Sertorius, who spared their lives, and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not out of anger or cruelty, to which Sertorius was an utter stranger, but that it might be said, for the greater confusion of the admirers of Pompey, that tho' he was so near the fire, which burnt down a confederate city, as to be well warmed by it, yet it was not able to raise heat enough in him to make him attempt the relief of it^r (U).

The tri-
bunes of
the people
begin to re-
cover their
former
power.

THE next year *L. Octavius* and *C. Aurelius Cotta* were chosen consuls; and, upon a complaint made, that the famine occasioned in Rome by the *Gilician* pirates, who infested the seas, was owing to Sylla's having lessened the power of the tribunes of the people, *Cotta* was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the republic. He consented, that, for the future, the tribunes might be promoted to superior offices, contrary to a law enacted by Sylla. Thus they began to recover by degrees their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government^s.

BUT to return to Spain: As soon as the season was proper for action, *Metellus* took the field, and marched against *Hirtuleius*, one of Sertorius's lieutenants, engaged him, and, after a most obstinate dispute, which lasted the whole day, put him to flight. *Hirtuleius* lost in the action twenty thousand men, was himself dangerously wounded, and very narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands^t. Sertorius, upon the news of *Metellus*.

^r PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

^s APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i.

SALLUST. in fragment. PLUT. in Cic.

^t FRONT. ibid.

(U) *Frantinus* tells us, that Pompey, without coming to a general action, lost, during the siege of *Lauron*, ten thousand men, cut off in small parties by Sertorius's horse, who were continually scouring the plains, and intercepting all the enemy's convoys (5). However that be, it is certain, that Pompey, after the surrender of the place, retired with *Metellus* to the foot of the *Pyrenees*; and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as usual, suffered all the rigour of the season in tents, being afraid of a surprize from a general, whom they both dreaded and admired.

(5) Front. strat. lib. i. c. 5.

this overthrow, advanced with all possible expedition to the banks of the *Sucro* in *Tarraconian Spain*, intending to attack *Pompey*, who was encamped there, before he could be joined by *Metellus*, and by that means repair the loss which his lieutenant had sustained. On the other hand, *Pompey*, fearing *Metellus* should share with him the glory of the victory, made what haste he could to engage *Sertorius* before his arrival. However, *Sertorius*, considering that the darkness of the night would be a great disadvantage to the enemy, whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the close of the day, and then advanced in order of battle against his rival, whose troops were drawn up in a large plain on the banks of the *Sucro*. *Pompey*, tho' well apprised of the enemy's design in putting off the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear *Metellus* should in the mean time join him with his victorious troops, and rob him in great measure of the glory, which he promised himself from conquering a commander of so great reputation.

THE attack was begun with equal valour on both sides. *The battle* *Pompey*, who commanded his own right wing, soon obliged *of Sucro* *Perperna*, who commanded the enemy's left wing, to give way. *between* Hereupon *Sertorius*, committing the care of his right wing to *Pompey* his lieutenants, flew to the assistance of the left; and, having, *and Sertorius.* partly by promises, partly by menaces, brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon *Pompey* with such fury, that, in spite of his utmost efforts, he was forced to give way, and be- *Pompey* take himself to flight. As he was flying, an *African*, of a gigantic *defeated.* size, who pursued him close, had already lifted up his arm to discharge a stroke at him with his broad sword; but *Pompey*, more active and nimble than the unwieldy *African*, prevented him, by cutting off his hand at the first blow. He then continued his flight; but, being wounded, and thrown from his *His nar-* horse, he would have been made prisoner, had not the *Africans,* *row* who pursued him, quarreled about his horse's golden trappings, *escape.* and rich caparison. While they were dividing the spoil, *Pompey* made his escape, and with difficulty, being wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. On the other hand, *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, had all the advantage over the wing *Sertorius* had left; he put them into disorder, forced them to retire in confusion, and pursued them so close, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were busy in rifling the tents, *Sertorius* came upon them unexpectedly, made a great slaughter of them, at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning, *Sertorius* drew up his army in the same plain, being resolved to venture a second engagement, which he had taken proper measures to make decisive; but, in

the mean time, *Metellus* coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, saying, *Had it not been for the old woman*, meaning *Metellus*, *I would have whipt the boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome* ^u.

*Sertorius's
hind lost,
and found
again.*

AT this time *Sertorius* was greatly concerned for the loss of his hind, which had gone astray, being frightened with the noise and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby destitute of an admirable contrivance, to encourage the superstitious people, and inspire them with an awful respect for his person; but, by good fortune, some of his men, who were wandering about in the night, meeting her, and knowing her by her colour, retook her. The general was overjoyed with the news, and promised an ample reward to those who had found her, provided they kept it secret, and locked her up carefully. A few days after, he appeared in public with a chearful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that some extraordinary good fortune would soon attend him. He then ascended his tribunal, and while he was there administering justice, and giving audience to his officers and soldiers, the favourite hind, being let loose, pursuant to his directions, no sooner discovered her master, than she ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. *Sertorius*, in return, stroked and caressed her with all the tokens of a real tenderness and affection, insomuch that tears ran down his cheeks. All those who were present, filled with wonder and astonishment, proclaimed him above the rank of common men, looked upon him as a person highly favoured by the gods, and, with respectful congratulations, and loud shouts of joy, attended him to his tent, protesting, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence ^w.

*Good un-
derstanding
between
Metellus
and Pom-
pey.*

SERTORIUS, not thinking it adviseable to engage *Pompey* and *Metellus* at the same time, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, *Pompey* went out to receive and welcome *Metellus*. As he drew near, *Pompey*, out of respect to him as his superior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces; but *Metellus* would not assume any distinction, except that of giving the watch-word to the whole army while they encamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned, both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after *Sertorius*, and attack him in his new post. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himself. After they had continued some days in sight of each other, *Metellus* fell upon *Perperna*, and *Pompey* led his forces against *Sertorius*, in hopes of recovering the repu-

^u PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

^w Idem ibid.

tation he had lost in the late battle. The engagement was so furious and obstinate, that it lasted the whole day; but, in the end, *Pompey* was defeated anew, and put to flight, after having lost six thousand men, among whom was *Æmilius*, his lieutenant, and one of the greatest officers of his time. On the other hand, *Metellus* put *Perperna* to flight, and killed five thousand of his men; but *Sertorius*, having rallied the fugitives, and renewed the fight, repulsed *Metellus* in his turn, and, cutting his way through the battalions that surrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and would have soon dispatched him, had not his troops, ashamed to leave their general in distress, returned to the charge. After they had rescued *Metellus*, they fell upon the *Lusitanians*, who attended *Sertorius*, with such fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confusion. The brave general, having attempted several times in vain to rally his troops, and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he designed to stand a siege there, but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. Accordingly the two generals, giving over the pursuit of the *Lusitanians*, hastened to lay siege to the place whither *Sertorius* had retreated; but while they were forming their camp, he made a sally, and escaped with his troops cross the mountains into *Lusitania*, where he raised a sufficient number of forces to enable him to keep the field. All the cities in his interest sent him supplies of men, money, and provisions, with such expedition, that, in a very short time, he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wisely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all quarters, drove them from post to post, and, by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to separate, and retire, *Metellus* into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* into the country of the *Vaccæi*, whom *Isidorus* places at the foot of the *Pyrenees*. From thence he wrote a doleful letter to the senate, demanding a speedy supply of men and money, acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed sending him powerful reinforcements, he should be forced to return into *Italy* with his army. To such extremities *Sertorius* brought the two greatest commanders, and most experienced warriors, of his age.

He was now in the height of his prosperity; but nevertheless, as he was a sincere lover of his country, and had a great desire to return home, he sent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his arms, and lead a private life, pro-

* PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

vided the decree of his proscription were repealed. This great desire of seeing again his native country, was chiefly owing, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary respect he always had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having lost his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was so much affected with it, that he had almost died himself of grief; he wept bitterly, and lay seven days together on the ground, without giving the word, or being seen by his most intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army, and persons of the greatest distinction, crouding round his tent, with difficulty, prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very prosperous condition. All this plainly shews, that he was of a mild and compassionate temper, naturally inclined to lead a quiet life; and that he was driven by his enemies to have recourse to arms, contrary to his own inclination. What answer *Pompey* and *Metellus* returned him, historians have not told us. All we know is, that the decree of his proscription was never repealed, nor he suffered to return to his native country.

Mithridates sends great advantages he gained every day over the two most renowned generals of the republic, flew as far as *Asia*. *Mithridates the Great* had been obliged by *Sylla*, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, to submit to such conditions of peace, as that general had been pleased to impose upon him; but, after the decease of *Sylla*, he raised a powerful army, with a design to renew the war, and improve the disturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was, at that time, filled with proscribed persons, who had fled from *Rome*, these, especially *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, advised him to enter into an alliance with *Sertorius*; and the king, pursuant to their advice, sent ambassadors into *Spain*, offering the *Lusitanian* general three thousand talents, and forty gallies completely fitted out, on condition, that he would suffer him to re-conquer those provinces of *Asia*, which he had been forced to give up, in virtue of his treaty with *Sylla*. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, *Sertorius* called a council, when all to a man approved of the king's proposals, and were very pressing with *Sertorius* to comply with his request, since he demanded nothing but an empty consent to an undertaking, which they could no-way prevent.

Sertorius's magnanimity and love for his country. AND here we cannot sufficiently admire the constancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who, we may say, appeared greater in this glorious negotiation, than at the head of his army. Tho' it would have cost him nothing to have granted *Mithridates* whatever he desired, and such a grant would have procured

procured him great sums, and a considerable armament; yet he would not, by any means, hearken to the proposal, saying, That it was his duty to enlarge the *Roman* dominions by his victories, and not to increase his own power by the diminution of the *Roman* territories. Having therefore sent for the ambassadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their master should re-conquer *Bitthynia* and *Cappadocia*, kingdoms to which the *Romans* had no right; but that he would not consent he should set a foot in the province of *Asia*, that is, the kingdom of *Per-gamus*, which undoubtedly belonged to the commonwealth, and which he had given up by a solemn treaty. With this answer, he dismissed the ambassadors; and, when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of *Sertorius*: *What would not this Roman prescribe to us*, said he, *if he were at Rome, since, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, he takes upon him to set bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, in case we should make any attempts upon Asia?* However the king of *Pontus*, knowing how advantageous it would prove to his designs to foment the civil war, concluded the treaty upon *Sertorius's* own terms. The king supplied him with three thousand talents, and a fleet of forty gallies; and *Sertorius* sent to the king a body of troops, under the command of *Marcus Marius*, or, as others call him, *Marcus Varius*, one of the senators, who had been proscribed by *Sylla*. *Sertorius enters into an alliance with Mithridates.*

WHILE *Mithridates* was making prodigious preparations for war in *Asia*, and *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *P. Servilius*, with the title of proconsul, cleared the coasts and seas of the pirates who infested them, took *Isaure* their capital (W), and was honoured with the surname of *Isauricus*, and with a triumph for his success. *P. Servilius takes Isaure.*

Y PLUT. in Sert. CIC. pro lege Manilia, & pro Murena. LIV. lib. xciii. APLIAN. in Mithridatic. OROS. lib. vi. c. 2.

(W) *Isaure*, called afterwards *Isauropolis*, and now *Saura*, was the capital of *Isauria*, a country of *Asia Minor*, comprehending part of mount *Taurus*, and the mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia* and *Pamphylia*. This city, in *Pliny's* time, had lost much of its antient splendor. *Servilius*, besides *Isaure*, reduced several other cities; to wit, *Phaselis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were retreats for pirates. The first stood on the confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its inhabitants,

who were for the most part pirates, made use of a sort of brigantine, which, from them, was called *phaselus*. They were so poor, according to the antients, that they sacrificed nothing but salt-fish to their gods; and hence the proverb, *Sacrificium Phaselitarum*, to signify a mean present or offering. The city of *Olympus* stood on the sea-coast of *Cilicia*; and that of *Coricus* was a famous port in the same country, and is now known by the name of *Curco*.

M. Antonius defeated by the pirates.

The next year *Licinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* were chosen consuls. The former, by paying his court to a mistress of *Cethegus*, one of the tribunes of the people, got the command of the troops that were to be sent into *Cilicia*. His colleague was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard *Bitbynia*, against the invasion threatened by *Mithridates*; but, before he set sail, he procured an unlimited commission for *M. Antonius*, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the sea-coasts subject to the republic. He set out with great confidence, in quest of the pirates, and engaged them off the island of *Crete*; but he had the mortification to see most of his ships taken, and his men hanged to the masts, with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This fight so grieved him, that he died a few days after^z.

IN the mean time *Cotta*, arriving in *Bitbynia*, found *Mithridates* in motion, at the head of a mighty army. All the cities of *Paphlagonia* opened their gates to the latter, imagining, that, in submitting to him, they submitted to the authority of *Rome*, because *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent into *Asia*, in quality of proconsul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their fasces. The *Bitbynians* likewise would readily have revolted, had not *Julius Cæsar*, who had retired to *Rhodes*, as we have related above, upon the news of their motions, crossed over to the continent, raised troops without any commission, and driving the king's emissaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, steady to their duty. This was, as it were, the first essay of this young commander, who, tho' only twenty-four years of age, already equaled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery^a. On the other hand, the consul *Cotta*, being defeated in a sea engagement by the fleet of *Mithridates*, was forced to take refuge in *Chalcedon*, where he was closely besieged; but his colleague *Lucullus*, marching to his relief, forced *Mithridates* to retire. The king went from thence to besiege *Cyzicus*; but was obliged by *Lucullus* to drop that enterprize, after having lost the greatest part of his army, which, when he sat down before the place, was thirty thousand strong. The *Roman*, encouraged with this success, took several places from the enemy, and put an end to the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, to which we refer our readers for a full account of what we have only hinted at in this place.

A conspiracy against Sertorius.

THE republic was no less successful in *Spain* than in *Asia*. The senators, and other patricians, who served under *Sertorius*,

^z Cic. act. ii. in Verr. FLOR. lib. iii. c. 7. LIV. lib. xciv.
^a SUET. in Julio, c. 4. VELL. PATERC. lib. ii. c. 42.

thinking they could now make head against the enemy without him, began to be jealous of his glory. They were headed by *Perperna*, who was continually inveighing, both in private and in public, against *Sertorius* and his senate. That ambitious patrician could not brook the authority which he had assumed over his army; and, flattering himself that he should succeed him in the command of all the troops in *Lusitania*, he plotted his ruin, and drew into the conspiracy several officers, pretending, that *Sertorius* slighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Lusitanians*. The conspirators, not daring at first to make any attempt upon his life, by reason of the great affection the *Lusitanians* bore him, did all that lay in his power to alienate their minds from him, and secretly destroy his interest among them. With this view, the governors of the cities abused the inhabitants, punished them with the utmost severity, and loaded them with taxes, giving out, that all this was done by the express order of *Sertorius*. Hereupon several cities revolted, and great disturbances were raised all over *Lusitania*. *Sertorius* sent persons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appease the mutineers; but those, in whom he reposed most confidence, being gained over by his enemies, proved traitors to him, and, instead of mitigating the people, by gentle methods, exasperated them with an unseasonable severity, and left them at their departure more obstinate, and more inclined to revolt, than they had found them. This incensed *Sertorius* to such a degree, that he caused some of the children of the *Lusitanians*, who were educated at *Osca*, to be put to death, and sold others for slaves. This is the only piece of cruelty and injustice, which the author of *Sertorius's* life can lay to his charge (X): on all other occasions, he shewed a mildness of temper hardly to be matched.

IN

b PLUT. in Sert.

(X) However, he endeavours to excuse it, and reasons thus:
 “ The cruelty which *Sertorius*
 “ practised upon the *Spanish*
 “ hostages, seems to argue, that
 “ his clemency was not natural,
 “ but only acted, as his affairs
 “ required. As to my own opinion, I am persuaded, that true
 “ virtue, established by reason,
 “ and mature judgment, can
 “ never be totally perverted and
 “ extirpated by any misfortune
 “ whatever; not that I think it
 “ impossible, but that great indignities offered without cause,
 “ and frequent abuses put upon
 “ those of the best nature, and
 “ most virtuous inclinations,
 “ may make some impression
 “ and alteration in their temper:
 “ and thus, I suppose, it happened to *Sertorius*, who, being exasperated by repeated
 “ injuries of ungrateful persons,
 “ was at last severe to those who
 “ had wrongfully injured him.”
 Thus far *Plutarch* (6). What

(6) Plut. in Sert.

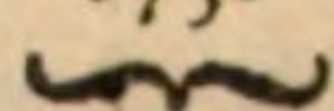
that

The conspi-
rators a-
gree to as-
sassinate
him at an
entertain-
ment.

IN the mean time, the base *Perperna* increased the number of the conspirators, and, amongst others, drew in *Manlius*, one of the chief officers of the army. This *Manlius*, having conceived a shameful passion for a young *Roman*, disclosed to him the whole conspiracy, telling him, that he should soon see him at the head of the army. The youth discovered to one *Aufidus*, what he had learnt of *Manlius*; but, as *Aufidus* himself was one of the conspirators, and knew not that *Manlius* was any way engaged in the plot, he made slight of what the youth said; but, when the young *Roman* named *Perperna*, *Gracinus*, *Q. Fabius*, *Tarquinius*, *Sertorius*'s two secretaries, and several others, who, *Aufidus* well knew, were all in the plot, he went immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and solicited him immediately to put their design in execution. Accordingly *Perperna*, with the consent of the other conspirators, pitched on that very day; and they all agreed to assassinate him at an entertainment, to which nobody but he and the conspirators should be invited. As it was no easy matter to engage him in a party of pleasure, they had recourse to artifice, and provided a messenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a signal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over *Pompey* and *Metellus*. He was so well pleased with this news, that he readily came into the proposal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promised to pass the evening with him, and his friends, in mirth and jollity.

Year of
the flood
2275.
Bef. Chr.

73.
Of Rome
675.



ACCORDINGLY, after he had returned solemn thanks to the gods for the pretended success, he went to *Perperna*'s quarters, to rejoice with him upon the new victory. At all entertainments, where *Sertorius* was present, great order and decency were observed; for they all knew, that he could not bear any loose and indecent discourses: but, in the midst of this entertainment, the conspirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very loosely, on purpose to provoke their general, and pick a quarrel with him. *Sertorius*, offended at their indecent and disrespectful behaviour, changed his posture, and, leaning backward, pretended not to hear nor regard them. Then *Perperna*, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the signal agreed on. Upon this *Antonius*, who was next to *Sertorius*, drew his poniard,

that writer did not think impossible, is not only possible, but very common; for nothing can be truer, than what *Electra* says in *Sophocles*; *It is very difficult, my friends, for any one in my condition to keep within due bounds,*

and not repine at Providence. Such woeful calamities change our very nature, and force us, in spite of ourselves, to become wicked. This is the only reason that can be offered, as an excuse for Sertorius.

and

and wounded him. The brave general strove to raise himself; but *Antonius*, throwing himself upon his breast, held both his hands, so that, without being in the least able to defend himself, he lay exposed to the fury of the rest of the conspirators, who fell upon him, and dispatched him. *Sertorius* was, without *His death.* contradiction, one of the greatest soldiers the republic had ever bred. *Rome* was so fully convinced of it, that she sent against him two of the greatest generals she had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*; but the glory which these two renowned warriors had acquired elsewhere, was eclipsed in *Spain*: they could never gain any considerable advantage over the *Lusitanian* general, and were at last by him driven quite out of the field, and forced to shelter themselves either in *Gaul*, or among the most inaccessible mountains. *Pompey*, who had been honoured in his youth with a triumph, and the surname of *Great*, and had filled all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, with the fame of his exploits, gained nothing in *Spain*, so long as *Sertorius* lived, but shame and disgrace. Upon his death, the treacherous *Perperna* took upon him the command of the army; but soon made it appear, that he understood no more how to command, than how to obey; for *Pompey*, who had continued for some time inactive in a corner of *Hispania*, no sooner heard of *Sertorius's* death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched against *Perperna*, gained *Perperna* an easy and complete victory over him, and took the traitor *defeated and taken.* himself prisoner.

As *Perperna* had, on *Sertorius's* death, seized on all his papers, he offered to shew *Pompey* letters from the greatest men in *Rome*, inviting him into *Italy*; but *Pompey*, not vouchsafing to see the perfidious wretch, ordered him to send to him all *Sertorius's* papers and writings sealed up. He no sooner received them, than he caused them to be burnt, unopened, in the presence of all the officers of his army; and, immediately after, ordered *Perperna* to be put to death, lest he should name any *Perperna* of *Sertorius's* correspondents, and by that means give occasion *put to* to new disturbances. As to the rest of the conspirators, some *death.* of them were taken, and put to death by *Pompey's* order; others fled into *Africa*, where they were murdered by the *Mauritanians*. In a short time, not one of them was left alive, except *Ausidus*, who, not being much inquired after, died many years after in an obscure village of *Spain*, in extreme poverty, and abhorred by all. The death of *Perperna* put an end to the *The war* war, which had employed the greatest generals, and the best *in Spain* forces of the republic, almost ten years. *Pompey*, though he *ended.* gained little reputation by this expedition, yet had the glory of ending it successfully. He continued some time in *Spain*, to

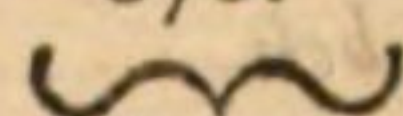
reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into Italy.

The war
of the
slaves un-
der Spar-
tacus.

Year of
the flood
2276.

Bef. Chr.
72.

Of Rome
676.



SCARCE was the rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new storm arose in the heart of *Italy*. In the next consulate of *Terentius Varro* and *Cassius Varus*, some slaves of *Capua*, having broken their chains, took up arms, and, under the conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* gladiator of uncommon abilities, first defeated the *Capuan* militia, and afterwards *Claudius Pulcher*, a *Roman* prætor, at the head of three thousand men. These successful beginnings so raised the reputation of *Spartacus*, that he soon saw himself at the head of ten thousand men, whom he led against the prætor *Vatinius*, and gave him a total overthrow. He then marched into *Cisalpine Gaul*, with a design to give his troops, who were mostly *Gauls*, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war^d.

Cnixius
defeated.

Spartacus
defeats
both the
consuls.

BUT the next year, when *Gellius Poplicola* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were consuls, *Cnixus*, one of the chiefs of the *Gaulish* slaves, separated from *Spartacus*, and marched back into *Apulia*, where he was attacked, and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the consul *Gellius*, and the proconsul *Anius*. Upon the news of this defeat, *Spartacus*, who was in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and had nothing else in view but to pass the *Alps*, and take shelter among the *Transalpine Gauls*, turned back, and, falling upon the consul *Lentulus*, who pursued him, gave him a total overthrow. Then, without day, he marched in quest of the consul *Gellius*, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to shelter themselves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic more humbled. Her two consuls, and her invincible legions, were forced to fly, in a shameful manner, before a *Thracian*, a gladiator, and a slave. *Spartacus* would not give quarter to any of the *Roman* prisoners, but, in honour of *Cnixus*, sacrificed them all round his funeral pile. As his army now consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, all fugitive slaves, he ravaged most of the provinces of *Italy*, without the least opposition; and then returned into *Lucania*, posted himself on the mountains near *Thurii*, and erected magazines in that city for the support of his numerous army^e.

Crassus
sent a-
gainst
Spartacus.

THE next year, when *Aufidius Orestes* and *Lentulus Sura* were consuls, the senate gave the conduct of the war against the rebellious gladiators to *Licinius Crassus*, one of the chief commanders of *Sylla's* party, and who had a great share in most of his victories. *Crassus*, having raised in a few days six legions, detached *Mummius*, one of his lieutenants, with two of them,

^d PLUT. in Crass. APPIAN. bell. civ. lib. i. FLOR. l. iii. c. 20.
^e OROS. l. v. c. 24. ^f Ibidem ibid.

to watch the enemy's motions, while he came up with the rest of the army. The rash lieutenant no sooner discovered the enemy, than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged *Spartacus*, contrary to the express orders of his general. The *Thracian* accepted the challenge, and put the *Romans* to flight at the first onset. *Crassus* soon after arrived, and, having reprimanded *Mummius* in the severest terms, he caused five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated; which seasonable piece of severity made him as much respected by his troops, as he had been formerly beloved.

He soon after marched in quest of the enemy, and falling in *Cuts off* with a body of ten thousand rebels, who were laying waste the *ten thou-* country, he fell upon them, and cutting off their retreat, put *sand of the* them all to the sword. Hereupon *Spartacus*, after a fruitless *r. bels.* attempt to get over to *Sicily*, posted himself in a peninsula near *Rhegium*. There *Crassus* shut him in with a ditch, from one sea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen feet broad, and as much in depth. But the brave *Spartacus*, taking the opportunity of a snowy stormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and encamped again in the open country. *Crassus* was afraid, lest he should march directly to *Rome*. But he was freed from this apprehension, when he saw a great body of the rebellious slaves, upon some discontent, revolt from *Spartacus*, and encamp by themselves. These *Crassus* attacked without loss of time, and defeated them, after a long and obstinate dispute. Twelve thousand three hun- *Bravery* dred of the enemy were killed upon the spot, of which number *of the* only two were found wounded in the back; all the rest died *slaves.* fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, *Spartacus* retired towards the mountains of *Petilia*. But his men, encouraged by a slight advantage gained over two of *Crassus's* officers, obliged him to march them back, and lead them against the *Romans*. This was what *Crassus* impatiently desired, being informed by his friends at *Rome*, that the people designed to recal him, and give the command of the army to their favourite idol *Pompey*. He therefore encamped near the enemy, and offered them battle.

As *Spartacus* could not retreat, being invested in his camp by *Crassus*, he drew up his army with all the skill of a great commander. When his horse was brought him before the onset, he drew his sword, and killed him, saying, *If I gain the victory, I shall have a great many better horses; if I lose it, I shall have no need of this.* He then began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with un- *Spartacus* paralleled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length *defeated* declared for the *Romans*. *Spartacus*, after all his men were *and slain.* fled,

Pompey's
vanity in
claiming
the glory of
putting an
end to the
war.

Pompey
and Cras-
sus consuls.

fled, stood his ground alone for a great while, with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand, and his sword in the other. At last, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon an heap of *Romans*, whom he had sacrificed to his fury. In this battle, forty thousand of the rebels were killed upon the spot, whereas the *Romans* lost but a thousand men^f. However, the fugitives rallied again, to the number of five thousand, and retired under the conduct of one *Publipor* into *Lucania*. Against these *Pompey* marched, and, having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a bragging letter to the senate, wherein he vainly assumed to himself the glory of having finished the war. *Crassus*, said he, *has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up the war by the roots*. This is the true spirit of ambition, which wrests every thing, even the actions of others, to its own advantage. *Crassus* was highly provoked at *Pompey's* vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deserved; but nevertheless, as he aspired at the consulship, and was well apprised, that it was in *Pompey's* power to get him excluded, he dissembled his resentment, and even begged his rival's interest. *Pompey*, who stood himself for the same dignity, and had long desired to lay some obligation upon *Crassus*, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open assembly, that he should be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of *Crassus*, as for his own. Upon this declaration, the tribes unanimously concurred in raising *Pompey* to the consulate, and giving him *Crassus* for his colleague. But this good understanding between the two rivals did not continue long. *Pompey* refused to disband the troops he had brought from *Spain*, till a triumph was decreed him. On the other hand, *Crassus* would not part with the command of the army he had led against *Spartacus*, so long as *Pompey* continued in arms; but gave out, that *Pompey* aspired at an absolute power, and intended to follow the example of *Sylla* (Y), and to govern by a standing army. These discourses

^f *Idem* *ibid.* & *FRONTIN.* l. ii. c. 5.

(Y) Nobody doubted but this was his design; whence *Cicero* wrote to *Atticus* in the following words; *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit: εἰδὼς σὸι λέγω, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit*; that is, "Our friend *Pompey* is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that *Sylla*: I tell you no more than

" what I know for certain; for
" he makes no secret of it (7)."
And elsewhere; *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & proscrip-
turit*; that is, "*Pompey* has been
" forming this shameful design
" for these two years last past;
" so strongly is his mind bent
" upon imitating *Sylla*, and pro-
" scribing like him (8)."

(7) *Cic. ad Attic.* l. vii. *epist.* 9.

(8) *Idem* *ibid.* *epist.* 10.

greatly

greatly exasperated *Pompey*; and the breach between the two *They fall* colleagues growing daily wider, the senate and people, to prevent *out.* the evil effects of their mutual jealousies, earnestly intreated them to disband their armies, and sacrifice their private resentments to the public peace. But they both continued obstinate; *Crassus* pretending, that *Pompey* ought first to disband his army, since he had first finished the *Spanish* war; and *Pompey* protesting, that he would not dismiss his troops, till the arrival of *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. The people, dreading to see *Rome* involved again in a civil war, even went so far as to beg of them, on their knees, in the comitium, to be reconciled. But, neither of them hearkening to the intreaties of the people, a Roman knight, by name *Ovatus Aurelius*, who had spent some years of his life in the country, and was then accidentally in *Rome*, mounting the rostra, gave them an account of a vision he pretended to have seen in his sleep. Jupiter, said he, *appeared to me last night, and admonishes you, O Romans, by my mouth, not to suffer the misunderstanding between the two consuls to continue any longer.* When *Ovatus* had done speaking, the people renewed their intreaties; and then *Crassus*, moved with sentiments of piety, made the first advances, drew near to *Pompey*, *Are in appearance* and offered him his hand. *Pompey* returned the civility; they *reconciled.* embraced each other; and soon after they disbanded their troops by consent.

HOWEVER, as their reconciliation was not sincere, each of them strove, by different methods, to gain the favour of the people, and strengthen his party. *Pompey* basely made his court to the multitude, by reinstating the tribunes in their antient power, which greatly contributed to the destruction of the commonwealth. He likewise engaged *M. Aurelius Cotta* the prætor *Pompey* to move, that some Roman knights might be appointed to be his *and Cras-* assessors, and to judge with him in civil causes. Thus the right *of* *Crassus affect* of judging private causes, which had been taken from the knights *popularity.* by *Sylla*, was, by means of *Pompey*, restored to them; which engaged that powerful order to support him in all his pretensions with their whole interest. On the other hand *Crassus*, to get the better of his rival in the esteem of the people, entertained them, though naturally covetous, with surprising profusion and magnificence at ten thousand tables, and at the same time distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Such prodigious largesses will seem less surprising, if we consider, that *Crassus* was the richest man in *Rome*; and that his estate amounted to seven thousand talents and upwards, that is, to 1356250 *l.* sterling. But, notwithstanding

& PLUT. in Crass. & Pomp. Cic. pro lege Manilia. & in Verr.
V.

this mighty bounty, *Pompey* still maintained the first place in the affections and esteem of the multitude ^h. This year the censorship, which had been suppressed during the civil wars, was revived, *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* being promoted to that dignity. These appointed *Q. Catulus* prince of the senate, struck the names of sixty-four antient senators out of the list, and made a census, in which they found, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand.

AND now the consulate of *Pompey* and *Crassus* being expired, the republic raised to the fasces the famous orator *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Dalmaticus*. As all was calm at *Rome* during their administration, *Pompey* no longer intermeddled in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar, as he had done formerly, nor the assemblies of the people. He seldom appeared in public; and when he did, he was always attended by a great number of clients, designing thereby to keep up the respect due to him, as a man of superior rank and uncommon merit. He even thought it beneath him to converse with the generality of the nobility, and therefore kept company only with a few select friends ⁱ. The following year the tribes raised *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*, to the consulate. The former died before he entered upon his office, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, was chosen in his room. But he also dying soon after his election, the people superstitiously took it for granted, that it was the pleasure of the gods that the republic should be governed one whole year by *Marcius* alone. During his administration, the senate, pretending that the *Cretans* had sided with *Mithridates*, and given a retreat to the pirates, sent *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* with a fleet to reduce that island. But of this expedition we have given a distinct account in our history of *Crete* ^k.

The island
of Crete
reduced.

The seas
infested by
pirates.

IN the following consulate of *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *Gabinus*, tribune of the people, at the instigation of *Pompey*, who began to be weary of a retired life, proposed a law for clearing the seas of the pirates, whose numbers and power daily increased. These robbers fitted out at first but a small number of light vessels; but upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who, during his war with *Rome*, took them into his service; they equipped a thousand galleys, and exercised a kind of sovereignty over all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*. They spared not one temple that was famous for its riches on the coasts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia*. All the country-seats on the sea-shore were a prey to them. They took slaves without

^h PLUT. in *Crasso*. CIC. de legib. l. iii. SALLUST. in bell. *Catilin.* ⁱ PLUT. *ibid.* ^k Vide vol. viii. p. 234--236.

number; blocked up all the ports of the republic; pillaged the city of *Caieta*; sunk part of a consular fleet at *Ostia*, and having made a descent near *Misene*, carried away the daughter of the old consul *Antonius*, with several other persons of distinction. They even surprised and carried off two *Roman* prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple robes, with their lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himself to be a *Roman*, the barbarians in derision threw themselves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. But after they had insolently sported with their prisoner, they often dressed him in a toga, and then casting out a ship's ladder, desired him to return home, and wished him a good journey. If he refused to leap into the sea, they threw him overboard, saying, that they would not by any means keep a free-born *Roman* in captivity. But the greatest calamity the world suffered by these tyrants of the sea, was the scarcity of provisions, which they occasioned not in *Europe* only, but likewise in *Asia* and *Africa*, no vessel venturing out without being taken¹. *Gabinus* therefore, who proposed a law for clearing the seas of these pirates, was much applauded for his zeal, though in reality he had nothing in view, but the procuring of new honours for *Pompey*, who had restored the college of tribunes to their former authority. In virtue of the law, which *Gabinus* The *Gabinus* proposed, the person, to whom the *Roman* people and senate nian law. should commit the management of this war (for the crafty tribune did not name *Pompey*) was to have a power without controul or restriction. His authority was to extend all over the seas within the *Streights*, or the *Pillars of Hercules*, and over all the countries for the space of four hundred furlongs from the sea. By the same law he was impowered to raise as many mariners and soldiers as he thought fit, to take what sums he pleased out of the public treasury, without being accountable for them, and to choose out of the senate fifteen senators to be his lieutenants, and to execute his orders, where he could not be present in person. As this arbitrary and unbounded authority was to be for three years, it gave a great deal of uneasiness and jealousy to the senate. They saw through the tribune's design, and several of them reproached *Pompey* with aiming at the sovereignty of *Rome*; nay, the consul *Calpurnius* told him smartly, that if he followed the footsteps of *Romulus*, he would scarce avoid his end. But he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the people for threatening with such freedom their favourite. The conscript fathers, finding the people determined to pass the law, had recourse to their old method of disconcerting the measures of the tribunes, and gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roscius*^m.

¹ PLUT. in *Pomp.* APPIAN. *Mithrid.* Flor. l. iii. c. 6. ^m PLUT. in *Pomp.* DIO CASS. lib. lvi.

As nobody doubted but this extensive commission, which the tribune *Gabinus* called the *proconsulate of the seas*, was designed for *Pompey*, when the day appointed for holding the comitia came, in which the *Gabinian* law was to be received or rejected, the concourse was prodigious. The tribune *Trebellius* attempted to oppose it; but the tribes threatening to depose him, he was forced to give way, and be silent. Then *Catulus*, prince of the senate, rising up, made a long speech, which was nothing but a panegyric upon *Pompey*. In the close of his harangue, he advised the people not to expose a man of his value, the greatest general of the republic, to so many dangers. *For if you should lose him*, said he, *where could you find another Pompey? or whom would you put in his place?* At these words the people, who had hearkened to the venerable senator with great attention, cried out with one voice, *You, Catulus, we will put you in his place.* *Catulus*, no longer able to resist the firm resolution of the whole people, and at the same time pleased with the esteem they shewed for him, waved his opposition and withdrew. Then the tribune *Roscus* attempted to speak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to signify, that he was for dividing that extensive commission between two persons, and not intrusting *Pompey* alone with such an ample and unlimited authority. Upon this the assembly made such a terrible outcry, that a crow flying accidentally over the comitium at that instant, was stunned, and dropt down among the rabbleⁿ. *Hortensius* and several other senators spoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impression on the multitude. *Cicero* never opened his mouth, though so fine an opportunity offered of displaying his talents. He did not care to make either *Pompey*, the senate, or the people, his enemies. The whole day being spent in speeches and debates, the determination was postponed to the next, when *Gabinus's* motion was agreed to by a great majority, and *Pompey* to make war on the pirates with the title of proconsul. The people even granted him more than the tribune had desired; for they allowed him to equip five hundred ships, to raise an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and to choose out of the senate twenty, or, as *Appian* has it, twenty-five senators for his lieutenants. He had also two quaestors allowed him, and six thousand *Attic* talents paid down to him before he left *Rome*. Thus the people, seduced by their tribunes, were running blindly into slavery; for *Pompey's* it was now in *Pompey's* power to follow the example of *Sylla*, and make himself absolute master of the republic^o.

The Gabi-
nian law
passes.

Year of
the flood

2282.

Bef. Chr.

66.

Of Rome

682.

~~~~~

*Pompey's*

power.

<sup>n</sup> PLUT. *ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

HOWEVER



HOWEVER on this occasion he behaved with great integrity, *He extir-* and gained more glory than he had done by all his former ex-*pates the* ploits. He conducted the expedition with such prudence, and *pirates.* took such wise measures, that instead of the three years allowed him, he quite cleared the seas in four months, after having taken or sunk, according to some, one thousand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty-six of their vessels, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and made himself master of an hundred and twenty towns or castles on the coasts, which they had seized. In this glorious expedition, the proconsul set at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thousand of the pirates prisoners, whom he sent to people the deserted cities of *Cilicia*, namely, *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, and *Soli*, which latter he called from his own name *Pompeiopolis* <sup>P</sup>.

No sooner did the news of *Pompey's* victories reach *Rome*, *The Mani-* than *Manilius*, tribune of the people, at the instigation of the *lian law.* proconsul's friends and agents, proposed a new law in his favour, importing, that *Lucullus* should be recalled from *Asia*, where he was waging war with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; that the conduct of the armies employed against those two princes should be committed to *Pompey*; that *Cilicia*, where *Marcus Rex* commanded, and *Bithynia*, which had been allotted to *Acilius Glabrio*, should be resigned to him; and that finally he should, at the same time, retain the same naval forces and sovereignty of the seas as before. This was appointing him absolute monarch of all the *Roman* dominions; for the provinces, which were exempted from his authority by the former decree, such as *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Colchis*, *Armenia*, &c. would by this new law be within the precincts of his province. This was the famous law, which from its author was styled the *Manilian law*. When the tribune proposed it in the comitia, it raised such disturbances among the nobility, and the zealous republicans, as are not easily described. They looked upon the new law as calculated for the establishing of tyranny: *We have then got at last*, said they, *a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcus, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey: Sylla never carried his tyranny so far, &c.*

THEY encouraged one another to use their utmost efforts in opposition to so scandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty at so tame a rate. But notwithstanding the resolution *The cow-* they shewed in private, when the day came for the accepting *ardice of* or rejecting of the *Manilian law*, their hearts failed them; inso-*the senate.*

<sup>P</sup> APPIAN. & PLUT. *ibid.* c. 31. CIC. *pro lege Manilia.* VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.



much, that of all the conscript fathers, only *Hortensius* and *Catulus* had courage enough to speak against it. The latter especially made surprising efforts to dissuade the people from investing one man with such an absolute power; he reproached them with the injustice they were going to do *Lucullus*, described to them in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by sea and land, enumerated the many evils which they had reason to apprehend from such an unbounded authority, &c. But finding the people heard him with great indifference, and grew uneasy at his discourse, he directed his speech to the senate, and raising his voice, *Let us fly*, said he, *conscript fathers, let us fly, to some mountain, as our forefathers have done; let us fly to some rocks, where we may shelter ourselves from the slavery with which we are threatened.*

Cicero and Cæsar and Cæsar: The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him, than that of *Catulus* and the senate. On this occasion he made that speech, which is still preserved, and will be the admiration of all ages. As for *Cæsar*, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit, and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed. Thus was the public interest, as it too commonly happens, sacrificed to private views. The decree passed by the suffrages of all the tribes; and the people of their own accord conferred on *Pompey* as extensive an authority, as *Sylla* had usurped by an armed force<sup>1</sup>. He was still on the coasts of *Asia*, when news were brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had vested him. He received it with an affected modesty and reluctance: *What!* said he, *will Rome then burden me with a new war? Must I never have any rest? Must I sacrifice to the desires of my country the pleasures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife? Happy, thrice happy are those who live in the inglorious croud, unknown and unregarded!* *Plutarch* tells us, that even his most zealous friends were highly displeased with such gross hypocrisy, well knowing what steps he had taken in order to procure this new commission. *Lucullus*, seeing himself thus degraded, returned to *Rome*, where he was received by the nobility with all possible marks of esteem, and honoured with a most pompous and magnificent triumph. As for *Pompey*, he pursued the war against *Mithridates* and *Triganes* with great success, and performed those glorious exploits in *Pontus*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, &c. which we have described at large in our history of *Pontus*.

Pompey's  
dissimula-  
tion and  
hypocrisy.

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. DIO, lib. xxxvi. LIV. lib. c. VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii. c. 33. CIC. pro lege Manilia.

WHILE



WHILE *Pompey* was extending the dominions of the republic *Catiline's* in *Asia*, some wicked citizens were plotting her ruin at home. *character.* At the head of these was *Lucius Sergius Catiline*, who was descended of an illustrious patrician family, but had rendered himself infamous by a continued series of debaucheries, incests, murders, and the most horrible crimes. He is said to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of distinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewise accused of keeping an unlawful correspondence with *Fabia Terentia*, the *Vestal*, sister to *Terentia*, *Cicero's* wife. He had committed murders without number, and had been, in the time of *Sylla's* proscriptions, the most merciless minister of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, had raised him to the principal dignities of the republic. He had been quæstor, lieutenant in several armies, and had governed *Africa* in quality of prætor. But in all these different employments he had equally dishonoured himself by his debaucheries, and enormous oppressions. As he had squandered away his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no prospect of retrieving his affairs, but by the subversion of the state. He therefore watched all opportunities of raising disturbances; and one offered soon after his return from *Africa*, where he had been prætor.

*P. ANTRONIUS PÆTUS* and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the son of the dictator's brother, being chosen consuls, and afterwards disqualified for that office, upon their being convicted of having openly bought the suffrages of the people, *Catiline* prevailed upon them to enter into a plot against the consuls who were chosen in their room, viz. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*. His *Conspires* scheme was to assassinate them both, murder the greatest part of *against* the senators, and seize the government. Besides *Antroni* and *the consuls* *Sylla*, he engaged a great many young men, who were undone *and senate.* by their excesses, and among the rest *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, a youth of a noble family, but rash, factious, and by his excesses reduced almost to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends of *January*, when the new consuls took possession of their office. But the conspirators not having found a convenient opportunity that day, they put off the affair to the nones of *February*, the day appointed for the usual meeting of the conscript fathers. But this second attempt proved as unsuccessful as the first. *Catiline* gave the signal at an improper time, before the conspirators were got together; so that nobody offered to stir; by which means the lives of the consuls and senators were saved, and the most bloody and execrable con- *His con-* spiracy, which had been formed since the foundation of *Rome*, *spiracy de-* came to nothing. However, *Catiline* did not drop his wicked *seated.* design. As he had spent his patrimony in debauchery, and was



plunged in debt, he had no resource but in the subversion of the republic<sup>r</sup>. But we shall leave him for a while to observe the conduct of another young *Roman*, who had the same view with *Catiline* of subverting the whole constitution, but took more prudent and better concerted measures for the executing of his design.

Julius Cæ-  
sar cap-  
tivates the  
hearts of  
the people.

THIS was *Julius Cæsar*, who, having passed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæstor, was this year raised to the ædileship, in which employment he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the people. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his behaviour. His liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments surpassed any thing that had ever before been seen in *Rome*. As he was naturally of a generous disposition, he is said to have owed above one thousand three hundred talents, that is, 251875 *l*. sterling, before he entered upon any of the public offices. The immense sums he bestowed upon the populace gave no umbrage even to his enemies, who used to say, that this was a short-lived shew, which would soon end with his estate, and then he would be reduced to the state of a common citizen. *Cicero* only saw farther than the vulgar into the intentions of the ambitious youth. He was the first who had any suspicion of his aspiring at sovereign power, and often used to say, that in all his other actions and intrigues he plainly discovered the air of a tyrant; but when he saw his hair lie in so exact order, and observed him so often adjusting it with his finger, he could not imagine it should enter into such a man's thoughts to subvert the *Roman* state. *Cicero* did not discover that manly courage and intrepidity, which lay concealed under the appearance of luxury and effeminacy.

He re-  
pairs the  
Appian  
way.

As the office of ædile confined him to *Rome*, he undertook the repairing of the *Appian* way, and finished that great work almost wholly at his own expence. He entertained the people with a shew of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticoes of timber with seats all round the forum, that the populace might see, without any inconvenience, the *Megalesian* games, which were exhibited at *Rome*, during his ædileship. By these means he so captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him, than to *Pompey*.

He revives  
the memory  
and ho-  
nours of  
Marius.

Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praise of his aunt *Julia*, though she was the widow of *Marius*, whose name was odious to the senate and nobility; and was even so bold as to bring forth on that occasion the images of *Marius*, which nobody had presumed to produce since the government first came into *Sylla's* hands. The nobility exclaimed against him for reviving the memory of one, who had



been declared an enemy to his country ; but the people applauded the action ; and this encouraged him to set up in the night-time the statues and trophies of *Marius*, which *Sylla* had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crowded to see them, and many of *Marius's* party even wept for joy at the sight of his statues and trophies. But the nobility inveighed bitterly against *Cæsar*, as if he had designs upon the government, and *Catulus* even accused him before the senate, of aiming at the same tyrannical power which *Marius* had usurped. He closed his speech with this remarkable saying : *Cæsar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it.* But the accused answered the invectives of *Catulus* with so much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but highly applauded by the people, as a relation worthy of the great *Marius*. *Julius Cæsar* being thus become the idol of the people, he prevailed upon them to confer the consular dignity on *L. Julius Cæsar*, one of his own family, though of another branch. The colleague the republic gave him was *C. Marcius Figulus*, a man of a mild disposition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their administration, *Cæsar* got many of *Sylla's* partisans condemned, some to perpetual banishment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's tyrannical reign. Among the latter was *L. Bellicus*, uncle to *Catiline* ; but *Catiline* himself was spared, though he had been the chief instrument of *Sylla's* fury<sup>s</sup>. He was a friend to *Cæsar*, and had communicated to him, as was supposed, his wicked design of subverting the government. Of this horrible conspiracy the antients give us the following account :

CATILINE, though he had failed in his two former plots, as we have related above, yet did not drop his wicked design of subverting the government, but having strengthened his party with a great number of senators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the senate were *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Cæsius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *Publius* and *Servius Sylla*, *L. Var-gunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius* ; and among the knights, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. We are told, that *M. Licinius Crassus* was also privy to the plot, and that *Cæsar* favoured it underhand. These two cunning, and equally ambitious men, waited for the event before they would declare themselves. Besides the above-mentioned senators and knights, *Catiline* drew into the plot all the debauched youth of *Rome*, who had squandered away their estates, and could no longer follow their extravagant courses ; and likewise some of the old soldiers and

Catiline's  
conspiracy.  
Year of  
the flood  
2284.  
Bef. Chr.  
64.  
Of Rome  
684.

<sup>s</sup> PLUT. in Cæsar. SALLUST. bell. Catilin.



officers of *Sylla's* army, who, after having consumed all the rewards of their former services in debaucheries, were longing for a new civil war, as the only remedy against want and poverty.

The conspiracy discovered to Cicero.

As it was very difficult, that the designs of such men as were continually rioting, should long remain secret, *Cicero* was informed of them by *Fulvia*, a woman of distinction, but who dishonoured her family by a criminal correspondence with *Quintus Curius*, one of the conspirators. The young debauchee finding himself scornfully treated by *Fulvia*, after he had spent his estate upon her, in order to recover her favour, boasted, that he should be soon rich enough to please her; adding, that the method he was taking to become so, was a secret, which he would never disclose to her. This awaked her curiosity; and as she was more artful than her lover, she soon prevailed upon him by her caresses to unravel the whole plot. Whether *Fulvia* was really struck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not succeed, as being managed in great part by young people, she made a full discovery of all she had heard to *Cicero*, but concealed the name of the person, who had given her that intelligence. This discovery *Cicero*, who then stood for the consulate, and had *Catiline* for his competitor, made use of to get himself chosen, and *Catiline* excluded. The colleague given him by the tribes was *C. Antonius*, a man naturally lazy, a lover of ease and pleasure, and who hitherto no farther concerned himself in public affairs, than was necessary to shew, that he was not absolutely unfit for them. As he was a man of little weight, and easily manageable, *Cicero* flattered himself, that he should be able, with a little art, to get the ascendant over him, and govern him as he pleased. They no sooner entered upon their office, than *P. Servilius Rullus*, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the old troubles about the distribution of the conquered lands. But he was vigorously opposed by *Cicero*, who by the force of his eloquence prevailed upon the people to sacrifice their private interest to the public tranquillity. The cause of the public disturbances being removed, the new consul applied himself next to draw off his colleague from the faction of the tribunes, which he favoured; and succeeded by changing provinces with him, and resigning to him the government of *Macedon*, which by lot was fallen to himself, and taking that of *Gaul*, which was less profitable, and had fallen to *Antonius*. This done, he made it his chief business to prevent any popular disturbance. One had like to have been raised in the theatre, on account of the new distinction which the tribune *Otho* had given to the *Roman* knights, allotting to them, in all public shews, the fourteen first ranks after those of the senators. But *Cicero* interposed, and harangued the people with such strength and



and success, that they willingly complied with *Otho's* regulation. By this means he stifled a sedition in its birth, of which *Catiline* might have made a very ill use<sup>t</sup>.

IN the mean time *Catiline*, grown outrageous at *Cicero's* Preparations made success, resolved to stand once more for the consulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in case he should not succeed. He by *Catiline* borrowed what money he could; and engaged his partisans to for an open raise as much as possible upon their credit, and on securities. revolt.

These sums were lodged in the hands of one *Manlius*, a soldier of fortune, who had served with great reputation of bravery under *Sylla*, and at that time resided at *Fæsulæ* in *Hetruria*. As that city was a colony of *Sylla's* soldiers, *Manlius*, who had great interest among them, engaged them in the plot, and made considerable levies throughout all *Hetruria*. *Lucullus* the famous general, whom *Pompey* had succeeded in the east, being informed of these preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the senate, and assisted the consul with all his interest in the prosecution of the traitor. *Cicero* at the same time kept up a strict correspondence with *Fulvia*, and even gained over some of the conspirators, who, pursuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmest promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he discovered the designs of *Catiline*, the various sentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private views of each of the conspirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conspirators were to set fire to several parts of the city; that during the confusion and uproar, which so general a conflagration would occasion, some were to murder the chief men of the senate in their houses, others to assemble the mutinous populace, seize the capitol, and fortify themselves there, till *Manlius* arrived from *Hetruria* with his veterans. Two Roman knights were appointed to murder *Cicero* in his own house; but the consul immediately informed of all that passed in their assembly, summoned the senate, and boldly informed the fathers, in *Catiline's* presence, of the danger they were in.

HE communicated to them the whole plot, and though he did not think proper to name those, by whom he had been informed, yet the senate by a public decree ordered the consuls to *The consuls* take care that the republic suffered no detriment; an antient form, are vested by which the magistrates for the time being had almost an un- with an bounded authority conferred on them. *Cicero*, invested with such extraor- an ample power, dispatched, without delay, some of the wor- dinary thiest senators to the principal cities in *Italy*, to keep them in power. awe. At the same time he placed guards in different parts of *Rome*, to prevent the incendiaries. By his advice, the senate

\* PLUT. in Cic. CIC. in Rull. & Pison. SALLUST. bell. Catilin. promised



promised not only a pardon, but ample rewards to any of the conspirators, who should make farther discoveries of this black attempt. But not one single man, which is very surprising, out of so great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence against his accomplices. The consul might indeed, upon his own personal knowlege, have made use of the new power the senate had given him, and condemned *Catiline* and his adherents to death without appeal. But as this was a dangerous step, he thought it more adviseable to induce *Catiline* to leave *Rome*, and take refuge in *Manlius's* camp near *Fæfulæ*.

Cicero  
harangues  
the people  
against  
*Catiline*.

WITH this view he assembled the conscript fathers, and *Catiline* appearing among the rest, as if he had been no-way concerned in the affair, those senators, near whom he came to seat himself, quitting their places, left him quite by himself. Then *Cicero*, no longer able to conceal his indignation, first read certain letters, which had been put into his hand by *Licinius Crassus* (Z); and then, directing his speech to *Catiline*, made that famous oration, which is still extant, and will ever be admired by all men of taste and judgment. *Catiline* heard his speech with the most artful dissimulation, and even had the assurance to intreat the conscript fathers, not to suffer themselves to be prejudiced against him by the calumnies of his most bitter enemy, a new man, who had not in *Rome* so much as an house of his own, and who had forged a conspiracy in order to raise himself, and acquire the title of *defender of his country*. He added, that *Cicero* laughed in private at their credulity, and the false alarms he had given them. But when he proceeded to invectives against the consul, he was interrupted by the cries of the whole assembly, the senate-house ringing with the names of incendiary, parricide, enemy to his country, &c. *Catiline*, highly provoked at these reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, *Since you have provoked me to the utmost, I will not perish alone, but will have the satisfaction of involving those who have sworn my ruin, in the same destruction with myself.* Having thus spoken, he instantly left the senate, and sending for *Cetbegus*, *Lentulus*, and the other chief conspirators, he gave them an account of what had just happened

(Z) After *Crassus* had supped, one of his servants brought him a packet, which, he said, had been delivered to him by an unknown person. In the packet were several letters directed to different people, and one to *Crassus* himself, which he read; and found therein the whole scheme of the conspiracy. The

anonymous writer likewise advised him to leave *Rome* without delay, if he tendered his life. Upon this *Crassus* went directly to the consul, and delivered to him the packet, in order to clear himself of the suspicion, which his strict friendship with *Catiline* had raised.



in the senate; made them sensible, that he could no longer stay in *Rome* with safety; encouraged them to lay hold of the first opportunity of setting fire to the city, of assassinating the senators, and above all of destroying the consul, the only man who could render their designs abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himself at the head of the forces, which *Manlius* had raised for him in *Hetruria*, and that they should soon see him again with such a force, as would strike the boldest of his enemies with dread and terror <sup>u</sup>.

AFTER this conference he set out in great haste for *Hetruria*, *Catiline* attended by three hundred of his party. His sudden flight gave <sup>leaves</sup> *Cicero* great pleasure; but as he was sensible how tender the <sup>Rome.</sup> people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exasperate the populace against him, by suggesting, that he had banished a *Roman* citizen without consulting them, the next day he mounted the rostra, and in his second oration against *Catiline*, which is still preserved in his works, informed the assembly of the true state of affairs, assuring them with great firmness, that no care or vigilance should be wanting on his part to guard them against the impending dangers <sup>w</sup>.

IN the mean time *Catiline* arriving at *Manlius's* camp in the neighbourhood of *Fæsculæ*, took upon him the command of the troops, and at the same time assumed all the marks of a supreme magistrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and fasces. The senate informed of so open a rebellion, declared *Catiline* and *Manlius* enemies to their country, and at the same <sup>declared</sup> time ordered the consul *Antonius* to take the field with a pro- <sup>an enemy</sup> consular army, and *Cicero* to continue in *Rome*, and there watch <sup>to his</sup> the motions of the conspirators. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree <sup>country.</sup> was also passed, promising impunity to all those who should abandon *Catiline*, and return to *Rome* within a limited time, and declaring those guilty of high treason against the state, who should join him. Notwithstanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him both from *Rome*, and the other cities of *Italy*. Among others the son of *Aulus Fulvius*, a venerable senator, set out for the army of the rebels; but his father dispatched messengers after him, who brought him back to *Rome*; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and caused his severe sentence to be immediately put in execution.

IN the mean time *Lentulus*, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, endeavoured to draw into the plot the ambassadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome*, in order to get assistance from *Transalpine Gaul*. But the ambassadors imparted the whole affair to

<sup>u</sup> SALLUST. *ibid.* Cic. in *Catil. orat. i.* <sup>w</sup> PLUT. in *Cic.*  
SALLUST. *ibid.* Cic. in *Catilin. orat. ii.*



*Is betrayed by the em-  
bassadors of the Al-  
lobroges.* *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was the protector of their nation, according to the custom of those times, when the different states subject to the republic had in the senate one who took care of their interests. *Sanga*, after having made them sensible of the danger of such an undertaking, brought them to the consul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conspirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conspiracy. Accordingly, the ambassadors made no difficulty to close with the proposals of the conspirators, but insisted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, signed by all the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they should set out on the third of the nones of *December*, and take their way through *Hetruria* to get the treaty ratified by *Catiline*. *Cicero* being informed by the ambassadors when they were to leave *Rome*, sent privately two prætors with a sufficient number of troops to lie in wait for them, seize them with the conspirators, who attended them, and bring them all back to *Rome*. The prætors faithfully executed their commission; the ambassadors together with *Vultureius*, who had taken upon him to conduct them to *Catiline*, were stopt at the bridge *Milvius*, and brought back to *Rome* with all the papers, which either the *Allobroges* or *Vultureius* had in their custody.

*The chiefs of the conspiracy seized.*

THIS news *Cicero* received by break of day, and having now in his power undeniable proofs of the conspiracy, he sent, without loss of time, proper officers to seize *Lentulus*, *Gabinus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and other chiefs of the conspiracy, in their houses. These were not sent to the public prisons, but, agreeably to the tenderness of the *Roman* laws shewed to citizens, though suspected of the greatest crimes, were only committed to the care of some of the most illustrious senators. Then the consul, upon the deposition of the *Allobroges*, ordered the house of *Cethegus* to be searched; and having found there a great quantity of sulphur and tow, with arms of all sorts, he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witnesses with the criminals, and prevailed on *Vultureius* to discover the secrets of the plot. *Cicero*, having thus got the proofs he expected both from the witnesses and criminals, assembled the senate again; when the conscript fathers returned him the thanks he deserved, and acknowledged, that by his wisdom, vigilance, and courage, he had discovered a detestable plot, saved *Rome* from the flames, and preserved the republic from utter ruin. *Catulus* and *Cato* went so far as to style him the father of his country, an appellation, which had never been given to any *Roman* before him. *L. Gellius* moved, that a civic crown should be given the consul, a mark of honour which had never been granted but in camps. After these applauses,

*Cicero styled father of his country.*



the conscript fathers entered into a debate concerning the punishment of the criminals; but before they came to any resolution, *L. Tarquinius*, one of the conspirators, appeared before the fathers, confessed his guilt, and accused *M. Licinius Crassus*, the richest man in *Rome*, of being concerned in the conspiracy. But the very name of *Crassus* raised a great clamour in the assembly; his friends cried out, that *Tarquinius* had been suborned; and those very senators, who suspected *Crassus*, joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great interest; so that *Tarquinius* was the only sufferer by his accusation. He was condemned to imprisonment, and enjoined

never to mention this affair again, unless it were to discover the person who had suborned him. The senate, after long and warm debates, came to no other resolution, than that the four chief criminals, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Gabinus*, should be carried to the public prison, and there kept under close confinement, till the fathers agreed about the punishment that should be inflicted upon them. During these delays, *Cethegus* found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raise the whole party, and try their utmost to rescue them out of prison. But *Cicero*, informed of this, posted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the cross-ways, and having assembled the senate anew on the nones of *December*, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate resolution concerning the prisoners.

*Syllanus*, consul elect for the ensuing year, was, according to custom, asked his advice first; and he, without hesitation, declared, that in his opinion, they all deserved to die. All who voted after him, were of the same opinion, except *T. Nero* and *Julius Cæsar*. The latter made a famous speech in

praise of clemency, which is still extant, and by all admired as a most artful piece of oratory. He concluded, saying, that in an affair, which concerned the lives of citizens, and of the principal patricians in *Rome*, it was adviseable not to be too hasty in giving judgment; but that they should be well guarded, and kept in some towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* was vanquished. As *Cæsar* was an excellent orator, his speech made a great impression on the assembly. Most of the senators, and among the rest *Syllanus*, retracting what he had said, declared for *Cæsar's* opinion.

BUT *Cato*, when it came to his turn to vote, represented in such lively colours the horrible designs of the conspirators, and shewed with so many unanswerable arguments, that clemency was incompatible with the safety of the state, that the whole senate returned to their former opinion, and sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators without any opposition but from *Cæsar* only, who, obstinately persisting in his opinion, made such a noise, that the guards at the door came into the senate, and thinking him a conspirator, would have

killed



He is suspected;

killed him, had they not been prevented by *Cicero* and *Curio* (A). *Cæsar*'s unseasonable mildness, and management in this whole affair, made most of the senators suspect he had a hand in the plot; nay, *Curius* undertook to prove from some writings of *Catiline*, that he had entered into engagements with the author of the conspiracy. But *Cicero*, who was sensible how great his interest was in *Rome*, avoided impeaching him with the rest, lest by the assistance of his friends and relations, he should not only escape the rigour of the law himself, but should likewise save the rest of the criminals. As *Cæsar* was going out of the senate, the knights, who were upon duty, turned the points of their naked swords towards him, watching the consul's looks to receive his orders. But *Cicero* made them a sign to let him escape, either for fear of the people, or because he thought the murder illegal <sup>x</sup>.

The conspirators executed.

As soon as the decree for the execution of the criminals was passed, *Cicero*, though it was late in the day, went directly from the assembly to the prisons, and to prevent a rescue in the night, had them executed in his sight. As he was returning home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crowded about him, and cried out, *Vixerunt, They have lived*, an expression then in use among the *Romans* to avoid saying, *Mortui sunt, they are dead*; death and dead being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conspirators, who had resolved to break open the prisons in the night, and rescue them, were thunderstruck, when they heard they were executed, lost all hopes, and immediately dispersed. It is impossible to express the joy which the people shewed when they heard that the plot was suppressed, and the conspirators punished. They conducted the consul to his house with extraordinary shouts and acclamations:

<sup>x</sup> SALLUST. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Cic.* & *Cæsar.*

(A) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the contest between *Cato* and *Cæsar*. *Servilia*, *Cato*'s sister, being in love with *Cæsar*, sent a slave to him with a letter, in which she expressed her affection in the most passionate terms. The slave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into *Cæsar*'s own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the senate. *Cato* no

sooner saw the letter delivered, than he cried out, that it came from one of the conspirators, and insisted upon its being read to the assembly. *Cæsar* smiling, gave him the letter, and *Cato*, after he had perused it, threw it back to him, saying with his usual sourness, *Take it, drunkard* (9). This reproach *Cæsar* well deserved; for in his youth he was greatly given to drinking.

(9) *Plut. in Cat.*



as it was night, fires were made in the streets, through which he passed, and the whole city was illuminated; men, women, and even children, calling him, as he passed by, *the deliverer of Rome, the second founder of the city, the father of his country, &c.* This night was more glorious to him, than a day of triumph had ever been to the greatest general. No consul ever since the birth of the republic had done her more important services. Others had enlarged her territories by her victories; but *Cicero* saved the lives of his fellow-citizens, and the state itself from utter ruin <sup>y</sup>.

*CICERO* and *Antonius* had no sooner yielded the fasces to *D. Junius Syllanus* and *L. Licinius Murena*, than *Q. Metellus*, and *L. Bestia*, two tribunes of the people, to rob *Cicero* of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, made a motion for recalling *Pompey* from *Asia* to march against *Catiline*. *Cæsar*, jealous of *Cicero*'s glory, and growing interest, supported the tribunes; but *Cato*, with great intrepidity, opposed the motion; *Distur-* whereupon the two tribunes and *Cæsar* raised such a tumult, *bances* that *Cato* was driven from the rostra by violence, and narrowly *raised by* escaped with his life. However, the tumult was no sooner ap- *Cæsar*, peased, than the people returned in crouds to the comitium, *and the* supported *Cato*, and prevented *Metellus* from publishing the *tribunes.* edict. When the senate were informed of these violences, they deprived both the tribunes and *Cæsar*, who was then prætor, of their offices. *Metellus* left *Rome*, and set out for *Asia* to complain to *Pompey* of the small concern the *Roman* people shewed for his glory; but *Pompey* paid little regard to his complaints. As for *Cæsar*, he at first refused to comply with the decree of the senate; but at length, fearing the resentment of the fathers, he laid down his office, and shut himself up in his house. The multitude, who adored him, offered to restore him to his post; but he wisely refused it without the consent of the senate. This conduct charmed the fathers to such a degree, that after many encomiums, they reinstated him in his prætorship. Thus by the departure of *Metellus*, and the political moderation of *Cæsar*, tranquillity was restored to the city.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* made it his *Antonius* whole business to lead his army into *Transalpine Gaul*, where *marches* the whole nation seemed ready to declare for him. To prevent *against* this, *Q. Metellus Celer*, leaving *Picenum*, which he had guarded *Catiline*, the last year, posted himself with three legions at the foot of the *Alps*. On the other hand *Antonius*, *Cicero*'s late colleague, kept following *Catiline* in the rear; so that the rebels were in a manner hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this situation *Catiline* resolved to attack *Antonius*, who, as he had been formerly of his faction, seemed to act but faintly against him. With this



Catiline  
resolves to  
give An-  
tonius  
battle.

Antonius  
commits  
the com-  
mand of  
the army  
to Petrei-  
us.

Catiline  
defeated  
and killed.

Year of  
the flood  
2286.  
Bef. Chr.  
62.  
Of Rome  
686.

view he marched back, and meeting the proconsul near the city of *Pistoria*, now *Pistoia*, he drew up his men in order of battle. In the first line he posted eight cohorts, which were the best armed; in the second the veterans, who had served under *Sylla*, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of husbandry. Having drawn up his troops, he led them to a great distance from his camp, to shew that he was fully resolved to give battle. *Antonius* observed the enemy's motions, but would not stir out of his camp, though all the officers of the army pressed him not to slip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. Should *Catiline* escape, said they, and get into *Gaul*, what will be the fate of *Italy*? Who knows how much blood must be spilt before the rebels are crushed? But *Antonius* would not by any means consent to an engagement; which some historians ascribe to a secret inclination he had for the party, which he was ordered to destroy. Whatever were the motives, when the legionaries absolutely insisted on their being led against the enemy, he pretended to be indisposed, and committed the conduct of his army to *Petreius*, who had served above thirty years, and had raised himself by his merit from a private soldier to the post of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now served under *Antonius*. The soldiers, not doubting of victory, under so brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expressed. The rebels sustained the onset with equal intrepidity and resolution, and being encouraged by the example of their leader, obliged *Petreius's* first line to give ground. But that brave commander flying to their relief with a body of fresh men, the rebels were in their turn forced to retire in disorder. Hereupon *Catiline*, reproaching his men with cowardice, and putting them in mind of the promise they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory continued doubtful, till *Manlius*, and the officer of *Fæsulæ*, who commanded the wings, were both killed. Then, *Catiline* being no longer able to govern so great a body himself, his ranks were broken, and most of his men, especially in the wings, dispersed. Hereupon the head of the rebels, resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, threw himself in a great rage into the midst of the enemy, and there found the death which he sought. He no sooner fell than his whole army betook themselves to flight, leaving *Petreius* master of the field. That prudent commander would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the most part *Roman* citizens, to escape, and return to their own houses. Of the rebels three thousand were killed on the spot. *Catiline* was found on an heap of dead bodies, still breathing, and



and with those marks of fierceness in his countenance, notwithstanding the agonies of death, which had rendered him formidable to his enemies during his life <sup>z</sup>.

AND now nothing more seemed wanting with regard to the conspiracy, than to punish *Catiline's* accomplices. *L. Vettius*, a Roman knight, became their accuser, and included *Cæsar*, now *Cæsar* prætor, in the number. *Q. Curius* likewise accused him to the <sup>privy to</sup> senate of being one of the chief conspirators, and in proof of <sup>the con-</sup> his deposition quoted the testimony of *Catiline* himself, by whom <sup>spiracy.</sup> he said he had been told the names of all the conspirators, and particularly that of *Cæsar*. As for *Vettius*, he offered to produce the accused's own hand-writing, which had been found among *Catiline's* papers. But *Cæsar* called upon *Cicero* to witness the discoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and *Cicero's* testimony was his justification: not that the orator thought him clear from all guilt, but because he was afraid to rank so popular a man among the criminals <sup>a</sup>. After this several decrees were issued out against the rest of the conspirators, and such effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces, where any seditions had happened, the rebels were suppressed, and the guilty punished.

IN the mean time the pontifex maximus dying, *Cæsar* was by *Cæsar* the suffrages of the people advanced to that high station, though <sup>chosen pon-</sup> he had *Servilius Isauricus* and *Lutatius Catulus*, two of the greatest <sup>tifex ma-</sup> men of the republic, for his competitors. But the joy he felt on <sup>ximus.</sup> this occasion was in great measure allayed by his domestic misfortunes. His wife *Pompeia*, the daughter of *Pompeius Rufus*, entertained a strong inclination for a young patrician, named *P. Clodius*. As *Clodius*, though yet a youth, was infamous for his lewdness and debaucheries, *Pompeia* could not, without exposing her character, even speak to him in public. At home she was narrowly watched by the virtuous *Aurelia Cæsar's* mother, and by his sister *Julia*, who entertained some suspicions of her. As she could therefore find no other opportunity of meeting *P. Clodius*, she took advantage of a very solemn feast, which was <sup>carries on</sup> to be celebrated in her husband's house. It had been customary <sup>an intrigue</sup> ever since the birth of the republic, to have certain religious <sup>with Cæ-</sup> ceremonies performed, at the end of every consular year, in the <sup>far's wife.</sup> house of the consul or prætor. Thither the *Vestals* repaired, and offered a sacrifice to the *Good Goddess (B)*, whose very name was

<sup>z</sup> SALLUST. in bell. Cat.

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Cic.

(B) We learn from *Cicero* all concerning the answers of the *aruspices*, he speaks thus: "What that is to be known of the *Good Goddess*, and of the sacrifices offered to her. In his oration " sacrifice is there so antient as " that which has been handed " down



Profanes  
the myste-  
ries of the  
Good  
Goddeſs.

was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this sacrifice it was unlawful for any man to assist; nay, it was deemed a sacrilege even for the master of the house, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who assisted at the ceremony, carried their superstition so far as even to cover the pictures of men and male animals with thick veils. On this solemn day, and in the house set apart for this religious use, *Clodius* and *Pompeia* were to meet. *Clodius*, in order to get admission, was to come in the habit and disguise of a singing-woman; for the solemnity was attended with dancing and music. A female slave, who was in the secret, had orders to receive him, and conduct him to his mistress's apartment. *Clodius*, being yet very young, was by his face and appearance taken for a woman, and readily admitted. The maid, who was in the secret, no sooner saw him than she ran to inform *Pompeia*; but as she did not return so soon as *Clodius* expected, he grew uneasy; and not thinking it safe to continue long in the same place, he took several turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as possible for fear of being discovered.

“ down to us from our first  
“ kings, and is coeval with *Rome*  
“ herself? What sacrifice is there  
“ so private and secret as that  
“ which is concealed not only  
“ from the eyes of the curious  
“ and inquisitive, but from the  
“ sight of all men, and whither  
“ neither the most profligate  
“ wickedness nor impudence ever  
“ yet presumed to enter? This  
“ sacrifice no man except *Clodius*  
“ was ever so impious as to vio-  
“ late, no man but *Clodius* ever  
“ thought, without the utmost  
“ horror, of assisting at it. This  
“ sacrifice, which is performed  
“ by the *Vestal* virgins, which  
“ is performed for the prospe-  
“ rity of the *Roman* people,  
“ which is performed in the  
“ house of the chief magistrate,  
“ celebrated with unknown ce-  
“ remonies, and in honour of a  
“ goddess, whose very name to  
“ know is sacrilege; this sacrifice  
“ *Clodius* profaned, &c.” Since  
then, at the very time when this

adventure happened, the cere-  
monies observed in that sacrifice  
were absolutely unknown to the  
people, and locked up under so  
religious a secrecy, that all were  
ignorant of the very name of the  
goddess, we are not to wonder,  
that the antients have left us in  
the dark as to the nature of this  
sacrifice. One thing indeed seems  
unaccountable: *Cicero* tells us,  
that the name of the goddess was  
concealed from the men, but re-  
vealed to the women: how then  
could it remain such a secret? This is much to the honour of  
the *Roman* women. *Plutarch*  
takes the *Good Goddess* to be the  
same with the *Gynæcea* of the  
*Greeks*, that is, with the goddess  
of the women; and adds, that the  
*Phrygians*, who claimed a parti-  
cular title to her, said she was  
mother to *Midas*, that the *Ro-*  
*mans* pretended she was one of  
the dryads, and married to *Fau-*  
*nus*, and that the *Greeks* affirmed  
she was mother to *Bacchus*.

As



As he was thus walking about slowly by himself, one of *Aurelia's* maids, taking him for a female musician, asked him to sing; which he refusing to do, the maid put several questions to him, and obliged him at last to speak, which he no sooner did, than his voice betrayed him. Whereupon the woman shrieking ran into the rooms where the ceremonies were performing, crying aloud, that she had discovered a man. The women all in a fright threw a veil over the mysteries, stopt the ceremonies, and having ordered the doors to be shut, ran about with lights in search of the sacrilegious man, whom they found in the maid's room, who was privy to the appointment. There they seized him, and having driven him out of doors, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their husbands with what had happened. The next morning *Clodius's* impious attempt was the subject of every conversation, and all agreed that he ought to be punished with the utmost severity. Accordingly, he was accused of profaning the holy rites: but the populace declared in his favour; so that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. *Cæsar* immediately divorced *Cæsar's Pompeia*; but being summoned as a witness against *Clodius*, he said, That he had nothing to charge him with. As this looked like a paradox, the accusers asked him, Why then he had parted with his wife. *Because*, said he, *I cannot bear that my wife should be so much as suspected.* He declined appearing against *Clodius*, to gratify the populace, who, he saw, were very earnest to save him<sup>b</sup>.

THE next year *M. Pupius Piso*, one of *Pompey's* lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raised to the consulate, and with him *M. Valerius Messala*. Soon after their election, news were brought, that *Pompey*, after having reduced several kingdoms in the east, was preparing to return to *Rome*. Some, fearing he should turn his victorious arms against his country, were for raising troops, and guarding against any attempt of that nature; but he resolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded. He was very desirous of making himself absolute in the republic; but at the same time so weak as to imagine, that he could attain and preserve a kind of arbitrary power by such gentle methods, as would carry no odium with them. Agreeable to this false notion, he disbanded his troops as soon as he landed at *Brundisium*, and proceeded to *Rome* with as small a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleasure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations. He demanded a triumph, which, as he well deserved it, was readily granted him. The procession lasted two days, and was by far the most magnificent that had ever been seen in

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Cæsar.



His tri-  
umph.

*Rome.* Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great distinction, among whom were *Aristobulus* king of *Judæa*, and his son *Antigonus*; *Olthaces* king of *Colchis*; *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; five sons and two daughters of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; a queen of *Scythia*, &c. The spoils that were carried before him were valued above three millions sterling; and the gold and silver coin, which he delivered to the quæstors, amounted to thrice that sum, not reckoning the large donatives which he bestowed on his soldiers; for he ordered one thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds sterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, as other generals used to do, neither did he keep them in prison; but sent them all, except *Aristobulus* and *Tigranes*, back to their respective countries, at the expence of the public<sup>c</sup>.

He betakes  
himself to  
a retired  
life.

THE solemnity was no sooner over, than *Pompey* betook himself to a private life, declining, from a pretended modesty, even the use of those titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to assume a sovereign authority in the state, without appearing to desire it; but he soon found, that it was easier to give law to subalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free state without force. There were many, who made as great a figure in *Rome* as himself, and were ready to oppose the sovereignty at which he aspired. *Lucullus*, who had paved the way for his conquests in the east, did not think himself at all inferior to the celebrated conqueror. *Crassus* had been *Pompey's* rival ever since he robbed him of a triumph, by assuming to himself the glory of having put an end to the war with the slaves, as we have related above. *Pompey* indeed outshone *Crassus* in glory; but the immense riches of the latter put him at least upon a level with his adversary; for he is said to have been worth seven thousand talents, that is, one million three hundred fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. *Cato* was too zealous for the public good to let *Pompey* give any wound to the liberty of his country. *Cicero* was not so disinterested in his views as *Cato*; but was at bottom a good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. *Cæsar*, who, we may say, was at this time only beginning to shew himself, was too ambitious to submit to any superior.

HOWEVER, *Pompey* had interest enough to get *L. Afranius* and *Q. Metellus*, who had served under him, promoted to the consulate. They no sooner entered upon their office, than he made two attempts, both which turned to his confusion, to wit,

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. DIO, lib. xxxvii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 26. & l. xxxvii. c. 3.



that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the east should be approved by one decree. He made the motion himself; but it was almost unanimously rejected by the fathers, and nobody opposed it with more warmth than the consul *Metellus*, who had indeed made his court to *Pompey* in order to raise himself, but hated him in his heart for having divorced his sister *Mutia* (C), which he looked upon as an affront offered to the *Cæcilian* family. As for the other consul, he was a man of no weight, and intirely incapable of business. *Pompey*, enraged at the refusal of the senate, had recourse to the tribunes, and prevailed upon *Flavius Nepos*, one of that college, to propose his request to the people; but *Lucullus*, *Cato* and *Metellus* opposed the tribune with great steadiness and resolution. Their opposition occasioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune went so far as to send the consul *Metellus* to prison; but *Pompey*, who was the author of the tumult, not caring to incur the hatred of the senate, ordered the consul to be set at liberty, under pretence that the consul had desired it.

HE was now fully convinced, that to pretend to reign in a *Is con-* republic, otherwise than by force of arms, was a chimerical *vinced of* project; but as he could not conquer his boundless ambition, he *the folly* made it his whole business to gain over to his interest the seditious *of his* *Clodius*, a man of a most abandoned character, but greatly fa- *scheme.* voured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the senate. The illustrious conqueror of the East demeaned himself so far, as to join this profligate patrician, and to use his utmost endeavours to get him raised to the tribuneship, though he knew, that *Clodius*'s only aim in aspiring at that office was to revenge himself on *Cicero*, who had appeared as a witness against him, when he was accused of having profaned the mysteries of the *Good*

(C) *Mutia* was the third daughter of *Q. Mutius Scævola*. While her husband was making war in *Asia*, she took advantage of his absence, and carried on an intrigue with *Cæsar*, which was the common talk of *Rome*; inso-much that *Pompey* did not think proper to wait till he returned to *Rome* to divorce her; but sent orders to her to leave his house before he returned to *Italy*. She was sister to the two *Metelli*, *Celer* and *Nepos*; and he could not but foresee, that he should incur the displeasure of those two patricians, who made a considerable

figure in the republic; but her life was so scandalous, that *Pompey* thought himself obliged in honour to part with her, though he had three children by her. He never forgot the injury *Cæsar* had done him; but complained several times, in the heat of the civil wars, that the debaucher of *Mutia* was his *Ægy- sthus*, since he was not content with having dishonoured him, but at the same time wanted to take away his life, as *Ægy- sthus* was *Clytemnestra*'s lover, and the murderer of her husband *Agamemnon*.



*Sinks in  
his repu-  
tation.*

*Goddeſs.* Hence the bitter complaints which *Cicero* made of him in ſeveral of his letters. This conduct greatly leſſened the high opinion, which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return <sup>d</sup>.

*Cæſar ſent  
into Spain.*

IN the mean time the government of *Farther Spain*, which comprehended *Lufitania* and *Bætica*, that is, *Portugal* and *Andaluſia*, falling by lot to *Cæſar*, after his prætorſhip, he was preparing to ſet out for his new province; but being ſtopped by ſome of his creditors, *Cræſſus*, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. Upon this *Cæſar* being at liberty to go to his government, ſet out without delay. In his journey, as he was croſſing the *Alps*, he paſſed by a ſmall village, which had but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor; which gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to aſk him by way of railery, Whether there was any canvafing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this queſtion *Cæſar* answered very ſeriouſly, *That he had rather be firſt man among thoſe poor barbarians, than the ſecond in Rome* (D). It is eaſy to imagine, that *Cæſar*, with theſe ſentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himſelf work there, he made war on the innocent *Spaniards*, and advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations, which had never before been ſubject to *Rome*.

*His ambi-  
tion.*

*He returns  
to Rome.*

HAVING ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*, carrying with him ſufficient ſums to diſcharge his debts, which amounted to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, ſo great was his extravagance and profuſion. His heart was ſet on a triumph and the conſulate; but chiefly on the latter, which he could not obtain, without appearing perſonally in the comitium. On the other hand, thoſe who demanded a triumph, were obliged to halt in the ſuburbs, and there wait for the answer of the ſenate. Being therefore reduced to the dilemma, either of laying aſide the thoughts of a triumph, by going into the city, or to give up the conſulſhip by ſtaying in the ſuburbs, he readily

*Aspires at  
the con-  
ſulate.*

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. *ibid.* CIC. in ad Atticum, l. i. epiſt. 13. & alibi paſſ.

(D) *Plutarch* adds to this, that while he was one day reading the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, he appeared very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into tears, answering his friends, who aſked him the reaſon of his grief,

*Do you think I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider, that Alexander, at my age, had conquered ſo many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?*

renounced



renounced the former, and pursued the latter, leaving nothing unattempted in order to succeed. His management on this occasion was a masterpiece of policy, and the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greatest figure in the republic, were, without dispute, *Pompey* and *Crassus*; but these two powerful citizens were declared enemies, and, all things considered, much upon a level. As they had both great interest, *Cæsar* plainly saw, that he could never obtain the consulship, without gaining one or other of them to his cause; but the difficulty was which to choose. If he closed with *Pompey*, he would meet with a strong opposition from *Crassus*'s friends; and, if he joined *Crassus*, he was sure to have all *Pompey*'s party against him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals, and, by proposing to them a triumvirate, in which should be lodged all the authority of the senate and people, he prevailed upon them to make up their differences, and to enter into a strict friendship with each other. In order to make their confederacy the more indissoluble, they solemnly bound themselves by mutual oaths and promises to assist each other, and to suffer nothing to be undertaken or executed without the unanimous consent of all three. Thus *The first* was the first triumvirate formed, by which *Rome* became a prey *triumvir-* to three men, who, by the interest of their united parties, *ate.* arbitrarily disposed of all the dignities and employments in the Year of the flood. commonwealth. The public were long strangers to the mys- 2288. teries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the se- Bef. Chr. nate than the reconciliation of *Pompey* and *Crassus*; and *Cæsar* 60. was congratulated by all ranks of men for having brought it Of Rome about. *Cato* alone foresaw the evil consequences of this new 688. alliance, and exclaimed against it, saying, That *Rome* had lost her liberty; but nobody hearkened to him, till it was too late to follow his prudent counsel. This association subsisted to the death of *Crassus*, and was followed by the intire subversion of the republican state.

\* PLUT. in Pomp. Cæs. & Catone. DIO CASS. l. xxxvii. AP-  
PIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. SUET. in Julio.

## CHAP XI.

*The History of Rome, from the first Triumvirate to the Death of Crassus.*

THE first benefit *Cæsar* reaped from this association, was his promotion to the consulate, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their interest in his favour. He had but two competitors, *L. Lucceius Hirrus* and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*. The



former, a man of great learning (A), was but little versed in public affairs; and therefore *Cæsar*, well apprised that, if he had him for his colleague, he should reign alone, did his utmost to get him elected. He was not ashamed openly to purchase the suffrages of the people with large sums; but the senators, being resolved to have him excluded, and *Bibulus* chosen, agreed among themselves to defeat *Cæsar*'s measures in his own way, and to offer the people greater sums than he had done. *Cato* himself, tho' a rigid *Stoic*, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all sort of bribery, ought to be dispensed with on this occasion; so that it was resolved, that *Bibulus* should buy the suffrages of the people, and that each senator should pay his share towards raising the promised sums. By this means *Lucceius* was excluded, and *Bibulus* appointed to be *Cæsar*'s colleague. The first thing *Cæsar* did after entering upon his office, was to confirm all *Pompey*'s acts, pursuant to his promise. After this he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the people. With this view he drew up an agrarian law, with such wise restrictions and provisos, that the senators themselves could not justly find fault with it; for it enacted only, *that certain lands in Campania, belonging to the public, should be divided among such of the poor citizens, as had three children or more.* *Cæsar* declared in the senate, that he would do nothing without the consent of the conscript fathers, nor propose any of his friends for commissioners, nor any person else, who might be liable to suspicions; but that they should be all men of unblemished characters, and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object against the law itself; but as they were well apprised of the legislator's ambitious views, they put off from day to day giving their assent to it. *Cæsar* complained of these delays; and then *Cato* told him in plain terms, that he did not disapprove of the distribution of the lands as proposed, but dreaded the consequences of it: *We do not care,* said he, *that you should purchase the favour and affections of the people at the expence of the public treasury.* This open declaration piqued *Cæsar*, who ordered his lictors to carry *Cato* to prison; but he soon after privately ordered the tribunes to release him<sup>a</sup>.

which is rejected by the senate; THE example of *Cato* was followed by the consul *Bibulus*, and most of the senators, who declared, that they had nothing

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. SUET. in Julio.

(A) If we may judge of his learning from the account *Cicero* gives of him, he was one of the best historians of *Rome*. Besides the history of the war of the al-

lies, he wrote that of *Cicero*'s consulship, at the request of the consul, who had himself already published one of his own in *Greek* and *Latin*.

to



to object against the law ; but that they would *suffer no innovations*. Hereupon *Cæsar* had recourse to the people, and, having summoned them to assemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by *Pompey* and *Crassus*. He mounted the rostra, and, directing his speech to his two associates, asked them, Whether they did not approve of the law. It is easy to imagine, that two men of his own cabal would speak the same language as he. They both answered, that they would support his motion with all their power, against the enemies of the people, who opposed it. *Pompey* went further, adding, with more warmth than prudence, *If any one opposes this law with the sword, I will resist him with sword and buckler*. *Pompey*, by this rash answer, which was no-way suitable to his dignity, and was contrary to his true interest, made himself odious to the senate, and at the same time gained no credit among the people, who thought themselves indebted to *Cæsar* only for so beneficial a law. However, *Bibulus* opposed it with great courage ; but the people, losing all regard for the consular dignity, treated him with the utmost indignity, drove him out of the assembly, broke his fasces, wounded his lictors, &c. The senators, dreading the fury of the populace, held their peace ; so that the law passed without any further disturbance <sup>b</sup>.

THIS victory over the senate and *Bibulus*, made *Cæsar*, in great measure, absolute in *Rome*. His colleague was scarce ever mentioned ; no deference was paid to his orders ; they all looked upon *Cæsar* as the only consul, and called this year ironically the year of the consulate of *Julius* and *Cæsar*. And now the suspicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by *Cæsar*'s marrying his daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, *Cato*, who was a sincere friend to his country, loudly exclaimed against the arbitrary power usurped by the triumvirs ; and, when the agrarian law was brought before the senate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, opposing it with great warmth, tho' threatened with banishment ; but at length *Cicero* telling him, *That, if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato*, upon this consideration he acquiesced, and the law was established in full force. And now *Cæsar* resolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had done that of the people. With this view he abated a third part of the rents, which they paid annually into the public treasury, and by this means attached them unalterably to his interest.

HAVING thus secured to himself both the people and knights, he governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. *Cicero*

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. SUET. *ibid*. DIO, l. xxx.

exclaimed



P. Clodius  
promoted  
to the tri-  
bunate.

exclaimed against the triumvirate, and, by some severe jests (B), provoked them to such a degree, that they resolved upon his ruin; and, in order to compass it the more effectually, they got his mortal enemy, *P. Clodius*, promoted to the tribuneship<sup>c</sup>. *Cæsar*, having thus established the power of the triumvirate, applied himself to his own private interest. *Pompey* had got two consuls elected for the next year, who were personally devoted to him; to wit, *L. Calpurnius Piso*, and *A. Gabinius*. *Cæsar*, fearing *Pompey* might attempt a superiority over him during their administration, attached *Piso* to himself, by marrying his daughter *Calpurnia*. Having thus secured his interest at *Rome* during the next consulship, he applied himself both to the senate and people, and, with the assistance of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, procured the government of *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, contrary to all law, for five years together, with the command of four legions.

Clodius  
resolves on  
the ruin of  
Cicero.

UNDER the next consulship, of *Calpurnius Piso* and *A. Gabinius Nepos*, the triumvirate still continued to govern *Rome* by the consuls themselves, who were their creatures. As *Cicero* adhered steadily to the interests of the republic, the consuls gave *Clodius* full liberty to vent on him all his fury. *Cicero* was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the service he had done the republic was yet fresh in every one's memory: the tribune was therefore obliged to have recourse to craft and cunning to compass his ruin. His first step was, to gain the affections of the people, by passing several laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and senators, by lessening the power which the censors had of degrading them; and, in the last place, he paid his court to the consuls, by assigning them provinces of a very great extent.

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Cic. DIO CASS. l. xxxviii. CIC. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 19.

(B) *Cicero*, who was naturally severe, and loved raillery, seized every opportunity that offered of shewing his wit, without regard either to decency or friendship. He was one of those, who would rather lose their friend than their jest. If this satirical turn was not one of the chief causes of his misfortunes, it contributed at least to stir up against him several powerful enemies. Though some of his jests were lively and poignant, yet he often brought himself into contempt by the low conceits, and stale allusions, which he put off for wit. He has dropt several things of this nature, even in his most eloquent discourses. *Macrobius* tells us, that one of *Cicero's* freed-men was at the pains of collecting all his master's witticisms, under the title of *ineptiæ*. It is surprising, that a man of so much sagacity should not think such puns, and ridiculous conceits, unbecoming the gravity of a magistrate.



The consuls had hitherto chosen their provinces by lot ; but *Clodius* pretended, that the right of assigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to *Piso*, *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Thessaly*, and *Bæotia* ; and to *Gabinus*, *Syria*, and most of the eastern kingdoms. *Cicero*, who had too much sagacity not to see through the tribune's design, secured to himself a faithful friend in *L. Ninnius Quadratus*, another of the tribunes, who so effectually opposed all the attempts of *Clodius*, that he could not proceed.

HEREUPON *Clodius*, fearing *Ninnius*, or, as others call *What steps* him, *Mummius*, might by his opposition overturn all his *he took to* schemes, had recourse to artifice, and assured *Cicero*, that he *compass it.* would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would persuade *Ninnius* not to oppose his measures. We are told, that both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* basely demeaned themselves to assure the orator, that the tribune had no design to hurt him ; and that *Cicero*, deceived by these false assurances, desired *Ninnius* to wave his opposition, and slept in security. In the mean time *Clodius* got another law passed, enacting, That, when a tribune of the people should propose any law in the comitia, no regard should be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As most of that college favoured *Cicero*, the tribune was afraid, lest they should, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree, which he had already drawn up against *Cicero* <sup>d</sup>.

AND now the tribune, thinking himself in a condition to *Proposes a* carry his point, mounted the rostra, and proposed the follow- *law aimed* ing law, at which all these preparations aimed ; to wit, *That at Cicero.* *whoever had been concerned in the death of a Roman citizen, before the people had passed sentence on him, should be deemed guilty of treason, and punished as a state-criminal.* *Cicero*, well apprised that he was the person aimed at by this law, and seeing himself in so great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, went about in deep mourning, soliciting the assistance of his friends. Many of the knights testified *Regard* their regard for him, by changing their habits, and, in a *paid by the* negligent dress, supplicating in his behalf. Among these was *knights and* the son of *Crassus* the triumvir, who had been taught by *senators to* *Cicero* the rules of eloquence, and had made an extraordinary *Cicero.* proficiency under so great a master. This young patrician, at the head of twenty thousand young *Romans* of his age, accompanied *Cicero* where-ever he went. *Clodius*, on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, insulted *Cicero* where-ever he met him, reproached him with want of

<sup>d</sup> Cic. post red. in sen. de har. resp. pro domo, pro Sext. in Pis. & alibi. PLUT. in Cic. DIO, l. xxxviii.



courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addresses to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the dregs of the populace, to throw stones and dirt at the orator, and his company, who dared not return the like treatment, for fear of violating the sacred person of a tribune. The senate, affected with the unjust persecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, assembled, in order to decree, that the people should put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the consuls, whom *Clodius* had gained over, opposed it, while he himself, with a band of armed slaves, beset the place where the senate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any resolution.

Cicero's  
pusillan-  
imity.

It must be owned, that *Cicero* on this occasion acted a part unworthy of his former constancy. He ran from house to house with sorrow and consternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a shameful meanness of spirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him served only to embarrass him the more. *Lucullus* was for having recourse to arms, and repelling force by force. The knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but *Cato* and *Hortensius* advised him not to tarnish his past glory, by filling *Rome* with slaughter, and exercising the same cruelties on his fellow-citizens, which he had so severely condemned in *Catiline*. *Cicero*, greatly perplexed, and not knowing how to escape the fury of the mad tribune, had at length recourse to *Cæsar*, intreating him, that he would take him with him into *Gaul*, as one of his lieutenants. This was, all things considered, the safest method he could have taken; and *Cæsar*, who wanted nothing else but to get him out of *Rome*, where he might, by his eloquence, raise great disturbances, readily consented to his request. *Clodius* was well apprised, that, by this means, his prey would escape him; and therefore, in order to divert him from accepting the new employment, he feigned himself disposed to a reconciliation; and sent him word by some common friends, that he had been informed, that his wife *Terentia* had been the chief cause of his giving evidence against him in the affair of *Pompeia*; and that now he was determined to drop the prosecution, and live again in amity with him. *Cicero*, tho' in other respects a man of uncommon sagacity, was so far imposed upon by his enemy's fair words and promises, that he changed his mind, and refused to attend *Cæsar* into *Gaul*. This so provoked *Cæsar*, that he joined *Clodius* against him, and engaged *Pompey* not to intermeddle in his behalf.

Imposed  
upon by  
Clodius.

Cæsar be-  
comes his  
enemy.

HEREUPON *Clodius* resumed his impeachment, and accused *Cicero*, before the tribes, of having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and other Roman citizens, to death, without a lawful tryal.



trial. *Cicero*, seeing himself thus exposed anew to the rage of the furious tribune, had recourse to *Pompey*, who was indebted to him for most of his employments, and had ever professed a great friendship for him; but *Pompey* was retired to one of his country-houses, for fear of being reproached with his unfaithfulness, if he did not stir in behalf of his friend. *Cicero* immediately dispatched *Piso* his son-in-law to him, and, upon his delaying to return, went himself; but *Pompey*, not able to bear the sight of his old friend, who had done him so many good offices, and whom he had engaged his word with *Cæsar* not to assist, went out at a back-door, ordering his servants to tell *Cicero*, that he was returned to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting but he was abandoned by him, having called together his true friends, asked their advice, when *Lucullus*, who was an old experienced commander, was for taking up arms; but the rest of his friends advised him to give way to the storm, and retire from *Rome*. As he could not bear the thoughts of shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he followed their advice, left *Rome* at midnight, and resolved to retire to *Sicily*, where *Vigilius* was prætor, who owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor refusing him admittance into the island, he embarked at *Brundisium*, and sailed to *Dyrrhachium*, where he discovered so much dejection and meanness of spirit, as were a reproach to his great abilities, and the philosophy he professed. He himself acknowledges, that, in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himself; but was prevented by his friend *Atticus* (C).

IN

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in *Cic.* & *Pomp.* *Cic.* pro *Sextio*, domo sua, & alib. pass. DIO CASS. l. xxxviii.

(C) *Cicero* came first to *Vibo*, called also *Hipponium*, which stood on the coast of *Brutium*, and had chosen *Cicero* for its patron or protector; but one *Vibius*, on whom *Cicero* had conferred many favours, not only refused to admit him into his house, but would not even suffer him to come into the city. However, one *Sica*, who held a farm near *Hipponium*, received and entertained him, till he set out for *Brundisium*. Thither the people of the country guarded him, the neighbouring country being infested by a troop of exiles of the *Catilinarian* faction, under

the command of *Autronius*, whose resentment *Cicero* had reason to fear. Before he embarked at *Brundisium*, he spent some days with his friend *M. Lænius Flaccus*, who had a country-house near that city. He was then in a most deplorable condition, not knowing what place to choose for his residence during his exile. *Greece* and *Epirus* were beset by a troop of robbers in the pay of *Autronius*, his sworn enemy. The government of *Macedon* had been given to the consul *Piso*, an avowed friend to *Clodius*. *Asia* only offered him a secure retreat; and therefore he embarked at *Brundisium*,



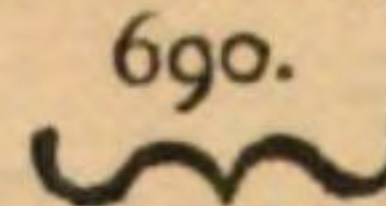
Clodius

gets the decree of his banishment passed.

Year of the flood 2290.

Bef. Chr. 58.

Of Rome, 690.



IN the mean time *Clodius* got the decree of his banishment passed, confiscated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile, nobody would buy when exposed to sale, burnt to the ground his houses in the country, and his fine palace in Rome, and ordered the pontifices to consecrate the ground, on which his city-house stood, to the goddesses *Peace* and *Liberty*, to make the restitution of it in a manner impossible. Thus *Clodius* triumphed at Rome; but as *Cato* still thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to pass the most unjust decree possible, purely to gratify a private resentment of his own, and then, by another decree, obliged *Cato* to put the first in execution. *Clodius* had been taken in his youth by the pirates, while he was serving in the East; and *Ptolemy*, king of *Cyprus*, a covetous prince, had refused to pay his ransom. This *Clodius* took greatly amiss, and now that he was the reigning tribune, he resolved to be revenged on the king of *Cyprus*; and accordingly got a decree passed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. *Cato* was charged with the execution of this scandalous decree; and that he might be

*dusium*, resolving to sail to *Cyzicus*, a city of *Mysia*. This he himself declares in a letter, which he wrote before he embarked to his wife *Terentia*, and to his children *Tullia* and *Cicero*. *I have spent thirteen days*, says he, *at Brundisium, in the house of M. Lænius Flaccus. This faithful friend is affected with my misfortunes, and, in spite of the furious Clodius, entertains me with great civility. I am going to leave him, and embark for Macedonia, whence I intend to proceed to Cyzicus, and there finish my course.* Accordingly, on the thirteenth of *April*, he took leave of his friend *Flaccus*, who, with his father and children, attended him to the port, where these illustrious friends parted, after having given each other reciprocal assurances of the most sincere friendship. *Cicero* had at first a favourable wind; but, a few hours after, a violent storm obliged the pilot to return to the

same port. When the storm was appeased, he put to sea again, and landed at *Dyrrhachium*, now *Durazzo*. There the inhabitants received him in such a manner, as might have allayed his grief, if he had been capable of any comfort; but he discovered a weakness on this occasion, which could not have been expected from a man bred up in the study of philosophy. He grew melancholy, was ever sighing, and turning his eyes towards *Italy*. The *Greeks*, who came to visit him, being quite tired with his complaints, were forced to invent dreams, and draw good presages of his speedy return from the most trifling events, in order to pacify him. So very different are sometimes the greatest men from themselves in times of adversity! *Cicero*, after a short stay at *Dyrrhachium*, repaired to *Theffalonica*, and there resided till he was recalled from banishment.

kept



kept the longer from *Rome*, he was ordered at the same time to resettle some citizens of distinction in *Bizantium*, who had been driven from thence by the populace. When *Cicero* and *Cato* were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whose tool he was, reigned without controul; but in the mean time news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Helvetians*, having abandoned their country, and burnt down their towns and houses, were preparing to enter *Gaul* by way of *Geneva*, *Cæsar*, whose province *Gaul* was, found himself obliged to leave *Rome*, and hasten to the defence of the country committed to his care. Accordingly he repaired thither in such haste, that he reached the banks of the *Rhone* in eight days. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of *Geneva*; and, as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving answer to the *Helvetians*, who desired leave to pass through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, to mount *Jura*, now *Mont S. Claude*. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, sixteen feet high, and defended by a deep ditch, and castles at proper distances (D).

WHEN the deputies of the *Helvetii* returned at the time appointed for an answer, *Cæsar* told them, that the *Romans* never suffered foreign armies to march thro' their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a passage, he would repel force with force. Upon this, the whole nation of the *Helvetians* appeared in a body; and then *Cæsar*, persuaded that he could not resist them with the few troops he had, left *Labienus*, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and hastening back into *Italy*, brought from thence, in a very short time, five legions. With these he fell upon the *Helvetians*, while they were embarrassed in passing the *Arar*, now the *Saone*, cut in pieces those who had not yet crossed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced against the rest. The *Helvetians*, somewhat disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent deputies to the *Roman* camp, to treat of an accommodation; but, as they refused to give hostages, *Cæsar* detached his cavalry, with orders to harass them on their march. The *Roman* horse, having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulsed with no small loss; which raised the courage of the *Helvetians*, while the *Romans* began to be somewhat disheartened for want of provisions. *Cæsar* had none but the *Ædui*, the faithful allies of *Rome*, to depend on for a speedy

(D) As *Cæsar* did not set out from *Rome* till about the beginning of *April*, and this work was completed before the *ides*, or the thirteenth, of the same month,

it is manifest, that, besides the *Roman* legion, great numbers of the inhabitants were employed in it.

supply



supply of corn. Their country lay between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*; was extremely fruitful, and capable of supporting an army far more numerous than that of *Cæsar*; but the *Roman* general, to his great surprize, found the corn fail when he most wanted it.

*Treachery of Dumnorix the Æduan.* The *Ædui* indeed had promised to supply his troops with provisions; but they postponed from day to day the sending of the convoys which they had promised; so that the army was reduced to great streights. *Cæsar* therefore, suspecting the fidelity of the *Ædui*, resolved to find out the true cause of these artful delays. In order to this he examined *Liscus*, the chief magistrate of the *Ædui*, and a lord of the country named *Divitiacus*, who served each in the *Roman* army. The former told him, that *Dumnorix*, younger brother to *Divitiacus*, designing to usurp the sovereign power, and depending on the assistance of the *Helvetians*, had, to gratify them, privately conveyed the corn out of the province, and raised the price of it, hoping by that means to make the *Roman* army perish with famine. *Divitiacus* owned the same thing, but without naming his brother. *Cæsar* was inclined to punish *Dumnorix* with severity; but pardoned him at the intreaty of his brother *Divitiacus* <sup>f</sup>.

*The Helvetians defeated anew.* AND now *Cæsar* drew near *Bibraëte* (E), the capital of the *Ædui*, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn, which those faithful allies had promised. When the enemy saw him retreat, they pursued and attacked him; whereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted from noon till night. The *Helvetians* behaved with incredible bravery; but at length were forced to give way, and retire to an hill, where they had placed their baggage and women, and surrounded them with their waggons, as with a rampart. Thither *Cæsar* pursued them, made himself master of their baggage, and took a great many

<sup>f</sup> *CÆS.* bell. Gall. l. i. c. 1---18. *PLUT.* in *Cæs.* *DIO*, l. xxxviii.

(E) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the situation of *Bibraëte*, as *Cæsar* and *Strabo* call it. They all agree, that it was the most considerable of all the cities of the *Ædui*, from the *Doux* to the *Saone*; but most of them pretend, that it stood where the city of *Autun* now stands. It was first called, according to them, *Bibraëte*, and afterwards *Augustodunum*, from the emperor *Augustus*. The latter name it re-

tained, say they, till the time of the emperors *Constant* and *Constantine*, by whom it was rebuilt, and from them took the name of *Flavia*, both those princes being descended from the *Flavian* family. *M. Valois* places the antient city of *Bibraëte* near a village called *Beauvray*, about two leagues from *Autun*; and others take the town of *Pebrac*, on the borders of *Auvergne* and *Gevaudan*, to be the antient capital of the *Ædui*.

prisoners,



prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous *Orgetorix*, the first author of the migration. After this overthrow, the *Helvetians*, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand of their people, had recourse to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms, and give him hostages, sent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the *Boii* were allowed, at the request of the *Ædui*, to settle in *Gaul*, whence they formerly came. This victory made the *Roman* name formidable throughout all *Gaul*; congratulations were brought to *Cæsar* from all parts; and the *Ædui* implored his protection against *Ariovistus* king of the *German*s, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the *Arverni* (F), had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the *Sequani* (G), and obliged the *Ædui* to give him their children as hostages. Return to their own country.

*CÆSAR*, pleased with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promised them his assistance; and accordingly dispatched ambassadors to *Ariovistus*, inviting him to an interview; *Cæsar* in which he declining, *Cæsar* sent other deputies, desiring him to restore the *Ædui* their hostages, and to bring no more troops over the *Rhine* into *Gaul*. At the same time he put him in mind of the favour he had shewn him during his consulate, since, by his means, he had been declared a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. *Ariovistus* answered, That he had a right to make war when and where he pleased; that he was not obliged to give any person an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he prescribed to the conquered; that he would not restore the *Ædui* their hostages, &c. *Cæsar* no sooner received this answer, then he marched to *Vesontio*, now *Besançon*, the capital of the *Sequani*, to prevent its being surprised by *Ariovistus*. There the *Romans* received such accounts of the formidable stature and looks of the *German*s, as alarmed them. *Cæsar* therefore, having called a council of war, reproached them in such strong terms with their fears, that they were ashamed of the weakness they had discovered. He then led view.

(F) The country of the *Arverni* lay, according to *Strabo*, between the ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhine*. *Lucan* tells us, that the *Arverni* pretended to derive their origin from a colony of *Trojans*, who settled among the *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Antenor*. This fable *Sidonius*, to

do honour to his nation, adopts for a certain truth. The *Arverni*, in antient times, were one of the most powerful nations of *Gaul*.

(G) The *Sequani* inhabited the country now called the *Franche Comté*, which reaches from the canton of *Basle* to the neighbourhood of *Stralsund*.



them against the enemy ; but, when they came within five miles of their camp, *Ariovistus* sent to desire an interview with the *Roman* general ; which was readily granted.

*Treachery of Ariovistus.* BOTH commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a rising ground in the midst of a large plain. During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtiness, the horse that attended the king drew near to those of *Cæsar*, and discharged a shower of darts and stones at them. *Cæsar* restrained the ardor of his men ; but immediately broke off the conference, and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, desiring, that ambassadors might be sent him to treat in an amicable manner. *Cæsar* readily complied with his request ; but *Ariovistus*, as soon as they arrived in his camp, treated them as spies, put them in irons, and, decamping the same day, posted himself so as to intercept the *Roman* convoys. *Cæsar* followed him, and, drawing up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, bid the enemy defiance ; but *Ariovistus* kept close in his camp, and *Cæsar* was informed, that the women in the enemy's camp, who pretended to prophecy, had foretold, that they should not be victorious till after the new-moon. Upon this intelligence, the proconsul marched all his legions up to the *German* trenches ; which forced *Ariovistus* to come to a battle, in which he was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces. The king, with much difficulty, escaped cross the *Rhine* ; but two of his wives, and one of his daughters, perished in the flight. Another of his daughters was taken prisoner, with many *Germans* of distinction. After this victory, *Cæsar* put his troops into winter-quarters, and crossing the *Alps*, returned into *Cisalpine Gaul*, which was a part of his government, to make there the necessary preparations for the next year <sup>8</sup>.

*Clodius insults Pompey.* AT *Rome* the tribune *Clodius*, who was intirely devoted to *Cæsar*, being sensible of the superiority that general was gaining over *Pompey*, whose glory he had almost eclipsed in one campaign, began to insult him, and even talked of disannulling all his acts. He had already taken young *Tigranes* out of the hands of *L. Flavius* the prætor, to whose custody *Pompey* had committed him, and sent him back to *Armenia*, where, it was feared, he would raise new troubles. This treatment roused *Pompey*, who now began to think of recalling his old friend *Cicero*, whom he had so basely deserted. As this could no otherwise be done than by a decree of the senate, or of the people, and the latter was impracticable during the tribuneship of *Clodius*, he made it his business to engage the conscript fathers in his behalf ; but the consuls, *Piso* and *Gabinus*, ren-

<sup>8</sup> *CÆS. bell. Gall. l. i. c. 18---55.*

dered



dered all their attempts abortive, so that nothing could be done this year in favour of the illustrious exile.

THE next year, the first thing the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos*, proposed in the senate, was the recalling of *Cicero*, which met with a general approbation; but, when the affair was brought before the people, *Clodius* appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppose it with open violence. Then *Milo*, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators, to repel force with force. The conscript fathers, depending on the protection of *Milo*, passed the decree in the most solemn and pompous manner, as did also the people, when it was brought before them, notwithstanding the warm opposition of *Clodius*. In the meantime *Cicero*, informed of what passed at *Rome*, left *Theffalonica*, where he resided, and came to *Dyrrhachium*, and from thence set sail for *Brundisium*, where his reception was a kind of triumph. From *Brundisium* he set sail for *Rome*, and had the pleasure to see all *Italy* take part in his joy. Every colony and municipium sent deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he came to *Rome*, the more the crouds increased. As he was just ready to enter the city at the gate *Capena*, the whole senate met him in a body, and conducted him, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, to the capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himself expresses it, *on the shoulders of all Rome*. After his return, he soon began to reassume his former ascendant over the senate; and, as corn was become exceeding dear at *Rome*, he procured for *Pompey*, his benefactor, the honourable commission of supplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the *Mediterranean* for five years. After this, he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in possession of the ground on which his house had stood, and on the conscript fathers to rebuild, at the expence of the public, his houses both in the city and country <sup>h</sup>.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Cæsar*, being informed by *Labienus*, whom he had left in *Gaul*, that all the nations of *Belgium* had conspired against the republic, and had entered into an alliance against the *Romans* as a common enemy, raised two new legions in *Insubria*, repassed the *Alps* early in the spring, and, joining *Labienus*, immediately began his march, and, in fifteen days, arrived on the confines of the *Belgæ* (H). <sup>against the Belgæ;</sup>

<sup>h</sup> DIO CASS. l. xxxvi. PLUT. in Cic. Cic. pro domo sua, pro Sextio, in Pis. & alib. pass.

(H) *Belgic Gaul* comprehended one side, and the river *Seine* on that great country, which is the other. bounded by the *British* ocean on



Upon his approach, the *Rhemi* submitted ; but the rest of the *Belgæ*, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Suessones*, now the *Soissonois*, commander in chief of their united forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, marched against the *Rhemi*, who had declared for the *Romans*, and laid siege to one of their cities called *Bibrax*, which some modern writers take to be *Braine*, a little city in the *Soissonois* ; others to be *Laon*, called by the antients *Mons Bibrax*. *Cæsar*, upon this news, sent a strong detachment to the relief of the besieged city. Whereupon *Galba*, leaving *Bibrax*, marched directly to *Cæsar*, and encamped about three miles from the *Romans*. After both armies had continued some days in fight of each other, *Galba* attempted to pass the *Axona*, now the *Aisne* ; which *Cæsar* no sooner knew, than he marched his horse and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had seized ; and, attacking the enemy while they were embarrassed in crossing the river, made such a dreadful slaughter of them, that the bed of the river was filled up with dead bodies ; inso-much that the *Belgæ*, who escaped the slaughter, marched over them to the opposite bank. The *Belgæ* were so disheartened with this defeat, that they resolved to disperse, and return every one to his own country.

*Reduces the Sueffones, the Bellovaci, the Ambiani, &c.* THE next day *Cæsar* appeared before *Noviodonum*, now *Noyon*, a city of the *Suessones* ; and so terrified the inhabitants with his machines, that they opened their gates to him. The *Bellovaci*, who inhabited the present *Beauvaisis*, also gave way to the storm, and implored the clemency of the conqueror, as soon as he appeared before their capital. The *Ambiani*, now the people of *Amiens*, followed the example of the *Bellovaci* ; but the *Nervii*, a fierce nation, who possessed the country now known by the name of *Cambresis*, joined the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of *Arras*, and of the *Vermandois* ; and, having secured their wives and children in inaccessible places, stood on their defence.

*Is attacked by the Nervii ;* IN the mean time *Cæsar* advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country ; but, while his legions were busy in pitching their camp, the *Nervii*, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, sallying out of their ambuscade, attacked the *Roman* cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with a fury not to be expressed. As this attack was unexpected, *Cæsar* had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprize *Cæsar* ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour ; and, having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal



signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the *Atrebatæ* into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the *Veromandui*, and drove them before them. But in the right <sup>and in</sup> wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They <sup>great</sup> were intirely surrounded by the *Nervii*, all the centurions in <sup>danger</sup>; the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, *Cæsar*, seizing the buckler of <sup>but in the</sup> one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken <sup>end</sup> wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two le- <sup>defeats</sup> <sup>them,</sup> gions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the *Nervii*, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground; as soon as one fell, another stood upon his body, and supplied his place. In short they were almost all cut in pieces; and then their old men, with their women and children, surrendered to the conqueror, who left them in possession of their cities and liberty.

THEN *Cæsar* advanced against the *Advatici* (I), who, upon <sup>and like-</sup> his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and submit; <sup>wise the</sup> but treacherously concealed a third part of them, and made an *Advatici* attack on the *Romans* in the night. This so provoked the *Roman* general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number of them to the sword, and sold the rest, to the number of fifty-three thousand, for slaves. At the same time *P. Crassus*, the son of the triumvir, and one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, subdued seven other nations (K), and took possession of their cities. The fame of these exploits brought the proconsul ambassadors, with offers of submission, from <sup>Several</sup> several nations beyond the *Rhine*; but, as the season was far ad- <sup>other na-</sup> vanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories <sup>tions sub-</sup> of the *Andes*, *Taurones*, and *Carnutes*, now the *Angevins*, the <sup>dued.</sup> *Tourangeaux*, and those of *Chartrain*; and, repassing the *Alps*, spent the winter in *Insubria*<sup>i</sup>. By these conquests *Cæsar*

<sup>i</sup> CÆs. bell. Gall. l. ii. c. 1---33.

(I) The *Advatici* were the remains of those *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*. They had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage and booty of their countrymen, and had settled there, after the intire defeat of the *Cimbri*.

(K) These seven nations were the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Osymii*, *Curiosolitæ*, *Sesuvii*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*; i.e. according to the modern geographers, the inhabitants of *Vannes*, *Coutance*, *Treguier*, *Cornouaille*, *Sees*, *Maine*, and *Rennes*.



effaced the remembrance of *Pompey's* victories in the East; and at the same time, by the prodigious sums he heaped up in *Gaul*, chiefly by robbing the temples of their treasures, he purchased himself many friends in *Italy*.

THE following year *Marcus Philippus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were raised to the consulate. During their administration, *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who had been driven from the throne by the *Alexandrians*, was restored to it by *Gabinus*, proconsul of *Syria*, as we have related at large in our history of *Egypt*. In *Gaul*, *Galba*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, was attacked in his winter-quarters at *Octodurus*, now *Martaillac* in *Lower Valais*, by a great body of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, killed above 10,000 of them, and then, after having burnt *Octodurus*, marched into the country of the *Allobroges*, to spend the rest of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time *Cæsar*, who was in *Illyricum*, which was part of his province, being informed that the *Veneti*, that is, the antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, with some other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hostages, and were making great preparations for war, sent orders for building a fleet on the *Loire*, and made all haste to the army. Upon his arrival, he appointed *Brutus* admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral, putting to sea, engaged the enemy's fleet, and gained a complete victory over them. Hereupon the *Veneti* immediately submitted; but *Cæsar* put their chief men to death, and sold the rest for slaves. At the same time *Titurius Sabinus*, whom he had detached against the *Unelli*, defeated *Veriodorix* their chief, and subdued them, with the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* (L). *Crassus*, whom he had sent into *Aquitaine*, besieged the capital of the *Sociates*, and reduced it; but, the rest of the *Aquitani* still refusing to submit, *Crassus* marched against them, and killed near thirty thousand of them in one battle. The consequence of this victory was the reduction of all *Aquitaine*.

AND now all the nations in *Gaul* being disarmed, except the *Morini* and *Menapii*, i. e. the antient inhabitants of the territory of *Teroüenne*, of *Guelders*, *Juliers*, and *Cleves*, *Cæsar* himself marched against them; but, as they retired to inaccessible fastnesses, all he could do was to burn and ravage their country; after which he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii*, and, repassing the *Alps* as usual, spent some months in *Cisalpine Gaul*. From thence he influenced all affairs at *Rome*, and encouraged his chief agent

(L) Some take the *Unelli* for the people of *Contance*; others place them in *Perche*; and some bring them nearer *Bretagne*. The countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* comprehended *Evreux* and *Lisieux*.

*Clodius*



*Clodius* to pull down *Cicero's* new house ; but *Milo* opposed dius to the furious tribune, and prevented the execution of his de-commit sign. And now *Pompey* began to be extremely jealous of *Cæ-violences* *far*, whose victories in *Gaul* intirely eclipsed the glory he had in Rome. acquired in the East. *Cæsar* likewise took umbrage at *Pompey's* joining *Cicero* : however, they both kept up the appearance at least of friendship, being apprehensive that *Crassus* would leave them, if they came to a quarrel. Besides, *Cæsar* stood in great need of *Pompey's* assistance, to get *Domitius* *Ahenobarbus* excluded from the consulate, who had declared, that he would, if raised to that dignity, shorten the time of *Cæsar's* proconsulship. To exclude *Ahenobarbus* was no easy matter, he being supported by *Cato*, who was returned from *Cyprus*, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wishers to the republic, *Cicero* was the only person who kept measures with the triumvirs, the remembrance of his banishment having made him more circumspect.

As it was the common interest of the triumvirate, that *Ahenobarbus*, a sincere friend to his country, should be set aside at the next election, *Pompey* and *Crassus* agreed to stand *Pompey* in competition with him ; but as they despaired of success with- and *Crassus* out the concurrence of *Cæsar*, they both went to *Luca*, where *Crassus* agree he spent the winter, to propose their scheme to him, and en-to stand for gage his interest. There they found so many prætors and pro-a second consuls making their court to him, that one hundred and consulship twenty bundles of rods were seen at a time. *Pompey* and *Crassus* no sooner informed him of their design, than he came heartily into their measures. He was indeed sensible, that a second consulate would increase the power of *Pompey* and *Crassus* ; but it was more for his interest, that they should succeed, than that the consulship should be conferred on *Ahenobarbus*, who was intirely under the influence of *Cato*. *Cæsar* therefore closed with the proposal, and ordered his agents and emissaries at *Rome* to spare no expence in purchasing the suffrages of the tribes.

As all this was kept secret, *Ahenobarbus*, not suspecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to solicit the suffrages of the people. He was attended by *Cato*, who was to present him to the tribes, and by a slave, who, as it was yet dark, carried a flambeau before him ; but he had not gone far, *Ahenobarbus* before some assassins, who lay in wait for him, killed the slave, *barbus* and, falling on the candidate and his friend, would have di-and *Cato* spatched them likewise, had they not saved themselves by flight, in great *Ahenobarbus* escaped unhurt ; but *Cato* was wounded in the danger. arm. This notorious act of violence roused the zeal of the



An inter-  
regnum.

Pompey  
and Cra-  
sus chosen  
consuls a  
second  
time.

Year of  
the flood  
2293.

Bef. Chr.

55.  
Of Rome  
693.

Cæsar de-  
feats the  
Usipites  
and Ten-  
chtheri.

Passes the  
Rhine.

senate ; but the furious *Clodius*, at the head of an armed mob, opposed all their measures ; and at the same time *Gaius Cato*, another tribune, protested against holding the comitia ; so that the consular year being expired, the republic fell into an inter-regnum ; which so grieved the senators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were well apprised, that these disturbances were occasioned by *Pompey* and *Crassus*, they asked them in full senate, Whether they aspired at the consular dignity. They owned they did ; and then the other candidates desisting, through fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held without the least disturbance, and *Pompey* and *Crassus* unanimously chosen <sup>k</sup>.

*CÆSAR*, now under no apprehension of being recalled from *Gaul*, hastened thither to oppose the *Usipites* and *Tenchtheri* (M) ; who, being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, had crossed the *Rhine*, with a design to settle in *Belgic Gaul*. As soon as he appeared, the *Germans* sent him a deputation, offering to join him, if he would assign them lands. *Cæsar* answered, That there was no room in *Gaul* for new-comers ; but that he would desire the *Ubii*, the people of *Cologne*, to give them leave to settle in their territories. Then they desired time to treat with the *Ubii* ; and, in the mean while, falling treacherously upon some *Roman* squadrons, killed about seventy men. *Cæsar*, exasperated at this perfidiousness, immediately marched after them ; and, coming up with them, when least expected, made a dreadful slaughter of those unhappy people, who were but indifferently armed. They fled in the utmost confusion ; but *Cæsar* pursued them to the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Maese*, where the slaughter was renewed with such fury, that of four hundred thousand souls very few escaped. After this, being resolved to break into *Germany*, and spread the terror of the *Roman* name among those barbarous nations, he ordered a bridge to be built over the *Rhine* ; which wonderful undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered *Germany*, plundered and sacked the country of the *Sicambri* (N), terrified the *Suevi*

<sup>k</sup> DIO CASS. l. xxxix. PLUT. in Pomp. CIC. de provin. consular.

(M) Some modern geographers place these people in the territory of *Relinchusen* in *Germany* ; others in the neighbourhood of *Zutphen*. It is certain, that they had no fixed settlement ; for, in *Tacitus's* time, they inhabited the country bordering

on the territory of *Basil* (1).

(N) We cannot give any account of the country of the *Sicambri*. All we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers *Lyppe* and *Isel*, and that they possessed a pretty large territory in *Germany*.

(1) *Tacit. de morib. German.*



(O), and, having made them sensible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themselves, he returned into *Gaul*, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition into *Germany* was finished in eighteen days<sup>1</sup>.

AND now *Cæsar*, having reduced all *Gaul*, and struck terror into the *German* nations bordering on the countries which he had subdued, resolved to pass into *Britain*, and punish those islanders for sending continual supplies to the *Gauls* against the *Romans*. But of this expedition we shall speak in a more proper place, and, in the mean time, return to *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who, during their consulate, governed *Rome* very arbitrarily, without any regard either to the senate or people. *C. Trebonius*, tribune of the people, whom the two consuls had gained over to their interest, proposed a law, appointing *Crassus* governor of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedon*, and *Pompey* of the two *Spains*, for five years. *Cato* opposed this dangerous proposal, till he was seized by the tribune's orders, and sent to prison. As *Cæsar*'s commission was near expiring, and, by this law, all power would be vested in *Pompey* and *Crassus*, *Cæsar*'s friends, seconded by *Pompey*, who on this occasion acted a very impolitic part, opposed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of *Gaul* for five years longer. Then the *Trebonian* law passed by a great majority, enacting, that they should have the above-mentioned governments; that it should not be in any one's power to recal either from his province, till five years were expired; that they might raise as many troops as they judged necessary; and, lastly, that they might draw what supplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and states in alliance with *Rome*. This law plainly tended to the total destruction of the republican state, and made the triumvirs sole masters of the government. *Pompey* chose to stay in *Rome*; but *Crassus*, extremely desirous of making war upon the *Parthians*, embarked at *Brundisium* before his consulate expired, and set sail for *Asia*. *Pompey*, the more to engage the people in his interest, built a stone theatre, at a vast expence; and diverted the multitude with most magnificent shews, in which five hundred lions, and eighteen elephants, appeared in the arena.

THE next year *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Claudius Pulcher* were raised to the consulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate; and *Cato*, now prætor, was in a condition to assist him: but, as the triumvirs were at

<sup>1</sup> *Cæs. bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 1--17.*

(O) The *Suevi* inhabited that part of *Germany*, which is now the duchy of *Mecklemburg*, the marquifate of *Brandenburg*, *Turingen*, and a part of *Upper Saxony*.

the



the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the consul or the prætor. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* were indeed at a great distance from *Rome*; but *Pompey*, without any regard to law or precedents, having raised an army, to put himself, as he said, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the very gates of *Rome*; so that the most zealous republicans durst not attempt any thing against the triumvirs, or in favour of the public liberty. While *Pompey* was thus keeping the capital in awe, *Cæsar* was intent on another expedition to the *British* islands; which we shall speak of hereafter.

*The death of Julia.*

ON his return to the continent, he received letters from *Rome*, acquainting him with the death of his daughter *Julia*, who was, we may say, the great cement of peace between her father and husband; and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue, and extraordinary qualities, had so endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that she was honoured, after her death, with a mark of distinction never before bestowed on any of her sex. She was buried in the *Field of Mars*, an honour allowed only to the greatest heroes of the republic<sup>m</sup>.

*A general insurrection in Gaul.*

*CÆSAR*, on his return to *Gaul*, found a famine in the country, which obliged him to divide his troops, and put them into different quarters, for their better subsistence. This gave the *Eburones*, now the people of *Liege*, an opportunity of taking arms against *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, whom *Cæsar* had posted in their country with only one legion, and five cohorts. At the same time *Ambiorix*, a leading man among the *Gauls*, pretending friendship, told *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, while they were besieged in their camp, that all the *Gaulish* nations were marching against them, and offered to conduct them safe through his dominions to *Cæsar* or *Labienus*. The *Romans*, in this distress, accepted the offer; but were, by the treacherous *Ambiorix*, led into an ambuscade, and most of them cut in pieces.

*The Romans betrayed by Ambiorix.*

*AMBIORIX*, elated with this success, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the *Advatici*, falling unexpectedly upon *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Cæsar* had posted among them with one legion, reduced him to great streights; but the brave *Roman* defended himself with much gallantry, till *Cæsar*, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, came to his relief, and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory soon reached *Labienus*, who was likewise attacked by the *Rhemi*, among whom *Cæsar* had quartered him with one legion. *Indutiomarus*, being joined by the *Senones*, came and insulted him in his camp; but the *Roman*, after pretend-

*Quintus Cicero in great danger.*



ing fear for some time, made a vigorous sally, put the enemy to flight, and killed *Indutiomarus*, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave *Cæsar* a little more quiet during the rest of the campaign, which was the most difficult, as well as the most glorious, of any he had made in *Gaul*; but, after all, he lost so many men this summer, that he was forced to have recourse to *Pompey*, who was weak enough to spare him *Pompey* two legions out of the army, which he kept for ostentation *sends Cæ-* only near *Rome*. *Pompey* was blind to *Cæsar*'s designs; but *Cato* far two fore-saw the evils he was bringing on the republic, tho' it was *legions.* out of his power to prevent them. All he could do was to attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption.

IN order to this, he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of *Cato en-* votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred both of *deavours* rich, whom he deprived of a sure way of obtaining honours, *to prevent* and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means *bribery.* of living without labour; neither did the law put a stop to the evil. When the election of new consuls came on, the candidates bought no more single votes of the people, but with large sums purchased the protection of the triumvirs, or of the present consuls; and those who offered most would have been chosen, had not *Q. Mutius Scævola*, one of the tribunes, and a true republican, by raising difficulty after difficulty, got the assembly dissolved as often as it was called; till at length the consular year expired before the election was made, and *An inter-* then a long interregnum ensued *regnum.*

POMPEY, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood *Great dis-* of *Rome*, fomented discord in the capital, and, by his private *orders oc-* intrigues, got the election of consuls put off for seven months; *casioned in* during which time his friends, to sound the disposition of the *Rome by* people, said, in all places, that it was necessary, in the pre- *Pompey.* sent situation of affairs, that *Rome* should be governed by one man; nay, the tribune, *C. Lucceius*, went so far as to propose to the people the raising of *Pompey* to the dictatorship; but *Cato* opposed the motion with so much eloquence and resolution, that he had like to have got the tribune deprived of his office. Then *Pompey*, fearing to disgust the people, whose favour he courted, and in order to remove all suspicions, suffered *Do-* *mitius Calvinus* and *Valerius Messala* to be chosen consuls; but this did not restore peace to the city. The five remaining months of the consular year were spent in factions and massacres. Those who stood candidates for the curule offices, brought their money openly to the place of election, where it was without shame distributed among the heads of the factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in fa-

<sup>a</sup> DIO CASS. l. xl. CIC. ad Q. fratrem, l. iii. & ad Attic. l. iv. epist. 15, 15.



vour of the persons who paid them: so that scarce any office was disposed of, but what had been disputed sword in hand, and had cost the lives of many citizens<sup>o</sup>.

*The death of Crassus.* DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Crassus*, whose unsuccessful expedition against the *Parthians* we have described at large in our history of *Parthia*<sup>p</sup>, after having lost his son in that war, was himself killed, and his whole army, except five hundred horse, either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners. His death gave rise to the civil war, which soon after broke out between the two surviving triumvirs; for, while he lived, he was a check to them both, and balanced their interests: but he being taken off, an open field was left for their ambition and emulation to contend in. *Pompey* would bear no rival, and *Cæsar* no superior; and hence those disturbances, which ended at length in the ruin of *Pompey*, and the utter destruction of the republican state, as we shall see in the following chapter.

<sup>o</sup> APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. ii. CIC. ad Q. fratrem, lib. viii. epist. ult. <sup>p</sup> See vol. xi. p. 13 — 31.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The History of Rome, from the Death of Crassus to the Death of Pompey.*

ONE of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great distance from *Rome*, *Pompey*, who continued in the capital, raised great disturbances there, hoping by that means to get himself promoted to the dictatorship. The city was now, in a manner, a seat of war between the candidates for offices; inso-much that, the people being afraid to meet in the *Campus Martius*, the comitia were deferred, and another interregnum ensued. *Clodius* is These disturbances were greatly increased by the death of *Clodius*, killed by Milo. who was killed by his mortal enemy *Milo*. This event, which *Cicero* endeavours to disguise with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by historians: As *Milo* was going from *Rome* to *Lanuvium*, with his usual guard of domestics, he met *Clodius* on the road, who was returning from his country-house. *Milo* was in a chariot, with his wife and other women; but *Clodius* on horseback, and well attended. They met near *Bovillæ*, and, tho' their looks were not very cordial, they passed each other without any insult. But the masters were scarce passed, when their slaves began to quarrel, and exchanged several blows with each other. Hereupon *Milo*, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon *Clodius's* slaves sword in hand; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their master, wounded many of *Clodius's* retinue. In this scuffle *Clodius* himself being dangerously wounded



wounded with a blow on the head, one of his slaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as some say, to his own house. Thither *Milo* followed him, and, thinking it more easy to escape condemnation, by killing his enemy, than by suffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the work, which one of his slaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that *Milo*, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition, and returned with all speed to *Rome*, to prevent what might be related and exaggerated there to his prejudice.

HOWEVER that be, the bloody body of *Clodius* was brought to the city by his brother *Appius*; which raised a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceased tribune as their boldest protector, and the most resolute enemy of the senate and nobility. They ran to *Milo's* house to set fire to it; *Great disturbance* but he repulsed them at the head of his slaves, and killed several of the mutinous multitude in the fray. Then they carried the dead body to the senate-house, and, there pulling to pieces all the seats of the senators, they made a funeral pile of them, on which they placed the body, and then set fire to it, which burnt with so much fury, that the stately building, where the senate used to assemble, was soon reduced to ashes. In the mean time *Milo*, having sent for a great number of his slaves out of the country to guard his person, made use of an artifice, with respect to the murder, which he imagined must be effectual. He gained *M. Cæcilius*, one of the tribunes, who, having called an assembly of his own creatures, ordered *Milo* to appear at his tribunal, with a design to acquit him. But the people, more transported than ever, fell upon *Milo* and his tribune, who narrowly escaped being killed, dispersed the assembly, and, under pretence of seeking for *Milo's* friends, committed all sorts of violences; insomuch that no body durst appear in the streets unarmed and unguarded.

DURING these disturbances, *Pompey's* friends revived the old proposal of nominating him dictator. The senate assembled; but, while they were consulting about raising him to that dignity, *Cato*, who was always watchful over the public liberty, insinuated, that it would be more proper to choose him sole consul, since a consul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his administration to the senate and people, whereas a dictator was accountable to nobody for his conduct. *Cato's* expedient was approved of, and *Pompey* declared sole consul, a thing never known in *Rome* before. At the same time new troops were allotted to him, a thousand talents, that is, 193,750 *l.* sterling, allowed him yearly for their maintenance, and he continued in the government of *Spain* for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. *Pompey* no sooner entered

*sole consul.*  
Year of the flood  
2296.  
Bef. Chr.  
52.  
Of Rome  
696.



tered upon his new office, then he ordered *Milo* to be tried for the murder of *Clodius*. On the day appointed for the tryal, *Appius Claudius*, brother of the deceased, appeared against him, and was heard with great attention. *Cicero* undertook the defence of the accused, but was so terrified by *Pompey's* presence, and the soldiers about him, that he could scarce open his mouth; so that *Milo* was condemned to banishment. He chose *Mar-seilles* for the place of his abode, whither *Cicero* sent him the speech, which he had composed in his defence. We are told, that *Milo*, in reading it, cried out, *It is lucky for me that Cicero could not pronounce this harangue; for, if he had, I should not have eat so good fish as I now do.*

The progress of the Roman arms in Gaul.

WHILE *Pompey* was ruling arbitrarily at *Rome*, *Cæsar* was securing his conquests in *Transalpine Gaul*. *Ambiorix*, the *Nervii*, *Advatici*, and *Menapii*, had revolted at the instigation of the *Treviri*; and the revolt had spread too ther nations. He therefore first reduced the *Menapii*, and then marched against the *Treviri* and *Eburones*. The former he found already subdued by *Labiens*, and the latter, at his approach, retired under the conduct of *Ambiorix*, to the woods and marshes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time winter approaching, *Cæsar* retired to *Insubria*, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid, lest *Pompey*, who was no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for *Crassus*, should gain such a superiority over him, as it would not be easy for him to conquer. To prevent this, he sent immense sums to *Rome*, to be distributed by his agents among the populace; paid the debts of some; lent money to others without interest; and, in short, after having conquered the *Gauls*, as one of the antients expresses it, with the *Roman* steel, subdued the *Romans* with the *Gaulish* gold.

The Gauls revolt.

BUT he had not been long in *Insubria*, when news were brought him, that the *Gauls* had taken up arms in his absence; that they had made *Vercingetorix*, a young and brave prince, their generalissimo; and that almost all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. Hereupon the proconsul re-passed the *Alps*, flew with incredible expedition to *Narbonne*, from thence through deep snows to the country of the *Nervii*, where he gathered together his scattered troops, and then laid siege to *Noviodunum*, a city of the *Bituriges*; which brought *Vercingetorix* to its defence: but he was defeated, and obliged to retire. *Cæsar*, having made himself master of *Noviodunum*, led his troops against *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the strongest cities in *Gaul*; took it by storm, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the garison; and made such a slaughter of the *Gaulish* troops, that, of forty thousand men, scarce eight hundred escaped.

Cæsar defeats Vercingetorix.

HIS



His next attempt was on *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, *Lays* siege which he besieged in sight of *Vercingetorix*. But, while he was to *Gergo-* pursuing the siege, he received advice, that the *Nithiobriges*, now via, the people of *Agensis*, had revolted; and that some of the chief men among the *Ædui* had formed a treacherous scheme of carrying off to *Vercingetorix* ten thousand men, whom they were to send to the *Romans*. Upon this advice, *Cæsar*, leaving *Fabius* to guard his camp before *Gergovia*, went to meet the *Ædui*, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries. But, soon after, the whole nation of the *Ædui* shook off the *Roman* yoke, and murdered all the *Italians* in their capital. This made *Cæsar* uncertain what measures to pursue. At length he resolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he did with good success, till his men, contrary to his orders, abandoning the attack of the camp, fell unexpectedly on the town, in hopes of surprising it. But *Vercingetorix* defended it so effectually, that *Cæsar*, after the loss of seven hundred men, was forced to raise the siege. From thence he hastened to *Noviodunum*, where he had left his military chest, baggage, and provisions; but the revolted *Ædui* had seized all, and set fire to the city. Then *Cæsar*, resolving to join, if possible, his lieutenant *Labienus*, marched to *Agendicum*, now *Sens*; and at the same time *Labienus*, upon a report of *Cæsar*'s distress, hastened to the same place; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with great skill and dexterity. *Camulogenus*, a *Gaulish* *Camulo-* general, attacked him with great courage; but the *Roman* de- *genus de-* feated him, reached *Agendicum*, where he had left his heavy *feated by* baggage, and from thence went to meet *Cæsar*. Notwithstanding *Labienus*. ing this defeat, almost all the nations of *Celtic Gaul* joined in the revolt; and, having appointed *Vercingetorix* their generalissimo, had the resolution to come and attack *Cæsar*, who defeated them, and obliged them to retreat to *Alesia*, a town of the *Mandubii*, now, as is commonly believed, *Alise* in *Burgundy*. *Cæsar* be- *sieges Ale-* Thither *Cæsar* pursued them, and laid siege to the place.

As it was very advantageously situated, *Vercingetorix*, after *sia*. he had sent messengers into all parts to raise new forces, shut himself up in it with eighty thousand men. *Cæsar* immediately invested the place, surrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his camp with all possible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the garison was very numerous, they were soon reduced to great distress for want of provisions; and then *Vercingetorix* drove out of the city all the useless mouths; but *Cæsar*, refusing to accept of their surrender, inhumanly suffered them to perish within the circumvallation. At length the desired succours arrived, to the number of an hundred and sixty thousand men, under four *Gaulish* generals, the chief of whom was *Comius*, prince of the *Atrebates*, on whom



*Defeats the united forces of the Gauls, and takes the place.* whom *Cæsar* had bestowed many favours. They made several attacks on *Cæsar's* trenches, and fought three battles; but being always deserted, and repulsed with great loss, *Vercingetorix*, despairing of success, surrendered at discretion. *Cæsar* reduced all the *Gauls* in the place to slavery, except the *Arverni*, and the *Ædui*, whom he spared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of *Celtic Gaul*, by the distinction he shewed them. His expectations were not frustrated; the *Arverni* immediately submitted, and the *Ædui* received him into their capital, where he spent the winter in tranquillity, after he had placed his army in different quarters, to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which *Cæsar* gained more glory for his conduct as general, and his bravery as a soldier, than any *Roman* commander had ever done before him<sup>a</sup>. Twenty days of public prayers were ordered to return thanks to the gods, for this extraordinary success.

*Pompey courts the favour of the senate.* AT *Rome*, *Pompey*, to strengthen himself with a new alliance, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cæcilius Metellus*, a senator of great interest, and highly esteemed by the patricians. As *Cæsar* was greatly beloved by the people, *Pompey* now made it his whole business to establish his interest among the nobility. With this view, he associated his father-in-law with him in the consulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a colleague; which moderation gained him the affection of the senate. When the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Cato*, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him *Claudius Marcellus* and *Sulpitius Rufus*, who were both in *Pompey's* interest. During their administration, *Cicero* was obliged to exchange the robe for the sword, in virtue of a law made by *Pompey* during his late consulship, which required all those who had been consuls or prætors for some years, to repair to such provinces as should fall to their lot, and exercise there their respective offices of proconsuls and proprætors. *Cilicia*, and the island of *Cyprus*, fell to *Cicero's* lot, who immediately embarked at *Brundisium* with two legions; and, arriving in *Cilicia*, encamped near *Iconium*, where he was informed by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, that the *Parthians* had passed the *Euphrates*. Upon this, *Cicero*, crossing *Cappadocia*, came to *Cybistra*, in the streights of mount *Taurus*, in order to prevent the enemy from making incursions into his province. Upon his arrival, he received certain advice, that the *Parthians* were assembling about mount *Amanus*. Hereupon he hastened thither, surprised the enemy, made a great slaughter of them, and recovered many castles, which they had seized. But what gained

*Cicero's expedition into Cilicia.*

<sup>a</sup> CÆSAR, bell. Gall. lib. vii. c. 1—89.

him



him most glory was, the taking of *Pindenissum*, a strong town in *Cilicia*, which he reduced after a siege of fifty-seven days. In short, though he was a better orator than a soldier, he supported his character in this new employment with great dignity, and performed such military exploits, as induced his soldiers to salute him *imperator*<sup>b</sup>. His brother *Quintus Cicero*, who attended him in this expedition, and had served in *Gaul* under *Cæsar* with great reputation, had, no doubt, his share in the glory of this campaign.

In the mean time, *Cæsar* spent the winter at *Bibraſte*, the capital of the *Ædui*, his cares being divided between the important business he had to transact at *Rome*, and the necessary preparations for finishing the war with the *Gauls* the next campaign. At *Rome* his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had artfully gained by his bounties, openly declared for him. But the senate seemed to favour *Pompey's* interest more than his. The consul *Marcellus*, who was intirely and blindly devoted to *Pompey*, proposed in the senate the recalling of *Cæsar* before his time expired; and, because this motion was rejected, he did all that lay in his power to disgrace and expose the proconsul of *Gaul*. Among other things, he ordered a senator of *Novocomum*, which *Cæsar* had declared a *Roman* colony, and presented with the freedom of *Rome*, to be whipt, telling him, that he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of *Rome*, and bidding him, when he went back, shew his shoulders to *Cæsar*. Soon after, *Cæsar* moved the senate for the prolongation of his proconsulate; but, as *Pompey* and his agent *Marcellus* had a much greater ascendant over the conscript fathers, his request was rejected. When news of this refusal were brought him into *Gaul*, he is said to have clapt his hand on his sword, crying out in the presence of his officers, *What Pompey refuses me, this shall give me*. *Plutarch* puts these words in the mouth of an officer, whom *Cæsar* had sent to *Rome*, and who waited for the result of the debate at the door of the senate-house<sup>c</sup>.

THE proceedings of the *Roman* senate engaged *Cæsar* to use all possible expedition, in putting the last hand to his conquest. The *Gauls*, after the battle of *Alesia*, resolved to act separately, and raise, in defence of the poor remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This *Cæsar* knew, and notwithstanding the rigor of the season, he marched against, and successively subdued, the *Bituriges*, *Carnutes*, and *Rhemi*. He then turned towards the country of the *Bellovaci*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed *Correus*, one of  
*Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Cic. Cic. lib. v. ad Attic. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alibi passim.

<sup>c</sup> APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i. PLUT in Cæsare.



their chief commanders, and, by this single victory, quieted all *Belgic*, and the provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. After this, he entered the country of the *Eburones*, and laid it waste, while *Labienus* did the same in the country of the *Treviri*. In the mean time *Dumnarus*, general of the revolted *Andes*, besieged *Limonum*, now *Poitiers*, in the country of the *Pictones*; but *Caninius* and *Fabius*, two of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, *Dumnarus* raised the siege, in order to return into his own country. *Fabius* pursued him, and coming up with him, defeated his army, killed twelve thousand of them on the spot, and having dispersed the rest, entered the territories of the *Carnutes*, and subdued both them, and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom *Cæsar* calls *Armorici*.

AND now the only *Gaulish* generals, who kept the field, were *Drapes* the *Senonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*, who retired to a strong place called *Uxellodunum* (A). Thither *Caninius* followed them, and defeated the two generals; but, as the place was well garisoned, and stored with provisions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only city which now held out, *Cæsar* hastened thither from the farthest parts of *Belgic Gaul*; and having soon reduced the place, by depriving it of water, he cut off the right hands of all those who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities from the like revolt. And now *Cæsar*, having subdued all *Gaul*, from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine*, reduced his conquests to a *Roman* province, under the government of a prætor. During his several expeditions into *Gaul*, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, to have subdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated in several battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed, and another taken prisoners; circumstances, which would seem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by *Plutarch*, and other unexceptionable historians, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

AFTER *Cæsar* had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preserve peace in all parts of *Gaul*, he went to spend the winter at *Nemetocenna* in the centre of *Belgium*. There he governed the vast continent he had subdued, with such mildness and prudence, as shewed him equally qualified to preside over

(A) *Sanfon* takes *Uxellodunum* for *Cobors* in *Quercy*; wherein he seems to be mistaken, since the antients give *Cobors* the name of *Devona*, *Dibona*, and *Divona*. Besides, *Hirtius*, in his continuation of *Cæsar*'s commentaries, places *Uxellodunum* on the confines of *Quercy*, whereas *Cobors*

was, according to all the modern geographers, in the centre of that province. Whence father *Briet* and *Cellarius* are of opinion, that the antient city of *Uxellodunum* stood near *Usseldun*, or, as others call it, *Usselon*, not far from the borders of *Limousin*.

nations,



nations, and to command armies. In the mean time, *Pompey* got two of *Cæsar's* most avowed enemies, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Æmilius Paulus*, promoted to the consulship, and *Scribonius Curio*, another of his creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. *Curio* was a young patrician of extraordinary talents, and great eloquence, but one of the most vicious and debauched young men in *Rome*. His father, who had been distinguished by a consulate and a triumph, had given him a great example; but the son only abused the gifts of nature and fortune. We are told, that young as he was, he had contracted debts to the amount of six hundred thousand great sesterces, that is, 4,843,750 *l.* sterling. *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, who was generally thought an enemy to *Cæsar*, and *Calpurnius Piso*, were chosen censors. So that of all the chief magistrates, *Calpurnius*, *Cæsar's* father-in-law, was the only one on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office, were such at present as gave him any great weight. His colleague was indeed more bold; he degraded several of the *Roman* knights and senators, and among the rest *Sallust* the historian, whose enormous debauchery was branded with infamy<sup>d</sup>. The two censors took the last census under the republic, in which they computed three hundred and twenty thousand citizens fit to bear arms; and ended it with a lustrum.

SUCH was the state of affairs at *Rome*, when *Cæsar*, after having spent the winter in *Transalpine Gaul*, repassed the mountains, in order to observe more narrowly the steps which *Pompey* and his enemies were taking against him at *Rome*. During his stay in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he was informed, that the two consuls had sworn his destruction; and that, to compass it with more ease, the tribune *Curio* was preparing a law, depriving him of his government, and of the command of the army in *Gaul*. But, in a few days, he overturned all the schemes which his competitor had been forming against him for several years. The riches he had heaped up in *Gaul* were immense. He had indeed distributed large sums among persons of all ranks, and even among the slaves at *Rome*; but he had still reserved vast treasures for himself. With these, he endeavoured to draw off from *Pompey* those very friends, whom he had raised to the magistracy. *Marcellus* was proof against all temptation; but his colleague *Æmilius Paulus* was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, 310,625 *l.* sterling. With this money he built that stately edifice, which was afterwards called the *Basilica of Paulus*. As the tribune *Curio* was over-run with debts, and devoted to his pleasures, *Cæsar*, by enabling him to

*Cæsar repairs to Cisalpine Gaul.*

*Cæsar buys off one of the consuls, and one of the tribunes.*

<sup>d</sup> DIO CASS. lib. xl. VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii. VAL. MAX. lib. ix. c. 1.



satisfy his creditors, and plentifully supplying him with money for his debaucheries, secured him in his interest. Nevertheless, *Curio* did not discover at once the change which *Cæsar's* money had wrought in him; but gradually, and with circumspection. *Pompey* continued to repose an intire confidence in him, and was continually pressing him to propose his law for the recalling of *Cæsar*. But the crafty tribune postponed it from month to month, under frivolous pretences; and when he was at length forced to act, *Cæsar's* last year being near expired, he found means to do *Cæsar* the most important service, without declaring for him.

*Curio moves that both generals should be recalled.*

HE made a motion, both to the senate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands, or reduce both; and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foresaw, that *Pompey* would never consent to lay down the government of *Spain*, or part with the command of the army; and therefore made this motion, that *Cæsar* might draw from *Pompey's* refusal, a pretence for continuing himself in his province, at the head of his troops. *Cornelius Scipio*, one of *Pompey's* friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of *Spain* and the proconsul of *Gaul*, since the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this *Curio* replied, that, in the present crisis, when the republic was, in a manner, subject to two absolute sovereigns, there was no medium. Both ought to be discharged, said he, or both continued in their office. Whoever continues alone in arms, will become the tyrant of *Rome*. If they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other; and we shall be secured by their mutual fears. The senate were for recalling *Cæsar*, and continuing *Pompey* in his office; but the people were inclined to favour *Curio's* motion.

*Pompey quits the city.*

POMPEY himself, being greatly embarrassed, left *Rome*, under pretence of going to his government; but went no farther than to a country-house, at a small distance from *Rome*, whence he wrote a very artful letter to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to resign all his employments, and disband his army, provided *Cæsar* did the same. *Curio*, well apprised that *Pompey's* view was to induce the senate to recal *Cæsar*, told *Pompey*, on his return to *Rome*, that it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and assured him, that his example would be followed by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* insisted upon *Cæsar's* resigning the first, since his term was expired. Whereupon *Curio* proposed, that both should be ordered to lay down their commissions, and declared enemies to the republic, if they refused to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recal both rivals; but were for obliging *Cæsar* to resign the command of his army before



before *Pompey* gave up his. Whereupon *Curio*, who represented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not suffer them to deliberate any longer about the dismissal of either. Then they <sup>Two le-</sup> only decreed, that one legion out of each army should be sent <sup>gions</sup> into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* wanted a reinforcement against the <sup>draughted</sup> *Parthians*. *Pompey* at the same time demanded of *Cæsar*, the <sup>out of Cæ-</sup> legion which he had formerly lent him. *Cæsar* knew the <sup>far's army.</sup> reason of this order, and of *Pompey's* design, which was to weaken his army; but nevertheless, he delivered up the two legions to *Appius Clodius*, whom the senate had sent to receive them, and conduct them into *Italy*. *Cæsar*, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with presents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in *Italy*, instead of being sent into the east, they were both, by an order from the consul *Marcellus*, added to *Pompey's* troops.

*CICERO*, at this time, returned to *Rome* from his government of *Cilicia*, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the *Parthians*. His absence had prevented him from joining either party, and his present pretensions obliged him to stand neuter. He therefore took upon him the office of mediator; but *Pompey* would now hearken to no terms of accommodation, *Pompey* *Appius* having, on his return from *Gaul*, to flatter *Pompey's* am-<sup>will</sup> bition, spread abroad, that *Cæsar's* troops were dissatisfied with <sup>hearken to</sup> their general, for having engaged them in so many dangerous <sup>no terms of</sup> expeditions; that they suspected him of aiming at absolute au-<sup>accommo-</sup> thority; and therefore, on their first entering *Italy*, would all <sup>dation.</sup> to a man declare for him and the senate. This false representation gave *Pompey* great confidence, and made him neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful a rival. *Cicero*, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the same time neglecting to strengthen his army with new levies, asked him, with what forces he designed to make head against *Cæsar*. To this *Pompey* proudly answered, *That he needed but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the ground.* He spoke with so much confidence, because he flattered himself, that, in case of an open rupture, *Cæsar's* army would abandon him.

In the mean time, *Pompey* having got two of his friends, *Clodius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, chosen to the consulate, *Cæsar*, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the senate, desiring them to continue him in his government, as *Cæsar's re-* they had continued *Pompey*. But his request being rejected, he <sup>quest of be-</sup> repassed the *Alps* with the third legion, and advanced to *Ra-* ing con-  
*venna*, whence he wrote a letter to the new consuls, wherein, <sup>tinued in</sup> after an honourable mention of his conquests and exploits, he <sup>his go-</sup> declared, that he was willing to resign all his power, provided <sup>vernment</sup>



*He affects  
great mo-  
deration.*

*Pompey* did the same. Hereupon warm debates arose in the senate; but it was at length almost unanimously decreed, that *Cæsar* should give up his government, and the command of the army; and that he should be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. *Cassius Longinus*, *Marc Antony*, and *Curio*, three of the tribunes, protested against the proceedings of the senate. But the consuls, having first attempted in vain to make them desist from their opposition, drove them out of the senate with disgrace. *Cæsar*, informed of all these transactions, that he might have the appearance of justice on his side, wrote again to the senate, with a great deal of temper, desiring, that since they were determined to deprive him of his government of *Gaul*, and the command of the army, they would at least continue him in the government of *Illyricum*, and allow him two legions. It is probable, he would never have made these proposals, if he had believed the senate would have complied with them. But he was well apprised that the opposite faction had resolved to reduce him to the state of a private person. He therefore affected a great deal of moderation, though he was all the while determined neither to part with the command of the army, nor his government.

*The fatal  
decree for  
a civil  
war.*

*Year of  
the flood  
2299.*

*Bef. Chr.*

*49.*

*Of Rome*

*699.*

*~~~~~*

*Pompey*

*required to*

*take upon*

*him the*

*defence of*

At length the three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themselves any longer safe in *Rome*, where the consuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night in the disguise of slaves, to take shelter in *Cæsar's* camp at *Ravenna*. Upon their departure, the fatal decree was issued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its destruction: *Let the consuls for the year, the proconsul Pompey, the prætors, and all those in or near Rome, who have been consuls, provide for the public safety by the most proper means.* This was proclaiming war. So that two powerful parties were seen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at establishing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty, which they affected to defend. *Pompey's* party had a more specious outside: he covered his designs with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general; and the whole senate, with the consuls, followed his ensigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with *Cæsar*; so that, in reality, the two legislative powers were divided between these two mighty rivals.

THE above-mentioned decree was no sooner passed, than the consul *Marcellus* went, with his colleague *Lentulus*, a little way out of town to an house, where *Pompey* then was; and presenting him with a sword, *We require you*, said he, speaking in the name of both, *to take upon you with this the defence of the re- public,*



public, and the command of her troops. Pompey declared he <sup>the com-</sup> would obey their orders; adding, with a feigned modesty, *Unless mon-* a more happy expedient be first found out. By the same decree, <sup>wealth.</sup> which deprived *Cæsar* of his government, and the command of the army, *Lucius Domitius* was appointed to succeed him, and impowered to raise four thousand new levies, to enable him to take possession of his government <sup>f.</sup>

AFTER the senate had taken this fatal resolution against *Cæsar*, they met daily to consult about the most proper measures for carrying on the war, in case *Cæsar* refused to comply with their decrees. *Pompey* lodged in the suburbs, not being allowed, *Pompey* as general, to enter the city; and there the senate assembled to <sup>and the</sup> hold their consultations. They first considered what name they <sup>senate pre-</sup> should give the enterprize, and determined to call it a *tumult*, <sup>pare for</sup> which was ranking it among those sudden commotions which <sup>war.</sup> are raised and suppressed in an instant. So that *Rome* either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy she was bringing on herself. In the next place, they ordered *Pompey* to assemble thirty thousand *Roman* troops, and take into the service as many foreign forces as he should think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haste, and money taken out of the public treasury to defray the expences of one campaign. As for *Pompey*, he was wholly intent on appointing such governors for the provinces as were most firmly attached to him. He gave *Syria* <sup>All the go-</sup> to *Cæcilius Metellus Scipio*, his father-in-law, who immediately <sup>vernments</sup> set out with young *Pompey* to assemble a fleet on the coast of <sup>bestowed</sup> *Asia*. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was nominated to succeed <sup>on Pom-</sup> *Cæsar*, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government <sup>pey's</sup> of *Transalpine Gaul*; but he imprudently shut himself up in <sup>friends.</sup> *Corfinium* before he left *Italy*. *Cato* was appointed proprætor of *Sicily*, *Cotta* of *Sardinia*, and *L. Ælius Tubero* of *Africa*. *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* and *Cicero*, were charged to guard the coasts of *Italy*. The other provinces, to wit, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cyprus*, *Cilicia*, *Macedon*, &c. were all bestowed on *Pompey's* friends, who, from this time assumed the character of *generallissimo of the republic*, and governed with as absolute a sway, as if he had been king of *Rome* <sup>f.</sup>

IN the mean time the three tribunes, *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Cæsar ex-* *Longinus*, who had been driven from *Rome*, arriving in *Cæsar's* <sup>shorts his</sup> camp, disguised like slaves, he shewed them in that condition <sup>soldiers to</sup> to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence <sup>stand by</sup> which had been offered them by the senate, and the unwar- <sup>him.</sup> rantable steps the patricians had taken against himself. In the

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in *Cæsare*. APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. i. DIO CASS. l. xl.  
HIRT. comment. lib. viii. c. 50. SUTTON. in *Julio*. <sup>f</sup> PLUT.  
in *Pomp*.



close of his speech, he exhorted his men to defend the honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with success for nine years together. When he had done speaking, they all cried out, that they were ready to maintain the rights of their general, and of the tribunes of the people, and revenge the injuries which had been done them.

Cæsar resolves to begin hostilities.

WHEN he found he could depend on his soldiers, he resolved to begin hostilities without delay, and entering *Italy*, properly so called, to make himself master of *Ariminum*, a city bordering on *Cisalpine Gaul*, which was part of his province. As this was a bold step, and an open declaration of war, he carefully concealed his design, and sent a detachment towards the *Rubicon*, ordering the officer, who commanded it, to wait for him on the banks of that river. The next day he assisted at a shew of gladiators, and made a great entertainment. Towards the close of the day, he rose from table, desiring his guests to stay till he came back, which, he said, would be very soon. But, instead of returning to the company, he immediately left *Ravenna*, where he then was, after he had ordered some of his most intimate friends to follow him, through different roads, to avoid being observed. He himself traveled in an hired chariot, and drove first another way; but, at some distance from the town, turned towards *Ariminum*. When he reached the banks of the *Rubicon*, which parted *Cisalpine Gaul*, his province, from *Italy*, all the misfortunes of the succeeding war offered themselves to his mind, and kept him some time in suspense. He often changed his opinion, without speaking a word, being one minute determined to cross the river, and another to go back, computing with himself how many calamities his passing it would bring upon the republic, and what an account of it would be transmitted to posterity. As he had been brought up in the bosom of a commonwealth, he could not look on the approaching ruin of his country without concern; and therefore turning to *Asinius Pollio*, *If I do not cross the river*, said he, *I am undone; and if I do cross it, how many calamities shall I, by this step, bring upon Rome!* Having thus spoken, he mused a few minutes on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, *The Passes the die is cast*, he threw himself into the river, and crossing it, marched with all possible expedition towards *Ariminum*, which he reached and surprised before day-break (B). From thence, as

(B) Some authors, and among the rest *Suetonius* (1), tell us, that while *Cæsar* was yet in suspense and undetermined, there appeared, all on a sudden, a man of an extraordinary stature, playing on a flute of reeds; which uncommon sight drew many of the

(1) *Suet. in Julio.*



as he had but one legion with him, he immediately dispatched orders to the great army he had left in *Gaul* to cross the mountains, and join him <sup>g</sup>.

It is impossible to express the terror and fear all *Italy*, and *Rome* in *Rome* herself, were in, upon the unexpected news of this enter-<sup>the utmost</sup>prize. They imagined this renowned general already at <sup>consterna-</sup>the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded <sup>tion</sup>. in *Gaul*. Nothing was seen but terror and confusion, the country-people crouding into the city for safety, and the citizens flying into the country. The senate met several times, without coming to any resolution. Several senators, without proposing any thing themselves, only contradicted the advice of others. *Pompey* himself was no less alarmed than the other <sup>Pompey</sup>senators. As he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were <sup>himself</sup>quartered in different provinces, at some distance from the capi-<sup>alarmed</sup>tal, he was no ways in a condition to make head against *Cæsar*. But nothing gave him greater uneasiness, than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out against him, some charging him with indiscretion, in arming *Cæsar* against himself and the government, and others blaming him, for having neglected the necessary preparations. *M. Favonius*, alluding to the rhodomontade mentioned above, desired him to stamp with his foot, and make armies start up, as he had promised. Every senator thought himself privileged to reproach and advise him. In this confusion *Pompey*, seeing himself in *Rome* without troops, and fearing, if he should arm the people, they would declare against him, resolved to retire to *Capua*, where the two legions were encamped, which *Cæsar* had surrendered to *Appius*. He communicated his design to the senate, and at the same time declared, that if any senator or magistrate refused to follow him, he should be treated as a friend to *Cæsar*, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the consuls, the senators, and <sup>He aban-</sup>all the magistrates, left *Rome* in great haste, and attended *Pompey* <sup>dons</sup>into *Campania* <sup>Rome</sup>.<sup>h</sup>

In the mean time *Cæsar*, having raised new troops in *Cisal-* *Cæsar*  
*pine Gaul*, sent *Marc Antony* with a detachment to seize *Aretium*, <sup>seizes Are-</sup>  
and other officers to secure *Pisaurum* and *Fanum*, while he him-<sup>tum, Pi-</sup>  
self <sup>faurum,</sup>

<sup>g</sup> PLUT. in *Cæfare*. DIO CASS. l. xli. Epit. LIV. <sup>h</sup> DIO CASS. & PLUT. ibid. CÆSAR. bell. civil. lib. i. c. 8. LIV. l. cix. c. 46.

legionaries to him, and among the rest a trumpet, from whom the unknown man snatched his instrument, and, founding the charge, threw himself into the river, and crossed it. Hereupon

*Cæsar*, without further consideration, followed him, crying aloud, *Let us go whither the gods call us, and the fury of our enemies drives us: the die is cast.*

self



Takes Cor-  
finium.

His mode-  
ration.

self marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to *Auximum*, which opened its gates to him. From *Auximum* he advanced into *Picenum*, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from *Transalpine Gaul*. As *Picenum* readily submitted to him, he led his forces against *Corfinium*, the capital of the *Peligni*, which *Domitius Ahenobarbus* defended with thirty cohorts. But *Cæsar* no sooner invested it, than the garison betrayed their commander, and delivered him up with many senators, who had taken refuge in the place, to *Cæsar*, who, to shew his great moderation in the midst of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (C). *Domitius*, fearing the resentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his slaves, whom he used as a physician, to give him a dose of poison. When he came to ex-  
perience

(C) *Domitius*, as soon as *Corfinium* was invested, found means to convey a letter to *Pompey*, wherein he pressed him to march directly to the defence of a place of such importance. *Lose no time*, said he, *but lay hold of the favourable opportunity which fortune now offers you of surrounding Cæsar. If you make haste, the war will be at an end. Consider, your credit is at stake. You cannot in honour reject the request of the many senators, and Roman knights, who are shut up in this place. They have recourse to you as to their deliverer, and take it for granted, that you will not abandon thirty-three cohorts of the best of your troops to the mercy of the enemy, who hastens to his own destruction.* But *Pompey's* answer was very different from what *Domitius* expected. He told him, that he could not, in his present situation, hazard a battle, the loss of which would infallibly bring with it the ruin of the republic. He reproached him with having undertaken the defence of *Corfinium*, and shut himself up in that place, contrary to his opinion. He advised him to abandon the place, and join the consular army with all possible expedition. But as

this was not now in his power, he prepared to sustain a siege, provided his machines, assigned his troops their posts, and, in order to encourage them, promised each soldier four acres of land. *Cæsar*, on the other hand, provided his camp with all things necessary for a siege; and in the mean time the eighth legion joined him, with twenty cohorts of *Gauls*, and three hundred *German* horse. For these he formed a new camp, and appointed *Curio* to command in it. *Domitius*, though he expected no succours, did all that lay in his power to persuade his men, that all the forces of the republic were marching to his relief. But a report being spread, that he designed to escape privately, they mutinied, ran to his quarters, and, having seized him, opened the gates to the enemy. As this tumult happened in the night, *Cæsar*, lest the darkness should encourage his men to plunder, and commit violences, deferred entering the town till the next morning. At break of day, *Lentulus Spinther*, one of the senators who were shut up in the place, waited on *Cæsar*, who received him with great marks of friendship,



perience the humanity of the conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the hastiness of his own resolution. But his physician, who had only given him a sleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty, as a reward for his affection<sup>i</sup>.

POMPEY, thinking himself no longer safe at *Capua*, after the reduction of *Corfinium*, retired to *Brundisium*, with a design to carry the war into the east, where all the governors were his creatures. *Cæsar* followed him close cross *Apulia*, and arriving with his army before *Brundisium*, invested the place on *Besieges* the land-side, and undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* <sup>Pompey</sup> of his own invention. But, before the work was completed, the <sup>in Brun-</sup> fleet which had conveyed the two consuls with thirty cohorts to *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, being returned, *Pompey* resolved to make his escape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his departure very secret; but, at the same time, made all necessary preparations for the facilitating of it. In the first place, he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches cross all the streets, except only those two that led to the port; in the ditches he planted sharp-pointed stakes, covering them with hurdles and earth. After these precautions, he gave express orders, that all the citizens should keep within-doors, lest they should betray his design to the enemy, and then, in the space of three days, embarked all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he had placed on the walls; and these likewise, on a signal given, abandoning their posts, repaired with great expedition to the ships. *Cæsar*, perceiving <sup>Pompey</sup> the walls unguarded, ordered his men to scale them, and make <sup>abandons</sup> what haste they could after the enemy. In the heat of the pur- <sup>Italy to</sup> suit, they would have fallen into the ditches, which *Pompey* had <sup>the mercy</sup> prepared for them, had not the *Brundisians* warned them of the <sup>of his ri-</sup> danger, and, by many windings and turnings, led them to the <sup>val.</sup> haven, where they found all the fleet under sail, except two vessels, which had run aground in going out of the harbour. These *Cæsar* seized, took the soldiers on board prisoners, and brought them ashore.

CÆSAR, seeing himself, by the flight of his rival, master of all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the sea, was desirous to follow and attack him before he was joined by the supplies which he expected

<sup>i</sup> PLUT. APPIAN. CÆSAR, *ibid.*

friendship, which induced the others to submit, and surrender the place at discretion. *Cæsar* not only gave *Domitius* his liberty, but restored to him the mo-

ney which he had taken out of the treasury for the paying of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magistrates of *Corfinium*.

from



from *Asia*. But being destitute of shipping, he resolved to go first to *Rome*, and settle some sort of government there, and then pass into *Spain*, to drive from thence *Pompey's* troops, who had taken possession of that great continent, under the command of *Afranius* and *Petreibus*. Before he left *Brundisium* he sent *Scribonius Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, and ordered *Q. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, to get together what ships he could, and cross over with one legion into *Sardinia*. *Cato*, who commanded in *Sicily*, upon the first news of *Curio's* landing there, abandoned the island, and retired to the camp of the consuls at *Dyrrhachium*: and *Q. Valerius* no sooner appeared with his small fleet off *Sardinia*, than the *Caralitani*, now the inhabitants of *Cagliari*, drove out *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the senate, and put *Cæsar's* lieutenant in possession both of their city and island.

*Cæsar goes to Rome.* In the mean time the general himself advanced towards *Rome*, and that with more confidence, because he had made himself master of all *Italy* without shedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the senators then in *Italy*, desiring them to repair to the capital, and assist him there with their counsel. Above all, he was desirous to see *Cicero*; and therefore, after having pressed him in vain by *Oppius* and *Cælius*, their common friends, to come and meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country-house, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to *Rome* (D). As *Cæsar* drew near the capital, he quartered his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, out of a pretended respect to the antient customs, he

(D) In this conference *Cæsar* earnestly pressed *Cicero* to return to the capital. *I have seen Cæsar*, says he, in one of his letters to *Atticus* (2), who earnestly pressed me to return to *Rome*; but I withstood his desire. He looked upon my absence as a tacit condemnation of his proceedings against *Pompey*, and is persuaded, that most of the senators are induced to retire into the country by my example. *Cæsar*, in order to prevail upon *Cicero* to come to *Rome*, told him, that he had nothing else in view, but to employ him in bringing about a lasting accommodation between him and *Pompey*. To this *Cicero* replied, that he would readily attend him to the capital, upon condition that he should be at full liberty to declare his opinion concerning the present state of affairs. But *Cæsar* not liking this condition, You must not then take it amiss, replied *Cicero*, that I persist in my resolution of not going to *Rome*: if I am not allowed to speak my mind, I ought not to appear in the senate. *Cæsar*, little satisfied with this answer, took his leave of *Cicero*, after having intreated him in a friendly manner not to take any step in so nice an affair without mature deliberation.

(2) *Epist.* 10.



took up his quarters in the suburbs, whither the whole city crouded to see the famous conqueror of *Gaul*, who had been absent near ten years. And now such of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reassumed their functions, mounted the rostra, and endeavoured by their speeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. *Marc Antony* particularly, and *Cassius Longinus*, two of *Cæsar*'s most zealous partisans, moved that the senate should meet in the suburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly, such of the senators as were at *Rome* assembled, when *Cæsar* with that dignity and eloquence, which were natural to him, made a speech in justification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, gave great hopes of the wavering, and concluded his harangue with proposing a deputation to *Pompey* with offers of an accommodation in an amicable manner. He even desired the conscript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate some of their venerable body to carry proposals of peace to the consuls, and the general of the consular army. But none of the senators would take upon him that commission, some being afraid of *Pompey*, who had declared all those enemies who should stand neuter, and others plainly seeing that *Cæsar* did not mean what he said<sup>k</sup> (E). He then began to think of providing himself with the necessary sums for carrying on the war, and had recourse to the public treasury. But *Metellus*, one of the tribunes, opposed him, alleging a law, forbidding

*The senate assembles.*  
*Cæsar resolves to supply himself with money from the treasury.*  
*Is opposed by Metellus.*

<sup>k</sup> *Iidem ibid.*

(E) *Cæsar* tells us, that he attempted several times to make up matters with *Pompey* in an amicable manner. On his march to *Brundisium* he sent *Cn. Magius*, one of *Pompey*'s chief officers, whom he had taken prisoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But as the consuls had already set sail for *Dyrrhachium*, *Pompey* answered, that he could do nothing in their absence. In the first days of the siege he attempted once more to draw *Pompey* to a conference, and with this view sent *Caninius Rebilus*, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with *P. Scribonius Libo*, *Pompey*'s particular friend. But he returned

the same answer, to wit, that he could not come to an agreement in the absence of the consuls. *Cæsar* in his first speech to the senate shewed a great inclination to compose matters in an amicable manner, and desired the conscript fathers to depute some of their body with proposals of an accommodation both to *Pompey* and the consuls. But men of penetration plainly saw, that *Cæsar* was more averse to any sort of accommodation than *Pompey* himself, and that he talked of it only to lessen the odium of his proceedings, and throw the whole blame of the war on *Pompey* and his party.

any



Breaks  
open the  
treasury.

any one to open the treasury, but in the presence, and with the consent of the consuls. To which *Cæsar* replied: *Arms and laws do not well agree: when I shall have laid down my arms, then will I hearken to laws, and let you make as long harangues as you please; but at present I advise you to retire.* Having thus spoken, he went directly to the temple of *Saturn*, where the public money was kept. But the keys of the treasury having been carried away by the consul *Lentulus*, he ordered the doors to be broken open. This *Metellus* opposed, and then *Cæsar* in a passion laying his hand on his sword, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further disturbance, adding, *This you know, young man, is harder for me to say, than to do.* These words so terrified *Metellus*, that he withdrew; and then *Cæsar* took out of the treasury, which was ever after at his command, an immense sum; some say, three hundred thousand pounds weight of gold. With this supply of money he raised troops all over *Italy*, and sent governors into all the provinces subject to the republic.

A general  
war kindled.

*Cæsar* re-  
turns to  
Transal-  
pine Gaul.

The ma-  
gistrates of  
Marseilles  
disoblige  
*Cæsar*.

HE made *Marc Antony* commander in chief of the armies in *Italy*, sent his brother *C. Antonius* to govern *Illyricum*, assigned *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Licinius Crassus*, appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus* governor of the capital, and having got together some ships to cruise in the *Adriatic* and *Mediterranean* seas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and of the other to young *Hortensius*, the son of the famous orator. As *Pompey* had sent governors into the same provinces, by this means a general war was kindled in all the parts of the known world. However, *Cæsar* would not trust any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in *Spain*, which was *Pompey's* favourite province, but took it upon himself; and having settled his affairs in great haste at *Rome*, returned to *Ariminum*, assembled his legions there, and passing the *Alps*, entered *Transalpine Gaul*. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Marseilles* had resolved to refuse him entrance into their city, and that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, whom he had generously pardoned and set at liberty after the reduction of *Corfinium*, had set sail for *Marseilles* with seven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and slaves, with a design to raise the city in favour of *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take possession of such an important place, sent for the fifteen chief magistrates of the city, and advised them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of *Italy*, and submit. The magistrates returned to the city, and soon after sent *Cæsar* the following answer: "Since the *Roman* people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which side the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons,



“patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore that we may  
 “not help one against the other, our port, and the gates of our  
 “city, shall be shut to both.” In the mean time *Domitius*  
 arriving with his small squadron, was received into the city, and  
 declared general of all their forces<sup>1</sup>.

HEREUPON *Cæsar*, justly provoked at such unfair dealings, *Marseilles*  
 immediately invested the town with three legions, and ordered *besieged*.  
 twelve gallies to be built at *Arelas*, now *Arles*, in order to block  
 up the port. But as the siege was like to detain him too long,  
 he left *C. Trebonius* to carry it on, and *D. Brutus* to command  
 the fleet, while he continued his march into *Spain*, where he  
 began the war with all the valour, ability, and success of a great  
 hero. *Pompey* had three generals in this great continent, which  
 was divided into two *Roman* provinces. *Varro* commanded in  
*Farther Spain*; and *Petreibus* and *Afranius* with equal power,  
 and two considerable armies, in *Hither Spain*. *Cæsar*, while  
 he was yet at *Marseilles*, sent *Q. Fabius*, one of his lieutenants,  
 with three legions, to take possession of the passes of the *Py-*  
*renees*, which *Afranius* had seized. *Fabius* executed his com- *Cæsar en-*  
 mission with great bravery, entered *Spain*, and left the way *ters Spain*.  
 open for *Cæsar*, who soon followed him. As soon as he had  
 crossed the mountains, he sent out scouts to observe the situation  
 of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that *Afranius* and  
*Petreibus* having joined their forces, consisting of five legions,  
 twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thousand horse, were  
 advantageously posted on an hill of an easy ascent in the neigh-  
 bourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in *Catalonia*.

UPON this advice he advanced within sight of the enemy, *Advances*  
 and encamped in a plain between the *Sicoris* and *Cinga*, now *against*  
 the *Segro* and *Cinca*. Between the eminence, on which *Afra-* *Afranius*  
*nus* had posted himself, and the city of *Ilerda*, was a small *and Pe-*  
 plain, and in the middle of it a rising ground, which *Cæsar* *treibus*,  
 attempted to seize, in order to cut off by that means the com- *Pompey's*  
 munication between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence *licute-*  
 they had all their provisions. This occasioned a sharp dispute *nants.*  
 between three of *Cæsar's* legions, and an equal number of the *A sharp*  
 enemy, which lasted five hours with equal success, both parties *dispute be-*  
 claiming the victory. But after all, *Afranius's* men, who had *tween two*  
 first seized the post, maintained themselves in possession of it in *parties,*  
 spite of *Cæsar's* utmost efforts. Two days after this battle, *with equal*  
 continual rains, with the melting of the snow on the mountains, *success.*  
 so swelled the two rivers, between which *Cæsar* was encamped,  
 that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid under  
 water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This cut  
 off the communication between his camp and the cities that had

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. APPIAN. CÆS. ibid.



Cæsar reduced to great streights.

declared for him, and reduced him to such streights, that his army was ready to perish for famine, wheat being sold in his camp at fifty *Roman denarii per bushel*, that is, one pound twelve shillings three-pence halfpenny sterling. He tried to rebuild his bridges, but in vain, the violence of the stream rendering all his endeavours fruitless<sup>m</sup>.

Many of the senators, and among the rest Cicero repaires to Pompey's camp. How received. He repents the step he has taken, and leaves the camp.

UPON the news of *Cæsar's* distress, *Pompey's* party at *Rome* began to take courage. Several persons of distinction went to congratulate *Afranius's* wife on the success of her husband's arms in *Spain*. Many of the senators, who had hitherto stood neuter, hastened to *Pompey's* camp, taking it for granted, that *Cæsar* was reduced to the last extremity, and all hopes of his party lost. Of this number was *Cicero*; who without any regard to the remonstrances of *Atticus*, or the letters *Cæsar* himself wrote to him (F), desiring him to join neither party, he left *Italy*, and landed at *Dyrrhachium*, where *Pompey* received him with great marks of joy and friendship. But *Cicero* soon repented of the little regard he had paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himself his having too easily given credit to the reports that were brought from *Spain*. He ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful, and uneasy, and even vented his ill humour in severe jests on *Pompey* (G). The offensive things he threw out on all occasions, and his unseasonable jests, led some to suspect, that he kept a correspondence with *Cæsar*. However that be, *Pompey* would neither trust him with any command, nor impart to him his designs; nay, he went so far as to bid him be gone to *Cæsar's* camp, where he would have less reason to jest, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend *Cato* give him a very favourable reception. He was displeased at his having so

<sup>m</sup> CÆSAR, bell. civil. l. i. c. 14--46. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. c. 14, & seq. DIO CASS. l. xli.

(F) In one of these letters he expresses himself thus: *It will not be believed, that the justice of my enemy's cause has induced you to declare against me. Every one will think, that you have been displeased at some action of mine, which would most sensibly grieve me. A man of honour, who loves the peace and welfare of his country, ought to avoid taking any side in a civil war. You cannot do better, nor more for your reputation, than to avoid engaging yourself,*

*upon any account whatsoever, in these broils.*

(G) *Pompey* having told him one day, that he had joined the army of *Dyrrhachium* a little too late; *How too late?* replied *Cicero*; *I do not find your affairs in such forwardness. Another time, when he was told, that seven eagles had been taken in Pompey's camp, and that the augurs looked upon this as an happy omen; It would be very lucky indeed, said he, if we were at war with the magpies.*

unseasonably



unseasonably declared for a party, which he might have served more effectually, by keeping an exact neutrality. Cicero was so strongly affected with these reproaches, that he left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of *Pharsalia*.

BUT the joy of *Pompey's* party was not long-lived. For *Cæsar*, after having attempted several times in vain to rebuild <sup>overcomes</sup> his bridges, caused boats to be made with all possible expedition; <sup>his difficulties</sup> and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept <sup>tics</sup>; the succours that were sent him from *Gaul*, he laid hold of that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp; where with wonderful quickness a great detachment passed the *Sicoris*, and encamping on the opposite bank unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the supplies from *Gaul*, and relieved the wants of his soldiers. *Cæsar* being thus delivered from all danger, pursued the armies of *Afranius* and *Petreibus* with such superior address and conduct, that he forced them to submit without coming to a battle, and by that means became master of all *Hither Spain*. The two <sup>and reduces</sup> generals disbanded their troops, sent them out of the province, <sup>all</sup> *Spain*. and returned themselves to *Italy*, after having solemnly promised never to assemble forces again, or make war upon *Cæsar* <sup>n</sup>. Upon the news of the reduction of *Hither Spain*, the *Spaniards* in *Farther Spain*, and one *Roman* legion, deserted from *Varro*, *Pompey's* governor in that province, which obliged him to surrender his other legion, and all his money.

*CÆSAR*, having thus reduced all *Spain* in a few months, appointed *Cassius Longinus* to govern the two provinces with four legions; and then returned to *Marseilles*, which city was *Marseilles* just upon the point of surrendring after a most vigorous re-<sup>surrenders</sup>. sistance. Though the inhabitants had by their late treachery deserved a severe punishment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but stripped their arsenals of their arms, and obliged them to deliver up all their ships. From *Marseilles* *Cæsar* marched into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and from thence hastened to *Rome*, where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Most of the senators and magistrates were fled to *Pompey* at *Dyrrhachium*. However, there were still prætors there, and among them *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with *Octavius* and *Marc Antony*. The prætor, to ingratiate himself with *Cæsar*, nominated him dictator of *Cæsar* <sup>no-</sup> his own authority, and against the inclination of the senate. <sup>minated</sup> *Cæsar* accepted the new dignity; but neither abused his power, <sup>dictator</sup>. as *Sylla* had done, nor retained it so long. During the eleven

<sup>a</sup> *Cæs. bell. civil. l. i. c. 46--82.*



days of his dictatorship, he governed with great moderation, and gained the affections both of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except *Milo*, who had murdered *Clodius*. He granted the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens to all the *Gauls* beyond the *Po*, and as pontifex maximus, filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have absolutely cancelled all debts contracted since the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the interest to one-fourth. But the chief use he made of his dictatorship was, to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when he got himself, and *Servilius Isauricus*, one of his most zealous partisans, promoted to that dignity °.

Is chosen  
consul.

Cæsar re-  
solves to  
follow  
Pompey  
into the  
East.

Arrives  
in Chao-  
nia.

Pompey  
draws to-  
gether nu-  
merous  
forces.

AND now being resolved to follow *Pompey*, and carry the war into the East, he set out for *Brundisium*, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all possible expedition. But on his arrival he found only five there. The rest being afraid of the dangers of the sea, and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leisurely, complaining of their general for allowing them no respite, but hurrying them continually from one country to another. However, *Cæsar* did not wait for them, but set sail with only five legions, and six hundred horse, in the beginning of *January*. When the legions found he had embarked without them, they changed their sentiments, and looking upon themselves as traitors to their general, blamed their officers for marching so slowly. While they were waiting at *Brundisium* for ships to transport them over into *Epirus*, *Cæsar* arrived safe with his five legions in *Chaonia*, the northern part of *Epirus*, near the *Ceraunian* mountains. There he landed his troops, and sent the ships back to *Brundisium* to bring over the legions that were left behind. The war he was now entering upon, was the most difficult he had yet undertaken. *Pompey* had for a whole year been assembling troops from all the eastern countries. When he left *Italy* he had only five legions; but since his arrival at *Dyrrhachium* he had been reinforced with one from *Sicily*, another from *Crete*, and two from *Syria*. Three thousand archers, six cohorts of slingers, and seven thousand horse had been sent him by princes in alliance with *Rome*. All the free cities of *Asia* had reinforced his army with their best troops; nay, if we give credit to an historical poet, succours were brought him from the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to the east, and from *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* to the south; at least it is certain, that *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Palæstine*, *Egypt*, and all the nations from the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates* took up arms in his favour. He had almost all the *Roman* knights, that is, the flower of the young nobility, in his squadrons, and his legions

° CÆS. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 18. PLUT. in Cæs.

consisted



consisted mostly of veterans inured to dangers, and the toils of war. *Pompey* himself was a general of great experience and address, and had under him some of the best commanders of the republic, who had formerly conducted armies themselves.

As for his navy, he had above five hundred ships of war, *His navy.* besides a far greater number of small vessels, which were continually cruising on the coasts, and intercepting such ships as carried arms or provisions to the enemy. He had likewise with *Senators,* him above two hundred senators, who formed a more numerous *and other* senate than that at *Rome.* *Cornelius Lentulus,* and *Claudius persons of* *Marcellus* the last year's consuls, presided in it, but under the *great di-* direction of *Pompey* their protector, who ordered them to assemble *stinction in* at *Theffalonica*, where he built a stately hall for that purpose. *his camp.*

There in one of their assemblies at the motion of *Cato* it was decreed, that no *Roman* citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that no city subject to the republic should be sacked.

At the same time the conscript fathers assembled at *Theffalonica* decreed, that they alone represented the *Roman* senate, and that those, who resided at *Rome*, were encouragers of tyranny, and friends to the tyrant. And indeed, as the flower of the nobility was with *Pompey*, and the most virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally looked upon as the only hope and support of the public liberty. Hence many persons of eminent probity, who had hitherto stood neuter, flocked to him from all parts. Among these were young *Brutus*, who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, *Tidius Sextius*, and *Labienus.* *Brutus*, whose father had been but to death in *Galatia* by *Pompey's* order, had never spoken to him, or so much as saluted him since that time. But as he now looked upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined him, sacrificing therein his private resentment to the interest of the public. *Pompey* received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him some command; but he declined the offer, desiring *Pompey* to bestow such marks of distinction on others, who better deserved them, both in consideration of their age and employments. *Tidius Sextius*, though extremely old and lame, yet left *Rome*, and went as far as *Macedonia* to join *Pompey* there. *Labienus* likewise forsook his old benefactor, under whom he had served during the whole course of the *Gaulish* war, and went over to his rival, though *Cæsar* had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other side the *Alps* (H). In short, *Pompey's* party grew

(H) It seemed very strange, says *Dio*, that *Labienus* should abandon *Cæsar*, who had loaded him with honours, and distinguished him above others. But

he gives this reason for it: *Labienus*, says he, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree, as to assume a character



grew into such reputation, that his cause was generally called the *good cause*, while *Cæsar's* adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country, and abettors of tyranny P.

*Cæsar takes Oricum and Apollonia.*

*Part of his fleet destroy'd.*

*Makes new proposals of an accommodation.*

BUT to return to *Cæsar*: As soon as landed, he marched to *Oricum*, the nearest city to him in *Epirus*, and made himself master of it without opposition, *L. Torquatus*, who was governor of the place for *Pompey*, having abandoned it at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Apollonia*, which stood on the confines of *Macedon*. This important place likewise surrendered as soon as *Cæsar* appeared before it, *Staberius*, *Pompey's* governor, not being in a condition to stand a siege. By these two conquests *Cæsar* opened himself a way to *Dyrrhachium*, a city on the confines of *Macedon*, where *Pompey* had fixed his magazines of arms and provisions. In the mean time news were brought to *Cæsar*, that his fleet, which he had sent back to *Brundisium*, to transport the rest of his troops, had been attacked by a squadron of *Pompey's* fleet, under the command of *Bibulus*, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the seamen on board. This gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, the more because he was at the same time informed, that *Bibulus* with an hundred and ten ships of war had taken possession of all the ports and harbours between *Salonium* and *Oricum*; so that the legions at *Brundisium* could not venture to cross the sea without manifest danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

HEREUPON *Cæsar*, being greatly embarrassed, made new proposals of an accommodation, sending *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate friend of *Pompey's*, whom he had twice taken prisoner, viz. at *Corfinium* and in *Spain*, to propose to him the following terms; to wit, That they should both disband their armies in three days, renew their former friendship with solemn oaths, and return together to *Italy*. With these proposals *Rufus*, who was in pain for *Dyrrhachium*, hastened to *Pompey's* camp, traveling night and day without allowing himself any rest till he reached it. Upon his arrival he found that *Pompey* had not yet received advice of *Cæsar's* arrival; but he no sooner informed him of the taking of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached *Dyrrhachium* before *Cæsar*, and encamped under the walls of the city. In the mean time *Cæsar* was likewise advancing towards *Dyrrhachium*, in hopes of surprising that important place; but upon the unexpected

P. PLUT. in Pomp.

very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equal foot with *Cæsar*, who thereupon grew

cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which *Labe-nus* resented, and went over to *Pompey*.

news



news of *Pompey's* arrival, he halted on the other side of the river *Apfus*, and intrenched himself there, having but a small number of troops with him, if compared with *Pompey's* formidable army. However, as *Pompey* durst not cross the river in *Cæsar's* sight, the two armies continued some time quiet in their respective posts. As to the proposals of an amicable accommodation, <sup>which are</sup> *Pompey*, suspecting *Cæsar's* sincerity, answered, that he would <sup>rejected by</sup> not hearken to any terms, lest it should be said, that he owed *Pompey* his life and return to *Italy* to *Cæsar's* favour. Nevertheless, *Cæsar*, either to gain time, his troops not being yet arrived, or to cast all the blame of a civil war on his rival, sent *Vatinius* to treat with *Pompey* in his name. *Labienus* was deputed to receive his proposals. But while they were conferring together, a party of *Pompey's* men coming up to them, discharged a shower of darts at *Vatinius*, and those who attended him. Some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and *Vatinius* himself narrowly escaped with his life <sup>9</sup>.

As *Cæsar* had not a sufficient force with him to engage the enemy, he wrote letter after letter to *Marc Antony*, who commanded the legions he had left in *Italy*, pressing him to hasten their embarkation. But *Antony*, either because he wanted transports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous squadrons, which almost covered the sea, still continued at *Brundisium*, which filled *Cæsar* with many uneasy reflections. Sometimes he accused *Antony* of cowardice, and sometimes suspected him of treachery, as if he designed to revolt from him, and make a third party in the republic. At length his impatience and un-<sup>Cæsar's</sup> easiness put him upon a bold attempt, which nothing could <sup>bold at-</sup> excuse, but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his <sup>tempt.</sup> good fortune (I). He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and with all imaginable secrecy went on board a fisherman's bark, which lay in the river *Anius*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Aous*, with a design to go over to *Brundisium*, though the enemy's fleet was cruising on the coasts both of *Greece* and *Italy*. The vessel weighed anchor in the beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty. But it happened unluckily, that a strong wind from the sea sprung up all on a sudden, so

<sup>9</sup> CÆSAR, *ben. civil.* l. iii. c. 19.

(I) Most historians blame this as a rash action; and he himself in his commentaries makes no mention of this, or of another as dangerous an attempt, which is related by *Suetonius*. While he was making war in *Gaul*, upon

advice that the *Gauls* had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.



that the rowers, after having struggled a long time in vain with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to despair of getting out to sea. Then *Cæsar*, who had hitherto never opened his mouth, starting up, discovered himself to the master of the vessel, who was greatly surprised to see him, and taking him by the hand, *Go on boldly, my friend, said he, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune along with thee.* The mariners, encouraged by *Cæsar*'s presence, used extraordinary efforts, and got out to sea; but the storm was so violent, that *Cæsar* himself, despairing of being able to get to *Italy*, suffered the pilot to return to the coast, where his soldiers met him, and expressed, with a great deal of tenderness and respect, their concern to see him so uneasy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with them alone<sup>r</sup>.

Part of  
Cæsar's  
troops cut  
off in Illy-  
ricum.

Marc An-  
tony ar-  
rives with  
supplies for  
Cæsar.

Cæsar of-  
fers Pom-  
pey battle,  
which he  
declines.

*CÆSAR* was no sooner landed, than he dispatched *Posthumius*, one of his lieutenants, with most pressing orders to *Marc Antony*, *Gabinus*, and *Calenus*, to bring the troops to him at all adventures. *Gabinus*, unwilling to expose all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the sea, thought it safer to march a great way about by *Illyricum*, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land. But the *Illyrians*, who had, unknown to him, declared for *Pompey*, fell unexpectedly upon him, and killed him and his men, not one escaping. *Marc Antony* and *Calenus*, who went by sea, were in the greatest danger from one of *Pompey*'s admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops safe to shore at *Nymphæum*, in the neighbourhood of *Apollonia*. As soon as it was known, that *Antony* was landed, *Pompey* marched to prevent his joining *Cæsar*. On the other hand *Cæsar* instantly decamped, and hastening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before *Pompey* came up. Then *Pompey*, not caring to engage them when united, retired to an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of *Dyrrhachium*, known by the name of *Asparagium*, and there encamped. *Cæsar* having thus at length got all his troops together, resolved to finish the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death, or by that of his rival. To this end he offered *Pompey* battle, and kept his army a great while drawn up in sight of the enemy. But *Pompey* declining an engagement, he decamped, and turned towards *Dyrrhachium*, as if he designed to surprise it, hoping by this means to draw *Pompey* into the plain. But *Pompey*, looking upon the taking of *Dyrrhachium* as a chimerical project, followed *Cæsar* at some distance, and letting him draw near to the city, encamped on an hill called *Petra*, which commanded the sea, whence he could be supplied with provisions from *Greece* and *Asia*, while *Cæsar*

<sup>r</sup> PLUT. in Cæsare.

was



was forced to bring corn by land from *Epirus*, at a vast expence, and through many dangers.

THIS inconvenience put *Cæsar* upon a new design, which was to surround an army far more numerous than his own, and by shutting them up within a narrow tract of ground, distress them as much for want of forage, as his troops were distressed for want of corn. Pursuant to this design, he drew a line of *Cæsar* <sup>be-</sup>circumvallation from the sea quite round *Pompey's* camp, and <sup>sieges</sup> *Pom-*kept him so closely blocked up, that though his men were plen- <sup>pey in his</sup>tifully supplied with provisions by sea, yet the horses of his army <sup>camp.</sup> began soon to die in great numbers for want of forage. *Cæsar's* men, though in the utmost distress for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible chearfulness, protesting, that they would rather live upon the bark of trees, than suffer *Pompey* to escape, now they had him in their power (K). At length *Pompey*, alarmed at the distempers which began to reign in his army, made several attempts to break through the barriers that inclosed him, but was always repulsed with loss (L).

\* *CÆSAR. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 52.*

(K) *Cæsar* tells us, that in this extremity such of the army as had been in *Sardinia*, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called *clæra*, which they steeped in milk; and that when the enemy insulted them on account of the starving condition which they were in, they threw several of these loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of subduing them by famine. *So long as the earth produces such roots, said they, we will not let Pompey escape.*

(L) One day *Pompey* himself attacked one of the enemy's castles; on which occasion *M. Cassius Scæva*, a soldier of fortune, at that time centurion, distinguished himself in the defence of the castle in a very eminent manner. He withstood the efforts of the enemy almost alone, made a great slaughter of them; and though he was wounded on

the head, had lost an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till *Sylla*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then *Pompey* was forced to retire. This castle was defended by one cohort only of the sixth legion, which held out against the utmost efforts of *Pompey* at the head of four complete legions. Every soldier of the cohort was wounded, *Pompey's* men having discharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thousand arrows, of which the brave *Cassius* received two hundred and thirty on his shield. *Cæsar* therefore made him a present of two hundred thousand sesterces, raised him to the post of *primipilus*, or first centurion of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay, and double allowance of provisions ever after (3).

(3) *Cæsar bell. civil. l. iii. c. 53. Lucan. l. vi. Suet. in Julio.*



Pompey *resolves to force Cæsar's lines.* AND now Pompey being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of forage, resolved at all events to force the enemy's lines, and escape. With the assistance therefore, and by the advice of two deserters (M), he embarked his archers, slingers, and light-armed infantry, and marching himself by land at the head of sixty cohorts, went to attack that part of Cæsar's lines which was next to the sea, and not yet quite finished. He set out from his camp in the dead of the night, and arriving at the post he designed to force by break of day, he began the attack by sea and land at the same time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made for some time a vigorous resistance; but being attacked in the rear by Pompey's men, who came by sea, and landed between Cæsar's two lines, they fled with such precipitation, that the succours Marcellinus sent them from a neighbouring post could not stop them. The ensign who carried the Roman eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but nevertheless, before he died, had presence of mind enough to consign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, desiring them to deliver it to Cæsar. Pompey's men pursued the fugitives, and made such a slaughter of them, that all the centurions of the first cohort were cut off except one. And now Pompey's army broke in upon the posts Cæsar had fortified, like a torrent, and were advancing to attack Marcellinus, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but Marc Antony coming very seasonably to his relief with twelve cohorts, they thought it adviseable to retire.

*Cæsar attempts to make himself master of one of Pompey's posts.* SOON after Cæsar himself arrived with a strong reinforcement, and posted himself on the shore in order to prevent such attempts for the future. From this post he observed an old camp, which he had made within the place where Pompey was inclosed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar resolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loss he had sustained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which Pompey had

(M) These were two brothers, Roscillus and Agus, Allobroges, and men of great distinction in their own country. They commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the assistance of Cæsar, but defrauded them of their pay, and used them with great rigour; which obliged them to carry their complaints to Cæsar, who thereupon privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this disgrace, took what money and horses they could along with them, and deserted to Pompey. As they had narrowly observed all Cæsar's circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed Pompey in this enterprize, and proved very serviceable to him (4).

(4) *Die Cass. l. xli. Cæsar, bell. civil. l. iii. c. 60.*



posted there. Accordingly, he advanced secretly at the head of thirty-three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp before *Pompey* could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigour, forced the first intrenchment, notwithstanding the brave resistance of *Titus Pulcio*, and penetrated to the second, whither the legion had retired. But here his fortune changed on a sudden. His right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outside of a trench, which *Cæsar* had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp, about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river. This trench they mistook for the rampart of the camp, and, being led away by that mistake, from their left wing, they were soon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of *Pompey*, who came up at the head of a legion, and a large body of horse. Then *Is repulsed* the legion, which *Cæsar* had attacked, taking courage, made a *with great* brisk sally, drove his men back to the first intrenchment, which *loss.* they had seized, and there put them in great disorder, while they were attempting to pass the ditch. *Pompey*, in the mean time, falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, completed their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had passed the trench mentioned above, and was shut up between that and the ramparts of the old camp, made a most dreadful slaughter of them. The trench was filled with dead bodies, many falling into it in that disorder, and others passing over them, and pressing them to death.

In this distress, *Cæsar* did all he could to stop the flight *Endea-* of his legionaries, but to no purpose; the standard-bearers *vours in* themselves threw down the *Roman* eagles, when *Cæsar* endeavoured to stop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, *vain to* who, on this occasion, took thirty-two standards; a disgrace *stop the* which *Cæsar* had never suffered before. He was himself in no *flight of* small danger of falling by the hand of one of his own men, *his men.* whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him stand and face about; but the man, apprehensive of the danger he was in, drew his sword, and would have killed him, had not one of his guards prevented the blow, by cutting off his arm. *Cæsar* lost on this occasion nine hundred and sixty of his foot, four hundred of his horse, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions<sup>t</sup> (N).

<sup>t</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. & Pomp. SUET. in Julio.

(N) Had *Pompey* attacked *Cæsar*'s camp during this panic, he might have easily made himself master of it, and put an end to the war at one blow. But, being afraid of some ambuscade, he pursued the enemy to the gates

of their camp, and then marched back, without making any further attempts; which caused *Cæsar* to say, that *he had been lost without redress, had Pompey known how to make use of his victory.*

THIS



He retires  
into Ma-  
cedon.

Reduces  
several  
towns in  
Thessaly.

Pompey  
pursues  
him.

THIS loss and disgrace greatly mortified *Cæsar*, but did not discourage him. After he had, by his lenity and eloquent speeches, suited to his present circumstances, recovered the spirits of his troops, he decamped, and retired in good order to *Apollonia*, where he paid his troops, and left his sick and wounded.

From thence he marched into *Macedon*, where *Scipio Metellus*, Pompey's father-in-law, was encamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into some plain, or to overpower *Scipio*, if not assisted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he passed, refusing to supply his army with provisions; to such a degree was his reputation sunk since his last defeat! On his entering *Thessaly* he was met by *Domitius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent with three legions to reduce *Epirus*. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to *Gomphi*, the first town of *Thessaly*, which had been formerly in his interest, but now declared against him. Whereupon he attacked it with so much vigour, that though the garison was very numerous, and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himself master of it in a few hours. From hence he marched to *Metropolis*, another considerable town of *Thessaly*, which immediately surrendered; as did all the other cities of the country, except *Larissa*, which *Scipio* had made himself master of.

ON the other hand, *Pompey*, being continually importuned by the senators and officers of his army, left his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, and followed *Cæsar*, firmly resolved not to give him battle, but rather to distress him, by keeping close at his heels, streightening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequent opportunities of coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and subalterns began to put ill constructions on his dilatoriness, to his face (O).

THESE, together with the complaints of his soldiers, made him at length resolve to venture a general action. With this design he marched into a large plain near the cities of *Pharsalia* and *Thebes*, which latter was also called *Philippi*, from *Philip* king of *Macedon*, and the father of *Perfes*, who, having reduced the *Thebans*, placed a colony of *Macedonians* in their city.

(O) Some reproached him with spinning out the war, in order to continue his authority over the *Roman* senate, and the foreign kings under his command. *Domitius Abenobarbus* was continually calling him, in derision, *Agamemnon*, and king of kings, insinuating thereby, that he had no mind to lay down his sove-

reign authority, but was pleased to see so many kings and great commanders paying their attendance at his tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato's* free way of speaking, complained in a scoffing manner, that, by reason of *Pompey's* ambition, they should eat no figs that year at *Tusculum*.

This



This plain was watered by the *Enipeus*, and surrounded on all sides by high mountains; and *Pompey*, who was still averse from Pompey venturing an engagement, pitched his camp on the declivity of <sup>unwilling</sup> a steep mountain, in a place altogether inaccessible. There <sup>to engage,</sup> he was joined by *Scipio*, his father-in-law, at the head of the legions which he had brought with him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*. But notwithstanding this reinforcement, he continued irresolute, and unwilling to put all to the issue of a single action, being still convinced of the wisdom of his maxim, that it was better to destroy the enemy by fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were, in a manner, reduced to despair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, descending into the plain, where *Cæsar* was encamped, his officers forced him to call a council of war, when all to a man were for venturing a general action the very next day. Thus was *Pompey* obliged to sacrifice his own judgment to the <sup>Is forced</sup> blind ardor of the multitude; and the necessary measures were <sup>by his offi-</sup> taken for a general engagement (P). <sup>cers to</sup>

WHEN the day came, on which the fate of the world was <sup>venture an</sup> to be decided, *Pompey* having assembled his troops, made them <sup>engage-</sup> the following speech, which is recorded by several writers: "As <sup>ment.</sup>

(P) *Plutarch* and *Cæsar* tell us, that *Pompey's* officers were so confident of victory, that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, quarreled, as if they had already conquered, which of them should succeed *Cæsar* in the office of pontifex maximus. Others sent to *Rome*, to hire such houses as were suitable to the ranks of consuls and prætors, as being sure of entering upon those offices as soon as the battle was over. Some put in for the forfeited estates of those who followed *Cæsar*. *Spinther* reserved, for his share, *Cæsar's* gardens and house at *Baiæ*, and the house of *Hortensius*. The consuls were settled for several years; but a warm dispute arose about the choice of prætors. The relations of *Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had sent against the *Parthians*, insisted, that regard should be

had for him, though absent. In short, their thoughts ran not so much on conquering, as in what manner they should share and enjoy the fruits of their conquest, as if they were to engage, says *Plutarch*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, or some petty king of *Nabathæa*, and not that *Cæsar*, who had stormed a thousand towns, subdued above three hundred different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a million of men prisoners, and slain as many upon the spot in pitched battles. This presumption was founded on the number of their forces; for *Pompey's* army consisted of forty-five thousand foot, seven thousand horse, well mounted and armed, and a great number of dart-men and slingers; whereas *Cæsar* had at most but twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse (5).

(5) *Appian. Plut. Cæsar, ibid.*



Pompey's *speech to his men.* "I have been induced by your ardor to venture a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me see you behave in it with bravery. As you surpass the enemy in numbers, strive to do so in courage and resolution. Look back with pleasure on the glorious battle of *Dyrrhachium*; maintain the glory you there acquired, and suffer not the best cause to sink under the desperate attempts of one, whose main aim is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into a monarchy. Remember that *Pompey* leads you, that the authority of the senate supports you, and the gods protect you." Having thus

*He marches into the plain.* spoken, he caused the gates of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. *Cæsar* was so far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the signal for decamping, with a design to march towards *Scotusa*, his army being reduced to great straits for want of forage and provisions.

But while his soldiers were busy in taking down their tents, and sending away their cattle, servants, and baggage before them, word was brought him by his scouts, that they had seen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and that they had heard a noise and bustle, as of men preparing for battle. Not long after, other scouts came in with further intelligence, that the enemy were marching out of their intrenchments, and that the first ranks were already drawn up in the plain.

*Cæsar prepares for battle.*

*CÆSAR*, transported with joy at this news, told his men, that *the so much wished-for day was come at last, when they should fight with men, not with hunger and famine.* Then he ordered the red standard, the usual signal of battle among the *Romans*, to be set up before his tent; which was no sooner observed by the soldiers, than they left their tents, and, with loud shouts of joy, repaired to their arms. The officers drew up their respective corps, every man falling into his proper rank without any trouble or noise. When he had drawn up his men, he ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with great confidence, that they should lodge that night in *Pompey's* camp. This he said, not from a dependence on the vain assurances of the augurs, and the presages of victory, which were brought him from all parts (Q); but on his own address, and the experienced valour of his veterans.

AFTER

(Q) He had three days before purified his army by a sacrifice, according to custom, when the augur, upon the death of the first victim, told him, that within three days he should come to a decisive action. *Cæsar* asked him, whether he saw any thing

in the entrails, which promised an happy event. *That, answered the augur, you can best tell yourself; for the gods promise a great alteration from the present posture of affairs: if, therefore, you think yourself happy now, expect worse fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.*

The



AFTER he had leveled his trenches, he harangued his troops according to custom, but with such an air of confidence and satisfaction, as was sufficient to have inspired cowards with courage. "Fellow-soldiers (said he), the worst part of our labours is now past. To-day we are not to fight with hunger and want, but with men; nay, with those very men who left Italy, because they could not stand before us, and who would deprive us of the honours that are due to us for a long course of victories. If therefore you have any grateful sense of my benevolence and bounty, let it now exert itself; and remember your promises at *Dyrrhachium*. You there vowed, that you would conquer or die; and it is no difficult matter for veterans to conquer raw soldiers, especially when they fight under a general, who, I know, is driven to a battle contrary to his own judgment. This I say of the *Italians* only; as for the *Asiatics*, give yourselves no concern about them; their own fears will disperse them. Exert therefore all your valour against the *Roman* legions, and *Italian* cohorts. I have leveled your trenches, that you may have no resource but in victory, and that the enemy may see we are determined to lodge in their camp by our destroying our own." This said, he marched into the plain, and observing the disposition of the enemy, as he drew near them, regulated his own by it.

POMPEY was on the left wing with the two legions, which *Cæsar* had returned to him at the beginning of the war (R). *Scipio*, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from *Syria*, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of *Asia*. The *Cilician* legion, and some cohorts, which had served in *Spain*, were in the right, under the command of *Afranius* (S). As Pompey's right wing

" PLUT. in Pomp. & Cæsar.

The night before the battle, as he went the rounds about midnight, he saw a light in the heaven very bright and flaming, which seemed to pass over his camp, and fall into Pompey's; and when *Cæsar*'s men came to relieve the guard in the morning, they perceived a panic among the enemy (6).

(R) *Cæsar* and *Appian* agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing; but *Plutarch* places

him in the right.

(S) Here again *Plutarch* differs from *Cæsar*, and gives *Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus* the command of the right wing, without so much as mentioning *Afranius*. It is somewhat surprising, that the account which *Cæsar* himself has left us of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Surely, his evidence must be of the greatest authority.

(6) Plut. in Pomp. & Cæsar.



was covered by the *Enipeus*, he strengthened the left with his slingers, archers, and the seven thousand *Roman* horse, on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The whole army was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, *Cæsar's* army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized themselves above all the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at *Dyrrhachium*, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of *Cæsar's* forces filled up the space between the two wings. *Marc Antony* commanded the left wing, *Sylla* the right, and *Cneius Domitius Calvinus* the main body. As for *Cæsar*, he posted himself on the right over-against *Pompey*, that he might have him always in sight (T).

THUS was the whole plain covered, from *Pharsalia* to the *Enipeus*, with two armies, dressed and armed after the same manner, and bearing the same ensigns, the *Roman* eagles. *Pompey* observing how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the signal of battle, and on the contrary how impatient and unsteady his own men were, running up and down in great disorder for want of experience, he began to be afraid, lest his ranks should be broken upon the first onset; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy (U). The two armies, though within reach

(T) His army was likewise drawn up in three lines, but with larger spaces between the corps. *Pompey*, as we have hinted above, placed his whole body of horse in his left wing, in order to distress and cut off the tenth legion, at the head of which *Cæsar* always fought in person. Hereupon *Cæsar*, who had only a thousand horse to oppose the enemy's seven thousand, supplied that defect with a body of choice infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into six cohorts. These he placed behind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as soon as the enemy's cavalry should charge, and, together with the legiona-

ries, sustain the first onset of the cavalry. He likewise commanded them, not to discharge their javelins at a distance, but first to close with the enemy, and then aim only at the faces of the horsemen, who were, for the most part, young patricians; and, therefore, as he rightly imagined, would be more solicitous about preserving their beauty, than gaining a victory.

(U) *Cæsar*, in his third book of the civil war, blames this conduct. We shall give the reader a translation of the whole passage from his own words; for every thing spoken by such a man as *Cæsar*, ought to be kept intire: "There was just as much space between the two armies, says he,



reach of each other, kept for some time a mournful silence, which might possibly proceed from the melancholy reflections of both parties. For what could be more affecting than to consider, that the son had taken arms against the father, brother against brother, citizen against citizen, and friend against friend?

At length the trumpets sounded the charge, and *Cæsar's* army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of one *Caius Crastinus*, a centurion, who, at the head of an hundred and twenty men, threw himself upon the enemy's first line with incredible fury. This he did to acquit himself of a promise he had solemnly made to *Cæsar*, who, meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, asked him, after some discourse, *What his opinion was touching the event of the battle.* To which he, stretching out his hand, replied aloud, *Thine is the victory, Cæsar; thou shalt gloriously conquer, and I myself this day will be the subject of thy praise either dead or alive.* In pursuance of this promise, he broke out of his rank, as soon as the trumpets sounded; and, at the head of his company, ran in upon the enemy, and made

*The battle of Pharfalia.*

Year after the flood

2305. Bef. Chr.

43. Of Rome

705.

“ he, as was sufficient for both  
“ to meet and charge. But  
“ *Pompey* had ordered his men  
“ to receive the enemy's onset  
“ without stirring, and keep  
“ their posts, till *Cæsar's* army,  
“ by charging first, should be  
“ disordered. This he is said to  
“ have done by the advice of  
“ *Triarius*, to the end that the  
“ first force and impetuosity of  
“ those troops might abate, and  
“ be weakened, and their ranks  
“ thinned; and that then those,  
“ who had remained firm in their  
“ posts, might attack them with  
“ better success, when they were  
“ thus broken and dispersed.  
“ Besides, he was in hopes, that  
“ their javelins would do less  
“ execution, if they received  
“ them in their posts, than if  
“ they advanced to meet them,  
“ and that *Cæsar's* soldiers,  
“ running the whole void or  
“ space, instead of meeting them

“ in the middle of it, would  
“ come up out of breath, and  
“ wearied. But, in my opinion,  
“ this was founded upon no man-  
“ ner of reason, because there  
“ is a natural vehemence and  
“ alacrity implanted in every  
“ man, which is kindled in the  
“ mind by an eagerness and im-  
“ patience to begin the onset,  
“ which should not be checked,  
“ but rather encouraged by the  
“ general. Our ancestors there-  
“ fore wisely ordained, that  
“ trumpets should sound on every  
“ side, and all the soldiers raise  
“ a shout, conceiving that those  
“ were the most proper means  
“ to animate and encourage  
“ their own troops, and daunt  
“ the enemy (7).” Thus far  
*Cæsar*. However it is cer-  
tain, that generals of great fame  
and experience have sometimes  
done as *Pompey* did.

(7) *Cæs. bell. civil. l. iii.*



Cæsar's  
cavalry  
give  
ground;  
are re-  
lieved by  
his foot,  
who put  
Pompey's  
cavalry to  
flight.

a great slaughter of them. But while he was still pressing forward, forcing his way through the first line, one of *Pompey's* men ran him in at the mouth with such violence, that the point of his sword came out at the hind part of his neck. Upon his death, *Pompey's* soldiers took courage, and with great bravery stood the enemy's onset. While the foot were thus sharply engaged in the centre, *Pompey's* horse in the left wing marched up confidently, and having first widened their ranks, with a design to surround *Cæsar's* right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced them to give ground (W). Hereupon *Cæsar* ordered his horse to retreat a little, and give way to the six cohorts, which he had posted in the rear, as a body of reserve. These, upon a signal given, coming up, charged the enemy's horse with that resolution and good order, which is peculiar to men, who have spent all their lives in camps. They remembered their instructions, not striking at the legs or thighs of the enemy, but aiming only at their faces. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the desired effect. For the young patri- cians, whom *Cæsar* contemptuously calls the *pretty young dan- cers*, not being able to bear the thoughts of having their faces deformed with scars, turned their backs, and covering their faces with their hands, fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. *Cæsar's* men did not pursue the fugitives, but charging the foot of that wing, now naked and unguarded, surrounded them, and cut most of them in pieces.

Pompey  
retires to  
his camp,  
and his  
army de-  
feated.

POMPEY was so transported with rage, in seeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left his army, and retired slowly towards his camp, looking more like a man distracted and beside himself, than one, who, by his exploits, had acquired the surname of *The Great* (X). When

(W) *Cæsar* himself owns, that his cavalry gave way, and were in danger of being cut in pieces, when the six cohorts advanced to support them. *Plutarch* there- fore must be mistaken, when he says, that these cohorts attacked *Pompey's* cavalry before they had time to charge that of *Cæsar*.

The memoirs he followed, in his account of this battle, seem not to have been the most exact.

(X) *Plutarch* applies to *Pompey*, as he is retiring before *Cæsar*, a passage in the eleventh *Iliad*, where *Homer* speaks in a lofty manner of the flight of *Ajax* before *Hector*.

But partial *Jove*, espousing *Hector's* part,  
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the *Grecian's* heart;  
Confus'd, unnerv'd, in *Hector's* presence, grown,  
Amaz'd he stood, with terrors not his own.  
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,  
And, glaring round, with tardy steps withdrew. *Pope.*

he



he had reached the camp, he retired to his tent, without speaking a word to any, and continued there, like one whom the gods had deprived of his senses, till his whole army was defeated.

*Cæsar* no sooner saw himself master of the field, than he marched to attack the enemy's intrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect himself. When *Pompey* was informed, that his rival was advancing to attack his intrenchments, he then first seemed to have recovered his senses, and cried out, *What! into my camp too?* He said no more; but immediately laying aside the marks of his dignity, and putting on such a garment as might best favour his flight, he stole out at the decuman gate, and took the road to *Larissa*, which city had hitherto shewn great attachment to him. In the mean time, *Cæsar* <sup>*Cæsar*</sup> began the attack on the enemy's camp, which was vigorously <sup>*makes him-*</sup> defended by the cohorts *Pompey* had left to guard it; but they <sup>*self master*</sup> were at length forced to yield (Y). *Cæsar* was not a little sur- <sup>*of Pom-*</sup>prised, when, after having forced the intrenchments, he found <sup>*pey's*</sup> the enemy's tents and pavilions richly adorned with carpets and <sup>*camp.*</sup> hangings, their couches strewed with flowers, their tables ready spread, and side-boards set out with abundance of plate, bowls, and glasses, and some of them even filled with wine. So great was the confidence of *Pompey's* party, that they made preparations beforehand for pleasures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In *Pompey's* tent, *Cæsar* found the box, in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy of himself, he burnt them all, without reading

(Y) *Cæsar* tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards *Larissa*. *Cæsar* pursued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion, and after six miles march, came up with them. But they, not caring to engage a victorious legion, led on by *Cæsar*, fled for refuge to an high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though *Cæsar's* men were quite spent, and ready to faint with

the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. *Cæsar* received those who surrendered, with all the clemency and kindness imaginable, forbidding his soldiers to offer them the least insult, or even to plunder their baggage.



one, saying, that he had rather be ignorant of crimes, than obliged to punish them <sup>w</sup>.

*Number of the slain on both sides.* THE next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared, that *Cæsar* had scarce lost two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom *Cæsar* caused to be buried with great solemnity. He did particular honours to the body of *Crastinus*, who had begun the battle, and ordered his ashes to be deposited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On *Pompey's* side, the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thousand, according to some, and to twenty-five thousand according to others (Z). *Cæsar* took twenty-four thousand prisoners, eight

*His clemency and moderation.* eagles, and an hundred and eighty ensigns. All the Roman citizens were immediately, by his orders, set at liberty; and it must be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleasure than *Cæsar* in acts of clemency (A).

*Cæsar resolves to* *CÆSAR*, though victorious, could not think the work complete, so long as his rival lived. His fleets were still masters of

<sup>w</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. & Cæsar. APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. ii. DIO CASS. lib. xli. CÆSAR, bell. civil. lib. iii. c. 60—91.

(Z) *Appian* quotes some writers, who made *Cæsar's* loss amount to twelve hundred legionaries. *Afinius Pollio*, who was present in this action, and fought in *Cæsar's* army, reduces the number of the slain on *Pompey's* side to six thousand men. But he is contradicted by all the antients. He tells us, as quoted by *Plutarch*, that *Cæsar*, when he saw the field of battle covered with many dead bodies, cried out, with a deep sigh, *This they would have; they brought me, by their obstinacy, to the sad necessity of conquering them to secure myself.* Among the dead, were found the bodies of ten senators, and forty knights. One of the senators was *Domitius Abenobarbus*, who fled from the camp, when *Cæsar* attacked it; but being exhausted with fatigue, a body of horse came up with him, and left him dead on the plain of *Pharsalia*.

(A) Some writers ascribe his moderation to policy; but it is manifest from his whole conduct before, as well as after the battle of *Pharsalia*, that he was endowed with a great fund of good-nature and humanity. He had always shewn a particular affection for young *Marcus Brutus*, whom he believed to be his son, for he was passionately in love with *Servilia*, the mother of *Brutus*, who gave herself up entirely to him; and therefore, as he had sided with *Pompey*, and fought under his banners, he was under the utmost concern, in not seeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleasure less, when he saw him safe, surrendering himself to him, and imploring his clemency. He received him with inexpressible joy, and marks of the most tender and sincere friendship, not suspecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death.

the



the sea. *Lælius*, who commanded one of them, had lately pursued *Vatinius*, *Cæsar*'s lieutenant in *Brundisium*, and *Caius Pompey*. *Cassius* had burnt above forty of his gallies in the streights of *Messana*. Besides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; since *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Pontus*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, seemed to have espoused his cause with great zeal. *Cato*, whom *Pompey* had left at *Dyrrhachium* with fifteen cohorts and three hundred gallies, might follow him, and renew the war in some other country. So that *Pompey*'s party, though weakened, was not intirely destroyed. *Cæsar* therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, resolved to set all other things aside, and pursue *Pompey* into what part soever of the world he should retire. Pursuant to this resolution, after he had staid two days at *Pharsalia*, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refresh his soldiers, he set out on the third with his cavalry, advancing every day as far as he possibly could, while one legion followed him by more easy marches<sup>x</sup>.

As for *Pompey*, he took the route, as we have hinted above, *Pompey*'s to *Larissa*. When he had got a little way from the camp, he flight and dismounted, and finding the enemy did not pursue him, walked adventure on leisurely with his small retinue, wholly taken up with such thoughts as were natural to a person of his condition and circumstances. He had been, for the space of thirty-four years together, accustomed to conquest and victory, and was then at last in his old age, beginning to know the calamities of war, in slaughter and flight. He considered, with the greatest concern imaginable, that he had lost in one hour, all the glory and power which he had been gaining for so many years in innumerable battles; and that he, who a little before was guarded by a mighty army, and attended by kings, was now flying in so mean a condition, and with so small a retinue, that his very enemies could not know him. Thus he came to *Larissa*, but would not enter the city, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of the inhabitants, lest their kindness to him should provoke *Cæsar*, and bring them into trouble; nay, he exhorted them to submit to the conqueror, and have timely recourse to his clemency. From *Larissa*, he pursued his route with *L. Lentulus*, the last year's consul, *P. Lentulus*, and the senator *Favonius*, and in the evening reached the vale of *Tempe* in *Thessaly*, greatly fatigued, and destitute of all necessaries of life. There, as he was very thirsty, he kneeled down, and drank out of a river, which watered that fruitful plain. Then rising up, he crossed

<sup>x</sup> *CÆSAR*, bell. civil. lib. iii. *APPIAN*. lib. ii.



the valley; and coming to the sea-side, betook himself to a poor fisherman's cottage, where he passed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night must have been, not so much on account of the inconveniencies of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. The next morning, by break of day, he went into a small boat on the river *Peneus*, and taking his freed-men along with him, dismissed his slaves, advising them to go boldly to *Cæsar*, and not be afraid. As he was going in the boat along the shore, he happened to spy a great ship of burden riding at anchor, and just ready to set sail. The master of the ship, by name *Peticius*, a Roman citizen (B), knowing *Pompey*, took him into his ship, together with the two *Lentuli*, *Favonius*, and such of his attendants as he thought fit. Soon after they had got aboard, they discovered *Deiotarus* tetrarch of *Galatia*, who had served under *Pompey*, and made his escape after the battle, flying full speed towards the shore. At the request of *Pompey*, *Peticius* staid and took him in likewise (C). As the illustrious Roman had dismissed his attendants, *Favonius* performed the meanest offices about him, not scrupling to wait upon him at table, and help to undress him. The ship pursued her course, touched at *Amphipolis*, on the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, where *Pompey* took some money of his friends for his necessary expences. Thence he sailed to one of the ports of the island of *Lesbos*, with a design to take in his wife *Cornelia*, and his son *Sextus*, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had sent to the island *Mitylene*, the capital of the island.

Pompey arrives at the island of Lesbos. His wife *Cornelia* informed

HE no sooner arrived in the port, than he sent a messenger into the city, not caring to come himself ashore, with news very different from what *Cornelia* expected. For she having heard no news from her husband since his success near *Dyrrhachium*, be-

(B) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Peticius* had dreamt the night before, that he saw *Pompey* in a despicable condition, and that while he was telling his dream to the passengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he saw a little boat putting off from the shore, and that the persons in it held out their hands, as if they desired to be taken into his vessel. Hereupon *Peticius*, standing up, observed a man in the same dress, in which *Pompey* had appeared to him in his dream;

and not doubting but it was he, he expressed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ship's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in with all his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleased (8).

(C) *Cicero* tells us, that this prince had joined *Pompey* before the battle, depending on the flight of birds, which, he thought, promised his arms good success.

(8) *Plut. in Pomp.*



lieved that the war was ended, and that there was nothing more of his mis-  
 remaining for *Pompey* than to pursue *Cæsar*, and disperse the fortune.  
 few troops he had still with him. The messenger, finding her  
 still in this persuasion, informed her of the misfortune of her hus-  
 band with his tears, before he could deliver her any message;  
 and the unfortunate *Cornelia* no sooner heard of his defeat, and  
 forlorn condition, than she fell down in a swoon, and continued  
 a long time senseless. When she came to herself, she started  
 up, and hastened to the sea-side, where the sight of *Pompey* re-  
 newed her grief. She fainted away a second time in his arms, *The meet-*  
 and as soon as she recovered her speech, she vented her passion *ing of*  
 in the following words: *It is the effect of my cruel destiny, not of Pompey*  
*yours, that I see you thus dejected and reduced to one poor vessel, and Cor-*  
*who, before your marriage with the unfortunate Cornelia, were* *nelia.*  
*attended by a fleet of five hundred sail. Why therefore should you*  
*come to see me, or why rather should you not have left her to a se-*  
*verer fate, who has been the cause of all your misfortunes? How*  
*happy a woman had I been, if I had breathed out my last before I*  
*received the fatal news from Parthia of the death of Crassus? or*  
*how prudent, if I had followed his destiny as I designed? But I*  
*was reserved for a greater mischief, for the ruin of Pompey the*  
*Great. Pompey is said to have answered her thus: Dear Cor-*  
*nelia, you have been hitherto accustomed only to the smiles of for-*  
*tune, which, perhaps, has deceived you in this, that she has been*  
*constant to me beyond her custom; but it behoves us, who are*  
*mortals, to bear with these afflictions, and try our fortune once*  
*again: neither ought we to despond; for it is as possible for us to*  
*retrieve our former happiness, as it was to fall from it into our*  
*present calamity. All the Mitylenians, who ran to the port to*  
*pay their homage to their old protector, were witnesses of this*  
*interview, and being touched with compassion, invited Pompey*  
*into their city. But he returning them thanks for their kind*  
*invitation, answered, that he would by no means enter their*  
*gates, lest he should draw upon them the resentment of the*  
*conqueror, to whom he advised them to submit, since he was*  
*a man of great goodness and clemency. Then turning to Cra-*  
*tippus the philosopher, who then lived at Mitylene, and came*  
*among the rest to pay his respects to his old friend, he began to*  
*repine, and argue with him, touching the dispensations of Pro-*  
*vidence. But Cratippus modestly declined the dispute, for*  
*fear of heightening his sorrow, and only encouraged him to bear*  
*with constancy his present misfortunes (D).*

POMPEY,

(D) *Plutarch* observes here, by shewing it was necessary, on  
 that the philosopher might have account of the disorders which  
 easily answered his objections, reigned in the republic, that the  
 govern-



*He arrives at Attalia.* POMPEY, having taken his wife and friends aboard, sailed from *Mitylene*, steering his course towards *Cilicia*. The first place he touched at was *Attalia*, a city of *Pamphylia*, where he found sixty senators of his party, seven or eight ships of his fleet, and some bands of soldiers. Here he was informed, that *Cato* had rallied a considerable body of troops, and was passed with them over into *Africa*. From *Pamphylia* he sailed with his small fleet for the island of *Cyprus*, where he received advice, that the *Rhodians* had refused to admit into their ports one of the *Lentuli* and his attendants, and that *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, had, at the instigation of the *Roman* citizens, who traded there, declared for *Cæsar*. Hereupon being at a loss whither he should steer his course next, he summoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to consider with them what place would yield him the safest refuge and retreat in the present situation of his affairs. Some advised him to pass over into *Africa*, and there join *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, who had espoused his cause, and exerted himself in it with great zeal.

*He designs to retire into Parthia: but is diverted from it by his friends.* POMPEY himself was for retiring into *Parthia*, as the only country that was fit to protect him in his present distress, and supply him with a sufficient force to make head against his competitor. But this was looked upon by all his friends as the project of a man overwhelmed with grief, and reduced to despair: they represented to him, that the *Parthians* were the most inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name; that they had hitherto stood neuter, and declared, that they would not espouse either party; that they were overjoyed to see the republic weakening herself by her own forces; and lastly, that it was dangerous to expose the young and beautiful *Cornelia* to the brutalities of a dissolute court. This last motive, which was of more weight with him than all the rest, induced him to drop the design of seeking protection among the enemies of *Rome*, though he was much perplexed where to find a safe retreat among her friends and allies. Among those who attended the illustrious *Roman* in his flight was *Theophanes*, a native of *Mitylene*, who, as he was famous for the extent of his knowledge, had a great influence over *Pompey*; and this he made use of on the present occasion, persuading him to retire to *Egypt*, which was but a voyage of three days sailing, where he had reason to expect from young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, all possible assistance, since he had lately restored his father to his

government should be lodged in the hands of a single person, and by asking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have used his good fortune better than *Cæsar*. But the dispensations of Providence, adds *Plutarch*, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we must leave them (9).

(9) *Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l. xlii.*

kingdom,



kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by sending him a fleet to be employed against *Cæsar*. As soon as the advice of *Theophanes* prevailed, *Pompey* and *Cornelia* with their attendants weighed anchor, and leaving *Cyprus*, steered towards *Egypt*, some in gallies, others in ships of burden <sup>y</sup>.

IN the mean time *Cæsar*, wholly intent on pursuing his rival, *Cæsar* arrived at the *Hellepont*, which he ventured to cross with a <sup>pursues</sup> small number of gallies, but was met in his passage by *Pompey's* <sup>him.</sup> fleet under the command of *Caius Cassius*. *Cæsar* did not avoid him, though the fleet he commanded consisted, according to

*Appian*, of seventy ships; but boldly making towards him, summoned him to surrender. *Cassius* was so struck with the bold-

*Caius Cassius, one of Pompey's admirals, joins him.*

ness of *Cæsar*, and surprised at his intrepidity and good fortune, that he readily obeyed the summons, and joined *Cæsar*, with his numerous fleet <sup>z</sup> (E). *Cæsar*, on his arrival in *Asia*, to gratify *Theopompus*, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchised the *Cnidians* his countrymen, and remitted one third

of the taxes to all the *Asiatics*. He likewise received under his <sup>The Asia-</sup> protection the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and other nations of *Asia Minor*, <sup>ties sub-</sup> who came to submit to him, and implore his protection. As <sup>mit to him.</sup>

he could have no certain account of the route *Pompey* had taken, he resolved to make what haste he could to *Egypt*, fearing his rival should get possession of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the assistance of young *Ptolemy*, a prince highly obliged to him, renew the war. With this design he sailed for *Rhodes*, stayed there till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then set sail for *Egypt*, without communicating his resolution to any but *M. Brutus*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence <sup>a</sup>.

BUT *Pompey* arrived in *Egypt* before *Cæsar*; and being in- <sup>Pompey</sup> formed that *Ptolemy* was at war with his sister, and encamped in <sup>arrives on</sup> the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*, he steered his course that way, <sup>the coast of</sup> and sent a messenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, <sup>Egypt.</sup> and implore his protection. The king himself, who was very young, returned no answer to the messenger; but *Photinus*,

<sup>y</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii. c. 53. APPIAN. <sup>z</sup> SUET. in Jul. <sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. <sup>ibid.</sup> p. 480. DIO, l. xlii. & LUCAN. l. viii. Cæf. c. 63. APPIAN. p. 482, 483. p. 483. CÆS. <sup>ibid.</sup>

(E) *Cicero* seems to insinuate (1), that *Cassius* did not join *Cæsar*, till after the war of *Alexandria*, when the conqueror was

sailing from *Egypt* to *Pontus*, to make war upon *Pharnaces*, who had declared for *Pompey*.

(1) *Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 15.*



*The Egyptians consulted about the reception of Pompey.* *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counsellors, and had the greatest influence over him, consulted among themselves about the reception of *Pompey*. *Photinus* was the chief minister of state, *Achillas* the general of the armies, and *Theodotus* a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, but one who was in great esteem with the king, as being his preceptor. While these three were consulting, *Pompey*, riding at anchor at great distance from the shore, was forced to wait the result of their deliberations: that *Pompey*, as *Plutarch* observes, who thought it beneath him to owe his safety to *Cæsar*, a Roman, and his father-in-law, stooped so low as to lie at the discretion of three unworthy favourites. *Photinus* and *Achillas* were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the Egyptian nation to abandon one in his distress, who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but *Theodotus* undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit and refuse him admittance. *If we receive him*, said he, *we shall make Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our master: if we dismiss him, we shall render ourselves obnoxious to Pompey for that inhospitable expulsion, and to Cæsar for letting him escape.* He concluded, *that the safest expedient was to send for him, and put him to death; for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other; adding with a smile, A dead man cannot bite.*

*His advice approved of.* THIS cruel advice was approved of, and the execution of it committed to *Achillas*, who taking with him *L. Septimius* and *Salvius*, the former once a tribune, and the latter a centurion in the Roman armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a small vessel, and made up towards *Pompey's* gally, while the whole Egyptian army stood in battle-array on the shore. The chief men, who attended *Pompey*, alarmed at the meanness of this reception, advised him to weigh anchor without delay, and launch into the main; but the hero encouraged them, and in the mean time the Egyptian boat drawing near, *Septimius*, standing up first, saluted *Pompey* in Latin, giving him the title of *imperator*. *Achillas* complimented him in Greek, and invited him on board his vessel, telling him, that the sea was so shallow near the shore, that his gally could not avoid striking upon some shelf. *Pompey*, observing several of the king's gallies well manned, and the shore covered with soldiers, began to suspect some treachery; but nevertheless, without betraying the least distrust, he took his leave of *Cornelia*, who already apprehended the worst, and commanding two centurions, with *Philip* one of his freed-men, and a slave called *Scenes*, to go on board the Egyptian boat before him; he himself followed, repeating to his wife and son as he went into the boat, the following Iambics of *Sophocles*:

He



*He that once falls into a tyrant's pow'r,  
Becomes a slave from that detested hour.*

As those who were in the boat kept a profound silence, without paying him the least civility, or speaking a kind word to him all the way, in order to begin a conversation with *Septimius*, *Pompey*, looking earnestly upon him, addressed him thus: *Me-thinks I should know you, friend: have we not been formerly fellow-soldiers?* But *Septimius* answered with a nod only, without shewing any manner of civility. Since therefore they all continued silent, *Pompey* took a little book in his hand, wherein he had written a *Greek* oration, which he intended to speak to *Ptolemy*, and began to read it.

WHEN the boat drew near the shore, *Cornelia*, who never lost sight of her husband, and was very impatient to see the event, observed several persons of distinction running to the sea-side to meet him. Upon this the disconsolate *Cornelia* took courage, imaginigg they were come to wait upon *Pompey*, and conduct him to the king; but in that instant, as *Philip* his *Pompey* freed-man lent him his hand to help him out of the boat, *Septi- the Great* *mius* coming behind him, ran him through with his sword: at *cruelly* the same time *Achillas* and *Salvius* falling upon him with their *murdered,* drawn swords, the unfortunate *Roman*, having no means of *&c.* defending himself, or making his escape, took up his gown with both hands, and covering his face, neither spoke or did any thing unworthy of himself; but giving a groan, patiently received, without stirring, all their thrusts. *Cornelia*, who had kept her eyes fixed on her husband the whole time, seeing the swords of the assassins glitter about him, gave such a shriek as was heard on the shore; but the mariners on board her gally, seeing the *Cornelia* *Egyptian* fleet under sail, immediately weighed anchor, and being *and Sextus* favoured by a brisk gale, saved the virtuous *Cornelia*, and her son *make their* *Sextus*, from captivity, and the cruel outrages they had reason *escape.* to fear from such barbarous and inhuman assassins. *Cornelia* and her son were conveyed safe to *Cyprus*; but some of the other vessels were taken by the *Egyptians*, and all those who were on board most cruelly murdered <sup>b</sup>.

THE head of *Pompey* was cut off, in order to be embalmed *Pompey's* for a present to *Cæsar*; but the body was thrown naked upon *body left* the shore, and there exposed to public view. *Philip* the freed- *naked on* man stayed by it, watching it till the multitude had satisfied their *the shore,* curiosity; and then washing it with sea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding some rotten planks of a

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. LIV. lib. cxii. APPIAN. p. 481. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 53. DIO, l. xlii.



*Burnt by one of his freed-men.* little fisher-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was laying them together, an old Roman, who had served from his youth under Pompey, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites (F). Such was the end of an hero, who, in his youth, had acquired the surname of *Great*, and had triumphed over three parts of the world; but having unfortunately embarked in a civil war, more out of a desire of becoming sole master of the republic, than a zeal for her preservation, when on the brink of ruin, he perished in it thro' his own ill conduct (G). The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, the last year's consul, who had left the island of *Cyprus*, and was sailing along the coast, observing a funeral pile, and *Philip*, whom he did not

(F) The poet *Lucan* (2) tells us, that *Pompey's* body was thrown into the sea, and that *Servius Codrus*, who had been formerly *Pompey's* quæstor, and had followed him from *Cyprus*, brought it ashore, and buried it. His words are:

*E latebris parvidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus  
Quæstor ab Idalio Cinyrææ litore Cypri:  
Infaustus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras  
Ausus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem  
Compulit, ut mediis quæsitum corpus in undis  
Duceret ad terram, traberetque ad litora Magnum.*

Trembling, from *Cyprus* shore, where hid he lay,  
The quæstor *Codrus* hastens to the sea.  
Wretched himself, but firm to *Pompey's* side,  
He ventures thro' the dark his steps to guide.  
Superior duty did his fear constrain  
To seek the body floating on the main,  
On shore the mangled reliques to convey,  
And on the strand the mighty *Pompey* lay.

*Aurelius Victor* adds, that *Codrus*, having burnt the body, buried the ashes, and on the tomb wrote the following words: *Here lies Pompey the Great.*

(G) Had he continued in his camp at *Dyrrhæbium*, and near the sea, of which he was master, he might have forced his rival to wander from province to province in search of provisions, and destroyed his army either by gradual losses, or useless conquests; but he suffered himself to be

drawn into *Thassaly*, and engaged his rival, when he might have conquered him without striking a blow, *Cæsar's* army being then reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries. It is true indeed, that his army forced him, in a manner, to quit his first camp; but this want of authority over his troops is just matter of blame in a general, who bore the surname of *the Great*.

(2) *Lucan*. l. viii. ver. 722--725.



know, standing by it, from some secret apprehension of *Pompey's* misfortune, came ashore, and being told by *Philip*, that his apprehensions were too true, he said sighing, *Alas! is this the fate of Pompey the Great?* and continuing immoveable, expressed his grief with a flood of tears. While he was thus bewailing the death of *Pompey*, he was seized himself by the king's guards, and thrown into a dark prison, where he was soon after put to death<sup>c</sup>.

IN the mean time *Cæsar* pursuing *Pompey* the same way he *Cæsar arrived*, steered his course to *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* just *as the news was brought thither of his death.* Soon after he *Egypt* landed, and entered the city, when the head of his rival was presented to him, some say by *Theodotus*, others by *Achillas*, wrapt up in a veil, together with his seal, on which was engraved a lion, holding a sword in his paw: but *Cæsar*, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal an object; and reflecting on his former friendship with the deceased, the inconstancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greatest men, burst into tears, and with an angry voice commanded the messenger immediately to be gone. He kept the seal; but ordered *Causes* the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of *Pompey's Alexandria*, where he erected a temple to *Nemesis* the goddess of *head to be* revenge. At the same time he prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to set at *buried.* liberty all the friends of the illustrious deceased, who had been taken as they were straggling in those parts, and by his orders thrown into prison. These all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of the most sincere friendship, signifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*, that the greatest advantage and pleasure he reaped from his victory, was his saving every day the lives of some *Roman* citizens, who had taken arms against him<sup>d</sup>.

*CÆSAR* being detained at *Alexandria* by the *Etesian* winds (H),

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. CÆs. bell. civil. l. iii. <sup>d</sup> PLUT. APPIAN. CÆs. ibid.

(H) By *Etesian* winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what part soever of the compass they come. They are so called from the *Greek* word *ετος*, a year, being yearly or anniversary winds, such as our seamen call *monsoons* and *trade-winds*, which, in some parts of the world, continue constantly blowing for certain stated seasons of the year. Thus the north winds, which during the dog-days constantly blow upon the coasts of *Egypt*, and hinder all ships from sailing out of *Alexandria* for that season, are called *Etesiae* in *Cæsar's* commentaries. In other authors the west and east winds are called *Etesiae*, when they continue blowing for certain seasons of the year (3).

(3) Vide *Salmasii exercit. in Solin. p. 421, &c.*

which



*Cæsar ex-acts with rigour the money owing him by Ptolemy's father.* which continue in those parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, spent his time in demanding the money which the present king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controversy between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*. *Auletes*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*, had engaged *Cæsar*, during his first consulate, by a promise of ten thousand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the *Roman* senate and people, and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful state. Part only of this sum was then paid; and *Cæsar*, wanting money to maintain

*Photinus endeavours to stir up the Alexandrians against Cæsar.* his army, exacted the rest with rigour: which *Photinus*, who was *Ptolemy's* prime minister, by several artifices, made appear to the people to be greater than it was: for he stripped the temples of all their silver and gold vessels, and ordered the king's table to be served in wooden and earthen dishes, giving out, in order to stir up the mutinous populace of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*, that he had seized all the silver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods, and to the king. He also measured out to *Cæsar's* soldiers, with a design to pick a quarrel with him before he was joined by the rest of his troops, musty and unwholesome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he must take it, and be contented, since his army was maintained at the cost of another. This contemptuous treatment made *Cæsar*, though he had then only three thousand two hundred foot and eight hundred horse with him, exact with more rigour the sum owing him; but *Photinus*, instead of paying it, pressed him every day to be gone, advising him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater consequence than such a paltry debt. *Cæsar* answered, That he was not come into *Egypt* to ask counsel, but to exact the money which the late king owed him, and to compose the differences between the present king and his sister *Cleopatra*, who were then at war.

*Cæsar summons Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him.* ACCORDINGLY soon after he issued out a peremptory order, injoining each of them to disband their armies, and bring the cause to his tribunal for a final decision. This was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as highly injurious to the sovereign majesty of their king, who being an independent prince, acknowledged no superior, and therefore was not to be judged by any man. To this *Cæsar* answered, That he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people. This quieting all for the present, the cause was brought before *Cæsar*, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead at his tribunal; but in the mean time *Cæsar*, being greatly taken with the charms and graceful behaviour of *Cleopatra*, from an impartial judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This provoked *Ptolemy*,



*Ptolemy*, who thereupon stirred up the whole city of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*. The *Roman* soldiers, who were near the king, *A tumult* seized him, while he was encouraging the enraged multitude to in *Alexan-* take up arms in defence of their sovereign, and secured him in *dria*, the house where their general lodged; but nevertheless, as the rest of his forces were dispersed all over the city in their quarters, he would have been overpowered, and torn in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony spoken to them, and assured them, that the differences between *Ptolemy* and his sister should be soon made up to the satisfaction of both.

ACCORDINGLY the next day having assembled the people, *Appeased* he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to them, and then causing by *Cæsar's* their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordered, *decree*, that his eldest son and eldest daughter should, according to the custom of the country, be joined in marriage, and reign together, under the guardianship of the *Roman* people; he decreed, in virtue of that guardianship, which, he said, was vested in him, that *Ptolemy*, as being the eldest son, and *Cleopatra*, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, should, according to the tenor of the said will, reign jointly; and that *Ptolemy* the younger son of *Auletes*, and his other daughter named *Arsinoe*, should reign in *Cyprus*. This last he added by way of gift, to appease the people; for *Cyprus* had been some time before subdued by the *Romans*, and was then governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor sent annually from *Rome*. *Photinus* was the only person in the assembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that minister had been the chief cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of her expulsion out of the kingdom, he was well apprised, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. In order to this, he not only sowed new discontents among the people, but prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, consisting of twenty thousand men, from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city. This gave rise to the *Alexandrian* *The Alex-* war, so famous in history, of which we have given a very par- andrian ticular account in our history of *Egypt*. King *Ptolemy* perishing war. in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon settled *Cleopatra*, and the surviving *Ptolemy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolemy* being then only eleven years old; but as he had engaged in so dangerous a war only for the sake of that lewd woman, he made it turn the most he could to her advantage. In this war perished not only the king, but likewise *Achillas* and *Photinus*, with all the accomplices of *Pompey's* murder, except *Theodotus*, who abandoning *Egypt* for fear of *Cæsar*, wandered up and down, despised and



and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæsar's* death, finding him in *Asia*, which was his province, caused him to be put to death, after he had made him suffer the most exquisite torments he could invent. The ashes of *Pompey* were some time after conveyed to *Rome*, and delivered to his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them at his country-house in the neighbourhood of *Alba*<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in Pomp. DIO VELL. PATERC. ibid.

### C H A P. XIII.

#### *The History of Rome, from the Death of Pompey to the Death of Cæsar.*

*Honours*  
*heaped up-*  
*on Cæsar*  
*at Rome.* **W**HEN the news of *Pompey's* death reached *Rome*, the senate and people strove who should heap most honours on the conqueror, now become absolute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was, by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years; named dictator, contrary to the antient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year; declared tribune of the people, and head of that college, for his life; empowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased; to levy what forces he thought fit, &c. so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centred in *Cæsar* alone, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to an higher pitch of power and authority than *Sylla* had acquired by the death and banishment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to *Rome*, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed *Marc Antony* his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of *Italy* during his absence.

*Cæsar*  
*marches*  
*against*  
*Pharna-*  
*ces.*

As for the dictator himself, after he had put an end to the war of *Alexandria*, and settled his favourite, *Cleopatra*, on the throne of *Egypt*, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Asia*, against *Pharnaces* king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, son of *Mithridates the Great*, who, finding the *Romans* engaged in a civil war, had laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Asia*. In the very beginning of the troubles he raised a powerful army, and, appointing *Asander* governor of *Bosphorus* in his absence, he passed the *Euxine* sea, and made himself master of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinus*, with part of his army, against



against him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*; but *Pharnaces*, having overcome *Domitius* in a pitched battle, made himself master of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*. Puffed up with this success, he treated the *Roman* merchants and publicans, who resided at *Amisus*, the capital of *Pontus*, with great cruelty; and, having seized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of *Asia* properly so called.

THIS extraordinary progress at length roused *Cæsar*, who was spending his time in wanton dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in *Egypt*, to protect *Cleopatra*, he hastened with the rest into *Syria*; and, having appointed *Sextus Cæsar*, his relation, governor of that province, he pursued his march northward against *Pharnaces*. As he passed through *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, who had sided with *Pompey*, and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator in the habit of a suppliant, and stripped of his royal robes, begging he would extend to him the effects of that clemency, which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his submission or praises; but nevertheless, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, *Pardons* and restored to him the ensigns of royalty; but at the same time ordered him to send forthwith to his assistance the legion *rus*. which he had trained up in the *Roman* discipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed against *Pharnaces*. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Pharnaces* had re-conquered, and, without giving any respite either to himself or his troops, or hearkening to the proposals of peace, which the king made with no other view but to gain time, he advanced against him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory; an account of which he wrote to his friend *Pharnaces* *Aminitius* or *Anitius* in the following words: *Veni, vidi, vici*, ces. *I came, I saw, I conquered*; which being all disyllables, and having the same cadence, happily express the dispatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where *Triarius* had been formerly defeated by *Mithridates*, repaired the honour of the *Roman* arms <sup>a</sup>.

AND now *Cæsar*, having settled affairs in *Asia* in the best *Sets out for* manner he could, and left *Cælius Vinicianus* in *Pontus*, to *Rome*. keep that kingdom in awe, set out for *Rome*, attended only with one legion. He passed through *Asia*, and from thence crossed over into *Greece*, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quæstors

<sup>a</sup> DIO, l. xlii. PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. in Mithridat. p. 254. SUT. in Jul. HIRT. de bell. Alexand.



*Arrives in Italy.* His sudden arrival in *Italy* filled some with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the senate and people in suspense. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconsiderate zeal of some rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of *Sylla*, and his uncle *Marius*, than the dictates of his own good-nature.

*How he received Cicero.* CICERO was one of the first who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for *Pompey*, and, after his defeat, returned to *Italy*, where he had lived at some distance from the capital, not caring to appear there till he had obtained his pardon of *Cæsar*. He therefore no sooner heard, that the dictator was landed at *Tarentum*, and was marching from thence to *Brundisium*, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and respect. *Cæsar*, who knew him while he was yet at some distance, in order to save him the confusion of making submissions not suitable to the rank he had held in the republic, dismounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked a great while with him alone, without shewing the least dissatisfaction, or taking any notice of his past behaviour. *Cicero* was greatly taken with this reception; but, nevertheless, thought it adviseable to keep at a distance from the capital, whither he repaired very seldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the study of philosophy, and composed most of those books, which will be the admiration of all ages. *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother, who had formerly served under the dictator in *Gaul*, as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow *Pompey*; but, notwithstanding his ingratitude, *Cæsar* pardoned him, at the earnest intreaties of *Aulus Hirtius*, *Caius Trebonius*, and the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, the orator's inseparable friend, even in his greatest misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms against him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindness, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, so different from that of *Sylla* and *Marius*, gained him the affections of the people, and drew over great numbers of senators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and usurper<sup>b</sup>.

*Enters Rome.*

HE entered *Rome* without the least pomp or shew, being attended only by a small number of legionaries; and, finding great disturbances in the city, occasioned by a misunderstanding between *Marc Antony*, his general of the horse, and *P.*

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Cæs.



*Cornelius Dolabella*, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no less attached to *Cæsar's* interest than *Antony* himself, he restored *Rome* to its former tranquillity, and easily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which *Dolabella* had proposed, containing an abolition of all debts (A). *Cæsar's* presence put an end to all disturbances. As he seemed to disprove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the antient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave both the senate and people in the full possession of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppose or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was visible in *Rome*; and, at the same time, all orders of men were subject to the sovereign will of the dictator. During his short stay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent shews, and remitted them the rents of the houses which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiscated the estates of those, who still continued in arms against him, and caused them to be sold publicly by auction: the lands, houses, and moveables of *Pompey*, whose children still disturbed the public tranquillity, were, together with the effects of many others, exposed in the forum to public sale; but nobody bidding for those of *Pompey*, out of respect to the memory of so great a man, *Marc Antony* purchased them at a very low price, and immediately took possession of his house, where he spent his time, as is plain from *Cicero's* second *Philippic*, in a continued scene of debauchery. When *Cæsar's* officers demanded *Marc Antony* the small sum he had agreed to pay for *Pompey's* house and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, saying, He did not expect *Cæsar* would exact so paltry a debt of one who had done him so great services. This provoked *Cæsar*, and occasioned some coldness between him and his general of the horse.

As to *Cæsar's* other friends, none of them had occasion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus, he appointed some of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whose care the *Sibylline*

(A) This law had occasioned the misunderstanding between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, the former opposing it to the utmost of his power, and the latter stirring up the poor and meaner sort of citizens to get it passed by force. Matters were carried so far, that *Antony* was ordered by the senate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in

the very forum, between *Antony* and his legionaries, on one side, and *Dolabella*, at the head of the insolvent debtors, on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldness, eight hundred of them being killed on the spot; whereas the general of the horse lost only a very small number of his men in the fray.



books were committed; and, for their sake, increased the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partisans. As the number of senators was greatly diminished by the death of some, and the flight of others, he raised to the senatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and such of the knights as had followed his standards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the consular year, with which his dictatorship expired, he assembled the tribes in the *Campus Martius*, and proposed to them two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fufius Calenus* and *P. Vatinius*, to be chosen consuls for the current year. This he did with no other view but to honour with the consular dignity those two officers, who had served, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The shortness of their consulate made *Cicero* say, by way of raillery, That the year in which *Vatinius* and *Fufius* were consuls, had neither spring, summer, nor autumn.

*Cæsar's  
second con-  
sulsip.*

THE next year *Cæsar* caused himself to be created consul, but did not part with the dictatorship. As consul, he took for his colleague *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was just then returned from *Hither Spain*, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great disappointment to *Marc Antony*, who aspired at the consular dignity; but his late behaviour, and scandalous debaucheries, had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, because he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he discharged the office of general of the horse<sup>c</sup>.

*Cato's be-  
haviour  
after the  
battle of  
Pharsalia.*

AND now *Cæsar*, having settled affairs in *Italy*, and taken proper measures to prevent any new disturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into *Africa*, where *Pompey's* party was still very powerful, being headed by the famous *Cato*, and many officers of great distinction. When *Pompey* followed *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*, he left in his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, as we have observed above, fifteen cohorts under the command of *Cato*. When news of *Pompey's* overthrow were first brought to *Dyrrhachium*, *Cato* resolved with himself, if *Pompey* were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into *Italy*, there disband them, and retire from the tyranny of *Cæsar* as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if *Pompey* were safe, to keep the troops together for him. With this design he left *Dyrrhachium*, which was too near *Thessaly*, where *Pompey* had been defeated, and crossed over to the island of *Corcyra*, where the fleet lay. There he found *Cicero*, to whom, as he was a scrupulous observer of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, since *Cicero*

<sup>c</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. & Anton. CIC. Philip. ii. MACROB. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. Liv. Cic. ad Attic. & passim alibi.



had a right to the first post, as having been consul; whereas he had only been prætor. But *Cicero*, who already repented his having declared for *Pompey*, and was then returning to *Italy*, under various pretences declined the offer; which so provoked *Cneius*, *Pompey's* son, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and, drawing his sword in the transport of his passion, would have killed him on the spot, had not *Cato*, *Cicero* in starting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him till the frightened great danger was out of reach. The same night *Cato* conveyed him <sup>ger from</sup> privately out of the camp, and, by that means, saved his life. *Pompey's* *Cicero* immediately went on board a small vessel, and set sail <sup>son.</sup> for *Brundisium*, whence he wrote to *Oppius* and *Balbus* (B), two of *Cæsar's* most zealous partisans, conjuring them to use their good offices in his behalf, and excuse him with the conqueror, for having inconsiderately followed *Pompey's* party. While *Cicero* was sailing towards *Italy*, many illustrious Ro-

(B) *Gaius Oppius* was one of *Cæsar's* chief favourites. *Charistius*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Pliny*, tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of several works much esteemed by the ancients; among the rest, of the lives of *Scipio Africanus*, and of *Pompey the Great*. *Plutarch* reproaches him with lessening the exploits and glory of *Pompey*, and magnifying those of *Cæsar*. In *Suetonius's* time he was deemed the true author of the history of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish* wars, which passed then, and have been transmitted to us, under the name of *Hirtius*. The same writer ascribes to *Oppius* several other works, none of which have reached our times. As for *Balbus*, he was a native of *Gades*, or, according to others, of *Carteia*. He served first in the armies of *Quintus Metellus*, and of *Pompey*, against *Sertorius*. Several years after he became acquainted with *Cæsar*, while he governed *Spain* in quality of prætor, and was, at his

recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. These were afterwards called in question; but *Balbus* found a zealous advocate in the person of *Cicero*, and was solemnly acknowledged by the senate and people for a citizen of *Rome*. It was customary for foreigners honoured with this distinction, to assume the name of the person they chose for their patron; and, agreeably to this custom, *Balbus* took the name of *Cornelius*, having chosen *Lentulus*, who was of the *Cornelian* family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, one *Theophanes*, a great favourite of the latter, adopted *Balbus*, and appointed him his heir. *Sidonius Apollinaris* commends some memoirs written by *Balbus* after the manner of a journal: *Quis Balbi ephemeridem*, says he, *fando adequaverit* (1)? "Who can sufficiently express the value of *Balbus's* journal?"

(1) *Sidonius Apollin.* l. ix. epist. 24. *et Attic.* l. iii. epist. 7.

*Plin.* l. vii. *Dio Cass.* l. xlviii. *Cic.*



*mans*, who had escaped from the battle of *Pharsalia*, arrived in the island of *Corcyra*, not knowing what route *Pompey* had taken; so that *Cato* saw himself on a sudden at the head of a considerable army, and surrounded by many officers of distinction. That zealous republican did not doubt but *Pompey* was fled either towards *Egypt*, where young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of *Africa*, which *P. Accius Varus* had seized before the battle of *Pharsalia*, after having killed *Curio*, whom *Cæsar* had sent against him, and cut his army in pieces.

Cato re-  
tires to  
Africa;

HE therefore resolved to hasten after him, and, having taken all his men on board, set sail, steering his course for *Africa*. Before he embarked, he gave those, who were not willing to follow him, full liberty to depart, and return to *Italy*. On his arrival in *Africa*, he found there *Sextus*, *Pompey's* younger son, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in *Egypt*. These news occasioned a great consternation among the troops; but, nevertheless, they all declared, with one voice, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties; and that, after *Pompey*, they would follow no other leader but *Cato*. Out of compassion, therefore, to so many brave men, who had given such proofs of a sincere love for their country, and whom he was ashamed to abandon in a strange place, amidst so many difficulties, he took upon him the command; and, without delay, marched towards the city of *Cyrene*, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before shut their gates against *Labienus*. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey's* father-in-law, had landed before him in *Africa*, and taken refuge in the dominions of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, where he had found *Accius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Appius Varus*, at the head of a considerable army.

and there  
takes upon  
him the  
command  
of the  
Roman  
troops.

Cato's  
march  
through  
the deserts  
of Africa.

HEREUPON *Cato* resolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beasts of burden with water, and other necessary provisions, he set out on his march, which was attended with inexpressible difficulties. His troops traveled for several days together through inhospitable deserts, covered with burning sands, and infested by lions, tigers, serpents of a monstrous size, &c (C). so that they were obliged

(C) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cato* took with him on his march some of those who were called *Pfilli*, and made it their business to cure the biting of serpents, by sucking out the poison. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in *Homer*, that, in antient times, wounds were cured by sucking. But these *Pfilli* pretended, as we read in *Plutarch*, to a power of enchanting the serpents, and disarming them of their fury, by stupefying them, and



liged to be constantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched seven days together, *Cato* himself being always the foremost, to encourage his men, who were quite exhausted, by his example. *Plutarch* tells us, that, since the battle of *Pharsalia*, he had never mounted on horseback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to shew his concern, he had, ever since that fatal day, used to sit at table, saying, That he never lay down but to sleep (D). The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, chearfully surmounted all difficulties, and arrived, at length, to the number of ten thousand men, at *Utica*.

THERE a warm dispute arose among the chief officers about the command of the army. *Varus*, who immediately joined *Cato*, together with *Scipio*, and other senators of distinction, claimed the command as governor of *Africa*; which province had been allotted him by *Pompey* himself. On the other hand, the whole army demanded *Cato* for their leader; and even *Varus* and *Scipio* were willing to comply with their desire: but *Cato* himself opposed his own promotion, saying, That he would not transgress those laws, which he had taken arms to defend; and that he, who was only proprætor, ought not to command in the presence of *Scipio*, who was proconsul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to see a *Scipio* at the head of a Roman army in *Africa*; and that the very name would inspire the soldiers with courage. *Cato's* words decided the dispute; all readily yielded to *Scipio*, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in *Africa*, appointed *Labienus*, who had distinguished himself in several wars under *Cæsar*, his first lieutenant. *Juba* king of *Mauritania* no sooner heard of *Cato's* arrival, than he went to *Utica*, to confer with him, and the other officers. That prince had always shewn a great attachment to *Pompey*, and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he assumed an air of grandeur

and laying them asleep. We find in holy Scripture instances of persons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded what we read in *Jeremiah*: For, behold, I will send serpents, cockatrices, among you, which will not be charmed (2). But these wretched inchanters often paid dear for their presumption.

(D) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary, we should think a lying posture at our meals very inconvenient; but this single example of *Cato* incontestably proves, that it was preferred in those days, and that sitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious posture.

(2) *Jerem. c. viii. ver. 17.*



and pride, which gave great offence to *Cato* (E). Under *Scipio* were several officers of great distinction and experience in war, namely, *Labienus*, *Afranius*, *Petreibus*, the two sons of *Pompey*, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, *Faustus Sylla*, who had married their sister, besides a great number of senators and knights, all resolved to prefer death to the loss of their liberty, and either save the republic, or fall with it. King *Juba* promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and join them with all his forces, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field<sup>d</sup>.

*Cæsar resolves to carry the war into Africa.*

*The tenth legion mutinies.*

*CÆSAR*, now master of all *Asia*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Italy*, resolved to carry the war forthwith into *Africa*, and there crush the remains of *Pompey's* party; but, while he was making the necessary preparations for that expedition, news were brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed *Galba* and *Cosconius*, two officers of the senatorial order, who had endeavoured to appease them. *Cæsar*, surprised at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately dispatched *Crispus Sallustius*, the famous historian, to quell the sedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. *Sallust* had great obligations to *Cæsar*, who had caused him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having restored him to his place in the senate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to *Capua*, where the mutineers were then encamped; but found it a more difficult task to appease a seditious soldiery, than to harangue a disarmed multitude. He was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and hasten back to *Rome*, to acquaint *Cæsar*, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldness, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, sent some trusty officers to ask them what they wanted. Their ringleaders answered, that they wanted to speak with *Cæsar* himself. Let them come into the city then, replied *Cæsar*, and appear in the field of Mars, without any other arms but their swords. Upon

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. in Cat. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. HIRT. de bell. Afric. DIO, l. xliii.

(E) The first time he had an interview with *Cato* and *Scipio*, he ordered his own seat to be placed in the middle; which *Cato* observing, he took up his own chair, and placed himself on the other side of *Scipio*, to whom he thus

gave the most honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtiness of those republicans, even at the time their republic was ready to sink, if not supported by foreign states and princes.

this



this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for *Cæsar*, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went immediately to hear their complaints.

THE presence of a general, famous for so many victories, inspired them with such awe and respect, that even the boldest among them could not utter a single word. Then *Cæsar*, mounting his tribunal, exhorted them to speak, and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to discharge them, alleging their age, their wounds, and their long service. As *Cæsar* was entering on a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and, with large presents, inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunderstruck, when he answered, without shewing the least surprize or concern, *Your demand is just; I do discharge you, and you may be gone.* *Cæsar*, perceiving the consternation and surprize these words occasioned among them, after having kept silence for some time, added, *I do not, however, design to rob you of your rewards: these I will give you, when I shall have triumphed over the rest of my enemies.* At these words they crowded round his tribunal, begging, that, since he intended to reward them, he would suffer them to deserve the promised rewards with further services. But *Cæsar*, without seeming to take notice of their demand, *Go, fellow-citizens,* said he, *return to your houses and families.* The word *fellow-citizens*, instead of *fellow-soldiers*, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, That they were soldiers; that they had not accepted of their discharge; and that they would follow him into *Africa*. But *Cæsar*, pretending to despise both their offers and submissions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict such punishments upon them as their insolence deserved, than to disband them in so shameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he ascended the tribunal once more, and, addressing himself to them, told them, That the revolt surprised him so much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always distinguished above the rest; that, nevertheless, he could not prevail upon himself to punish those, whom he had once so tenderly loved; that, on his return from *Africa*, he would give them the rewards he had promised, and lands too for their subsistence; but that he would not by any means suffer them to attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them, that he could conquer without them. This speech made so deep an impression on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he



would rather decimate them, than debar them from sharing with him the glory of his victories. *We will follow you as volunteers*, they all cried out with one voice, *if you refuse to admit us in the number of your legions*. These words, which were manifestly spoken from a true sense of their crime, and a sincere repentance, touched *Cæsar*: he could no longer dissemble; but, styling them again *fellow-soldiers*, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they should share with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories.

HAVING thus, by his intrepidity, resolution, and address, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he pursued, with great ardour, the necessary preparations for the new war in *Africa*; ordering his legions, in the meantime, to assemble at *Rhegium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired soon after himself; and, finding there but one legion of new levies, and six hundred horse, with them he crossed over into *Sicily*, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all possible expedition. On his arrival in *Sicily*, he encamped on the shore, declaring, that he was determined to set sail, as soon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions, and a body of two thousand horse, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly, on the sixth of the calends of *January*, i. e. on the thirtieth of *September*, according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarked the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with *Alienus*, prætor of *Sicily*, to convey over to him the other legions, as soon as they came up.

IN four days he arrived off *Adrumetum*, on the coast of *Africa*; and, having landed his troops at a small distance from that city, by the advice of *Plancus*, one of his lieutenants, he sent to summon *Considius*, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but *Considius*, trusting in his numerous garrison, which consisted of two legions, and three thousand *Mauritanian* horse, killed, with his own hand, the messenger; and then marched out, at the head of all his troops, to attack *Cæsar* in the camp he had formed in great haste, and, consequently, but very indifferently fortified. *Cæsar* thought it adviseable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coast towards *Ruspina*, at a small distance from *Adrumetum*. *Considius* pursued him, and greatly harassed his troops on their march. On this occasion it was, that thirty *Gaulish* horse, who marched in the rear, put to flight two thousand *Mauritanian* horse, and drove them back to the very gates of *Adrumetum*. *Cæsar*, with difficulty, reached *Ruspina*, being continually harassed by the enemy.

• APPIAN. HIRT. LIV. DIO, ibid.

my's



my's parties; but, not finding sufficient provisions in that neighbourhood to subsist his army, he turned towards *Leptis*, situate on the coast between the two *Syrtes*.

As *Leptis* was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates *Is admitted into* to him, and supplied his army in the best manner they could. *Leptis.* He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from *Sicily* arrived on board some gallies, and a small number of transports. These informed him, that the rest of the fleet were steering their course towards *Utica*; which gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He thereupon immediately dispatched *Rabirius Posthumius*, with orders to sail along the coast, and direct to *Leptis* such of his vessels as he should meet on his course. In the mean time, as the enemy were masters of the country, and *Cæsar* in a manner besieged in *Leptis*, his army was reduced to great straits for want of provisions; forage, especially, was become so scarce, that he was forced to feed his *Is greatly distressed* horses with a sea-weed, which he mixed with grass, to take *for want of* off its saltiness. He sent out indeed several parties to bring in *of provisions.* provisions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loss (F). As he was daily more and more straitened for want of provisions, and could not venture out of his camp with the few forces he had with him, he resolved to go himself in quest of his fleet; and accordingly, embarking in the dead of the night, he set sail, attended only *Goes in* with a small number of officers. The next day, when the *person in* soldiery missed him, they gave all up for lost; and it was with *quest of* the utmost difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions, kept them from abandoning their camp, and deserting *his fleet.*

(F) One day a party of horse, whom he sent out to forage, meeting an *African*, who played with great art on the flute, dismounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horses to their servants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling on them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, and pursued the rest to their camp; which they would have entered with the fugitives, had not *Cæsar*, and *Asinius Pollio*, at the head of a few cohorts, put a stop to their flight, by placing themselves in the gate of the camp, and, by that means,

obliging the horse to face the enemy. In another encounter, which happened a few days after, the best part of *Cæsar's* foot was put to flight by a strong detachment from *Scipio's* army. On this occasion *Cæsar*, seeing one of the standard-bearers flying with the rest, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, saying, *Look that way; the enemy is there.* However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to stand their ground; but was forced himself to give way, and retire with them, in no small disorder, to his camp.

to



to *Scipio*, who, with ten legions, and twenty elephants, was advancing against them. But their fears were soon calmed; for *Cæsar* the next day meeting by good fortune the rest of his fleet, returned with them to *Leptis*, and decamped as soon as they had landed, with a design to advance farther into the country.

*Labi-  
enus  
marches  
against  
him at the  
head of a  
numerous  
army.*

He had scarce marched three miles, when his scouts brought him word, that the enemy appeared; and soon after he discovered a very numerous army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. *Cæsar* immediately ordered his men to halt, and having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being surrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's first onset. This numerous body of *Roman* and *Mauritanian* forces was commanded by *Labi-  
enus*, who attacked *Cæsar* with such fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy master of the field. He was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a soldier of the tenth legion, by killing *Labi-  
enus's* horse, occasioned some confusion among the enemy's battalions. Those who were next to the general, seeing him fall, and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to retire. *Cæsar*, observing the consternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and attacking with great intrepidity and resolution the enemy's first line, put them to flight, before *Labi-  
enus*, who was stunned with his fall, recovered himself; but as *Labi-  
enus's* second line still kept their ground, *Cæsar* thought it adviseable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the first line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As *Cæsar* was retreating, *M. Petreius* and *Cneius Piso*, two zealous partisans of *Pompey*, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred *Numidian* horse, and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that *Petreius* on this occasion, remembering the favours he had formerly received from *Cæsar's* hands, spared his benefactor, under the pretence, that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, *Cæsar* got safe to his camp at *Leptis*, and from thence marched the same night to *Ruspina* <sup>f</sup>.

*He retires  
in good or-  
der to his  
camp.*

*Labi-  
enus's  
army re-  
inforced.*

In the mean time *Scipio* joined his lieutenant *Labi-  
enus* with eight legions, and four thousand horse; and then *Cæsar*, intrenching himself under the walls of *Ruspina*, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Italy* and *Sicily*, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to send him speedy succours, without which he should be obliged to abandon

<sup>f</sup> PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. HIRT. ibid.



*Africa*, and return with disgrace to *Italy*. *Alienus*, prætor of *Cæsar* received reinforcements from *Sicily*, upon the first notice of his danger, sent him powerful succours; which were no sooner arrived, than he resolved to march out of his camp, and offer *Scipio* battle, who, with an army twice as numerous as his, was encamped at a small distance, to prevent his drawing any forage or provisions from the neighbouring country. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to *Scipio*, advising him, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a battle with a commander experienced in war, and encouraged with success; but to use delay, which, he said, would cool the heats and passions of men, which are the chief support and strength of usurpers; but *Scipio*, flushed with his late success, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, since he was not content himself to lie secure within walls and trenches, but must hinder others from making use of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then *Cato* openly declared, that he was sorry he had yielded the command to *Scipio*, who, said he, will not use his power wisely in war, and if he should, contrary to all appearance, succeed, will, without all doubt, use his success as unjustly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if *Scipio* should conquer, he did not doubt but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as *Cæsar* himself.

BUT, to return to *Cæsar* (G); he quitted his camp at *Ruspina*, *Cæsar* and marched strait to *Utica*, with a design to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay siege to that city, which was the great magazine of all their provisions and ammunition. He encamped before the place, without being in the least disturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, whom they daily expected with eighteen thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected succours, and, together with *Scipio* and *Labienus*, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of *Cæsar*, who was again greatly distressed for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste all the neighbouring country.

PLUT. in Cat. & Cæs. APPIAN. HIRT. ibid.

(G) Being informed, that the enemy laid great stress on an oracle, importing, that the family of the *Scipio's* should be always victorious in *Africa*, and having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family,

known by the name of *Scipio Salutio*, *Cæsar* gave him the title of general, either in raillery, as *Plutarch* observes, to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy's army, or seriously, to bring over the omen to his side.

While



While he was thus besieged, news were brought him, that the ninth and tenth legion were at length arrived from *Sicily*, and in full march to join him. Hereupon *Cæsar*, leaving in his camp a sufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the rest to meet them, and brought them safe to his camp before *Utica*. As he now thought himself strong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for several days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he resolved to decamp, and leaving *Utica*, which was in a condition to sustain a long siege, to attack *Thapsus*, a place of great importance, but not so well provided and fortified. *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus* followed him, and encamped separately about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy.

*Marches to attack the enemy, and defeats them.* CÆSAR was no sooner informed that they were intrenching themselves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition through thick woods, and a country almost impassable, fell upon *Scipio's* men before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking first *Labienus's* camp, and afterwards *Juba's*, made himself master of them, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loss only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, *Thapsus*, *Adrumetum* and *Zama* immediately submitted; and the heads of the party, giving all up for lost, either laid violent hands on themselves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. *Scipio* endeavoured to save himself by sea; but his vessel being taken, he chose rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. *Juba* and *Petreius* sought death in a single combat, in which *Juba* being killed, *Petreius* ordered one of his slaves to dispatch him. *Afranius* and *Sylla*, with a small body of troops, took their route along the coast of *Africa*, with a design to join the two sons of *Pompey*, whom *Cato* had sent into *Spain*; but were met, defeated and taken by *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, who would have saved them; but his soldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of *Pompey's* party, *Labienus* alone found means to make his escape, and convey himself safe into *Spain*.

*The chief men of Scipio's army either killed or taken.* AND now the enemy's forces being dispersed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all *Africa* submitted, except the city of *Utica*, where *Cato* commanded, and had formed a kind of senate, composed of three hundred *Romans*, who had repaired to him from different parts. The news of the victory gained by *Cæsar* at *Thapsus* threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. Some of the citizens betook themselves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to save themselves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. But *Cato* endeavoured to calm their fears, representing to them, that perhaps things were not so bad in truth, but more than half increased by fame, as is usual in

*All Africa, except Utica, submits.* in



in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for some time; and having *Cato* <sup>en-</sup>called together his senate or council, consisting of three hundred <sup>courages</sup> *Roman* citizens, he first commended their courage and fidelity, <sup>the Ro-</sup>and then intreated them by no means to separate, since, while <sup>mans in</sup> they kept together, *Cæsar* would have less reason to despise them, <sup>Utica to</sup> if they fought against him, and be more ready to pardon them, <sup>stand a</sup> if they submitted to him (H). His words inspired even the most <sup>siege.</sup> cowardly with courage. They forgot the present danger, and declared with one voice, that they would stand a siege, protesting they had rather died with *Cato*, than save themselves by abandoning a person of such exalted virtue.

WHEN they came to deliberate about the proper measures for the defence of the place, some were for setting the slaves at liberty; but this *Cato* opposed, saying, That no slave ought to be set at liberty without the consent of his master. *We ought not,* said he, *even in our present circumstances, to make free with the property of others; but let every one dispose, as he pleases, of what is his own.* Some of the senators immediately set their slaves at liberty, and furnished them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former resolution, shewed great backwardness in parting with their slaves, from whose labour they drew great advantages. “Why should we risque all, said they <sup>The senate</sup> among themselves, to preserve *Utica*? Have we forgot what <sup>at Utica</sup> enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that *Cæsar*, to whom all <sup>resolves to</sup> the power of *Rome* has submitted? And which of us is a *Pom-* <sup>submit.</sup> *pey*, a *Scipio*, or a *Cato*? Now that all men give way to *Cæsar*’s fortune, shall we alone engage for the liberty of *Rome*, and in *Utica* declare war against one, who has driven *Pompey the Great*, and *Cato* himself out of *Italy*? No, let us know ourselves, submit to the conqueror, and send deputies

(H) “Consult among your- “*Italy* will never submit to a  
“selves (said he); if you think “sovereign, who acknowledges no  
“fit to submit, I will impute “other law but his own caprice;  
“your resolution to necessity; “*Utica* is well furnished with  
“but if you resolve to stand up “all sorts of provisions and mi-  
“in defence of your rights and “litary engines, and in a con-  
“liberties, I will be your compa- “dition to stem the course of  
“nion, and, if you think fit, your “this mighty conqueror’s victo-  
“leader. We are to fight against “ries. Let us therefore defend  
“one whose affairs are not in so “to the last what ought to be  
“good a condition as is gene- “more dear to us than our lives  
“rally believed. *Spain* has al- “and fortunes. Notwithstand-  
“ready declared for the sons of “ing the uncertainty of war, we  
“*Pompey*; *Rome*, unaccustomed “shall lead a most happy life, if  
“to slavery and oppression, will “we succeed, or die a most glo-  
“be ready to shake off the yoke “rious death, if we miscarry.”

“ to



“to implore his mercy.” *Cato*, tho’ he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to *Juba*, who, with a small body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to *Scipio*, who lay at anchor under a promontory near *Utica*, advising them not to come near the place, since he suspected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the senators, who formed his council <sup>b</sup>.

Remark-  
able in-  
stance of  
*Cato’s hu-*  
*manity.*

Not long after, a considerable body of horse, who had escaped from the battle, appearing at some distance from *Utica*, sent a messenger to acquaint *Cato* with the different sentiments that prevailed among them, and to ask his advice; for some were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themselves up in the city, were for going to *Juba*. *Cato* hastened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon so many worthy senators, but to seek the mutual safety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable, and well furnished with corn and other provisions for many years. The senators likewise, who attended *Cato*, with tears in their eyes, besought them to stay. Hereupon the officers went to consult the soldiers; but in the mean time news were brought to *Cato*, that the greater part of his senators were raising a tumult in the city, and stirring up the inhabitants to exclude *Cato*, and send deputies to *Cæsar*. This news being immediately divulged among the horse, they desired their officers to return to *Cato* with this answer, “That they should not be afraid of *Cæsar*, while they followed *Cato*, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces, all the *Uticans*, who would not fail to betray them, and plot their ruin, as soon as *Cæsar* appeared.” This condition seemed too cruel to the virtuous *Cato*, who therefore chose rather to deprive himself of so powerful and necessary a supply, than consent to it.

The sena-  
tors re-  
solve to  
abandon  
the city.

UPON his return to the city, the senators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to withstand *Cæsar*; nay, they even threatened to seize those senators, who were for standing a siege, and to deliver them up to *Cæsar*. Hereupon *Cato*, with difficulty, prevailed upon the horse to stay at least one night in the city, in order to facilitate the escape of those worthy senators, who were thus threatened by the rest. While they were preparing to set out, news were brought, that *Cæsar* was drawing near with his whole army; and then *Cato*, ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board some vessels he had prepared for that purpose, he returned to the city, and dismissed the body of horse, advising several of his friends

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in Cat.



to join them, and abandon a city, which would soon fall into the enemy's hands. *Plutarch* observes, that tho' he was very pressing with his other friends to save themselves by flight, yet he gave no such advice to his son, not thinking fit to persuade him to abandon his father. As *Cæsar* drew near, the senators, who remained in *Utica*, appointed *Lucius Cæsar*, a relation of *Cæsar* the conqueror, who had followed *Pompey's* party, to intercede for them, and make their submissions to the dictator. *Cato* approved of their choice, and even composed the speech, with which he was to address *Cæsar*. *Lucius*, in taking his leave of *Cato*, told him, That he should not scruple to kiss the hands, and fall at the knees of *Cæsar* on his behalf; but *Cato* would by no means give him leave so much as to mention his name. *I will not*, said he, *be indebted to a tyrant for those very things, which are marks of tyranny: to save men is an instance of his tyranny, as if he were lord of their lives.* However, as *Lucius* was departing, he recommended to him his son, and the rest of his friends, and tenderly embracing him, bid him farewell (I). Towards the evening, he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the *Romans* and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themselves upon his mercy. As for himself, he went according to his custom to bathe before supper (K);

(I) While the rest were preparing to attend *Lucius* in the habit of suppliants, *Cato* was greatly surprised at the constancy of a young *Roman* named *Statilius*, who, tho' in the flower of his age, and a noted enemy to *Cæsar*, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an usurper for his life. *Cato*, having attempted in vain to persuade him to yield to fortune, and join the other suppliants, recommended him to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two celebrated philosophers, saying, *It belongs to you to bring down this young man's spirit, and to make him know what is good for him.* By these words *Cato* implied, that the disposition of mind, in which *Statilius* fancied himself to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true constancy; and that what became *Cato*, who had

always made a profession of severe virtue, and was *Cæsar's* equal, did not become such a young man as *Statilius*. *Epictetus* observes, that it is only for an extraordinary person to imitate an extraordinary virtue. It is not fitting for a person of common size to attempt so high a flight.

(K) While he was in the bath, remembering *Statilius*, he cried out aloud to the philosopher *Apollonides*, who always attended him, *Well, Apollonides, have you brought down the high spirit of Statilius? Is he gone without bidding us farewell? No*, answered the philosopher, *I have discoursed much with him, but to little purpose; he is still unalterable, and determined to follow your example.* *This*, answered *Cato* with a smile, *will soon be tried.*

then



His discourse  
with two  
philosophers.

then called his son, and advised him among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of state, telling him, *That to act therein as became him was now impossible, and to do otherwise dishonourable.* AFTER he had bathed, he went to supper, at which he sat, as he had always used to do ever since the battle of *Pharsalia*, contrary to the *Roman* custom. Several of his particular friends, and some of the principal citizens of *Utica*, supped with him. Among the former were *Apollonides* the *Stoic* philosopher, and *Demetrius* the *Peripatetic*. After supper, many philosophical questions were discussed, and, among the rest, those fundamental principles, which were called the *paradoxes of the Stoics*; and this in particular, *that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves.* The moment this was proposed, the *Peripatetic* took up the argument against it (L); but *Cato*, raising his voice, maintained the incontestable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and, in the heat of the dispute, let some words drop, which plainly shewed, that he designed to put an end to his life, and by that means set himself at liberty. Hereupon, when he had done speaking, the whole company kept silence, and seemed much dejected; but *Cato*, to divert them from any suspicion of his design, turned the discourse, and began again to talk of the present affairs, shewing great concern for his friends who were at sea, and for those who were traveling by land, since they were to pass through a dry desert, which afforded nothing for their support<sup>1</sup>.

Reads  
Plato's  
Phædo.

WHEN the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he used to do after supper, gave the necessary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having first embraced his son, and every one of his friends, with more than usual tenderness. As this renewed their suspicion of his design, his son, entering his room unknown to him, stole away his sword, which he used to have always by him. *Cato*, now alone, lay down, and taking up *Plato's* dialogue on the immortality of the soul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of an happy immortality raised in his breast, he looked up for his sword, and missing it, called one of his slaves; and, without shewing the least eagerness or concern, only asked him, Who had taken away his sword. As the slave made no answer; he continued reading; and a little while after, not seeming importunate or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Cat.

(L) The *Peripatetics* maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or servitude, taking these words in a sense too constrained and literal.

again,



again, and having finished the whole dialogue, without any tidings of his sword, he called all his servants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed, and delivered into his enemy's hands naked and disarmed. One of his slaves attempted to appease him; but he had scarce begun to speak, when *Cato* gave him such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noise his son and *His son* the rest of his friends came running into his room, and falling at *and friends* his feet, endeavoured, with tears and intreaties, to divert him *endeavour* from any design he might have on his own life: but, *Cato* raising *to divert* himself up, *Why does nobody persuade me by reason*, said he, *or him from* *teach me what is better, if I have designed any thing that is ill?* *laying vio-* *Must I be thus disarmed, and hindered from making use of my own* *lent hands* *reason?* Then turning to his son, *And you, young man*, said *on himself.* he, *why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for against myself I stand in no want of a sword: to end my days I need but hold my breath a little while, or strike my head against the wall.*

HAVING thus spoken, he dismissed his son and the rest of his *His beba-* friends, except the two philosophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, *viour be-* to whom he addressed himself more calmly thus: *Can you bring fore his* *any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato, to death.* *beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this subject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve on.* As the philosophers made no reply, which indeed they could not do without contradicting their own principles, *Cato* told them, That he would not fail to ask their advice, when he should have occasion to make use of what their philosophy taught. But, in the mean time, said he, go tell my son, that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him. Upon this they both withdrew, and sent him his sword by a young slave. *Cato* took it with great pleasure, and having drawn it, and examined the point, said in putting it up, *Now I am master of myself.* He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (M), he lay down, and fell into a sound sleep. About midnight

(M) And yet this dialogue seems too long to be read twice over in so short a space; but that which seems most incomprehensible is, that *Cato*, before he laid violent hands on himself, should read over that dialogue, which proves in the strongest terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. A philosopher, says *Plato* in that dialogue, *will never lay violent hands on himself, that not being lawful even for those to whom death is more desirable than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themselves, tho' it be ever so necessary; for God has placed us in this life as in a post, which we are never to quit without his permission. The gods take care of us, and we must consider ourselves as their*



His whole concern is about his friends. midnight he called up two of his freedmen, *Cleanthes* his physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether his friends had set sail, and ordered the former to apply some remedy to his hand

their peculiar property. If one of your slaves should dispatch himself without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would punish him, if it lay in your power. How could *Cato* persist in his resolution against such strong arguments? He might possibly justify himself from what is added by *Socrates*: *We must wait with patience till it pleases God to send us an express order to remove out of this life.* He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as such an order; and thus has *Cicero* commented upon it in the first book of his *Tusculan* questions: *Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis, næ ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit: nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: sed tanquam a magistratu, aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a Deo evocatus atque emissus exierit.* “But *Cato* quitted life in such a manner, as “to rejoice at having obtained “a cause for dying. For that “God, who rules within us, “forbids us to depart hence “without his leave. But when “God himself shall have given “a just cause, as then to *Socrates*, now to *Cato*, often to “many, then certainly that wise “man would joyfully have departed out of this darkness into “that light: nor in this case

“would he have broken the “bonds of his prison; for this “the laws forbid: but, being “summoned and discharged by “God, as by a magistrate, or “some lawful power, would “have quitted his station.” But this trifling distinction destroys the very end and design of the dialogue. If it were left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the state he is in, and interpret it as an express order from God to quit his station, the prohibition of self-murder would be unnecessary, since a reason would never be wanting upon occasion to justify it; therefore this action in *Cato* is not by any means warrantable. However, it must be allowed, that it was less criminal in him, than it can be in those, who destroy themselves for some private reasons, when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or some other passion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the pusillanimity of such, and the despair of a brave man, who kills himself, not for any private reason, but, if the expression may be allowed, for some reason of state; for tho’ the action carries in it a brutal fury, and the blind impulse of an ungovernable passion; yet, as *Plutarch* has well observed on another subject, where he compares *Romulus* and *Theseus*, he is more excusable, who is transported by a stronger cause, as by a more severe stroke. And what stroke can be more severe than the ruin of our country?



that was hurt by the blow he gave his slave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to his life. *Butas* soon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were embarked, except *Crassus*, who had staid on account of some business, but was just ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the sea very rough. At this he sighed, shewing a great deal of compassion for those who were at sea, and sent *Butas* a second time to see whether any of them were driven back, and wanted his assistance. Mean while he again fell asleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when *Butas* returning, acquainted him, that the storm was allayed, and that no noise was heard in the port. Then *Cato*, laying himself down again, as if he intended to sleep, desired *Butas* to withdraw, and shut the door after him.

HE was no sooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he *Stabs him-* had waited till those of his party were out of danger, taking his *self with* sword, ran it into his body; but not being able to use his hand *his sword.* so well, which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn some figures of geometry. The noise of this alarmed his son and his friends, who breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels a great part out of his body. Such a dreadful sight, and his ghastly looks, his eyes being yet open, struck them all with so great terror, that they stood some time motionless, without being able, in that surprize and confusion, to lend him the least assistance. At length *Butas* accosting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and sewed up the wound; but *Cato*, after some time, coming *Puts an* to himself, thrust away the physician, rent open his wound again, *end to his* and tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, *life.* or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the most virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced, had all the virtues, and none of the faults of *Cato* the censor, one of his illustrious ancestors, and would, with his invincible constancy and resolution, have supported the sinking republic, had not the gods themselves, as *Plutarch* observes, decreed her destruction.

HIS death was no sooner known, than the inhabitants of *Utica* *The con-* flocked to his house, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, *cern of the* the only free, the only invincible *Roman*. Tho' at that very *inhabi-* instant word was brought them, that *Cæsar* was drawing near, *tants of* yet neither fear of the present danger, nor the commotions and *Utica at* discord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerness each *his death.* of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmost pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a person of his merit and rank. How strong must the impressions have been,



Utica sub-  
mits to  
Cæsar.

which the virtue of *Cato* left in their minds, since they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whose mercy they were that moment to throw themselves! When *Cæsar*, who was now at the very gates of *Utica* with all his forces, heard of *Cato's* death, he is said to have uttered these words: *Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou hast envied me the glory of saving thy life* (N). Upon *Cato's* death, the city of *Utica* was by *Lucius Cæsar* delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned some, but caused others to be privately put to death<sup>k</sup> (O).

CÆSAR,

<sup>k</sup> PLUT. in Cat.

(N) *Plutarch* seems to question whether *Cæsar* would have pardoned *Cato* or no. The discourse, says that writer, which *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, is no great sign of his kindness, or that he was inclined to shew him any favour. Is it possible, adds he, that *Cæsar* would have been tender of his life, when he was so bitter against his memory? But, with *Plutarch's* leave, we are of opinion, that *Cæsar* would have spared him, as he did *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Marcellus*, his most inveterate enemy, and many others; not indeed out of any friendship he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Cæsar* wrote it not out of hatred to *Cato*, but in his own vindication. *Cicero* had written an encomium on *Cato*, and called it by his name. A discourse composed by so great a master upon such an excellent subject was immediately in every-body's hands. This touched *Cæsar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as no better than a satire against himself. He therefore published an answer to it, containing a collection of charges and accusations

against that great man, which he styled *Anticato*.

(O) Among the latter was *Lucius Cæsar* himself, who had treated with great cruelty such of *Cæsar's* adherents, as he had got into his power during the war: among the former were *Cato's* son, his daughter, *Statilius*, and most of his friends. His son was afterwards slain in the battle of *Philippi*, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he stayed in *Cappadocia*, in the house of *Marphadates*, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal conversation with his wife, by name *Psyche*, which in *Greek* signifies *soul*. This gave the *Romans* occasion to say by way of railery, That *Cato* and *Marphadates* were good friends; for they had but one soul; that *Cato* was noble and generous, and had a royal soul, &c. *Cato's* daughter was married to *Brutus*, one of the conspirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we shall relate in a more proper place. As for *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, he was prevented by the philosophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed



CÆSAR, now master of *Utica*, and of the whole Roman province in *Africa*, marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both those kingdoms to Roman provinces, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern them in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to shake off the yoke. The fruitful plains of *Numidia* he divided among the soldiers of *P. Silius*, who had reduced great part of that country (P), appointing him sovereign of that district, after having driven out a *Numidian* prince named *Manasses*, who had declared for *Juba*, and served in his army against *Cæsar*<sup>1</sup>.

AND now *Cæsar*, having brought all *Africa* under subjection, and settled the affairs of that province, repaired to *Utica*, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did, soon after his return to *Italy*, for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; so that these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their

<sup>1</sup> HIRT. de bell. Africano.

followed *Brutus*, to whom he proved very faithful and serviceable, and at length died, with many other illustrious Romans, in the battle of *Philippi* (3).

(P) *Silius*, being driven out of *Rome*, we know not on what account, had taken refuge in *Mauritania*, and there assembled a considerable number of Roman exiles, with whom he entered into the service of *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, then at war with *Juba*. *Bogud* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, invading *Juba's* dominions, and making himself master even of *Cirta* his capital. This diversion was of great use to *Cæsar*; for it obliged *Juba* to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of *Sabura*, one of his best generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his absence, *Silius*, having defeated and killed

*Sabura*, made himself master of the whole country, and then marched with his victorious army to join *Cæsar*, whom he scarce knew. On his march, he met a body of Romans, who had saved themselves from the battle of *Thapsus*, under the command of *Afranius* and *Faustus Sylla*, defeated them, and took their leaders prisoners, together with *Sylla's* wife, the daughter of *Pompey*, whom he delivered to *Cæsar*, who not only pardoned her, but sent her into *Spain* to her brothers. Soon after, *Silius's* fleet surprised, in the port of *Hippo*, the squadron which was conveying into *Italy* *Scipio*, and other Romans, who had left *Utica*, and took most of them prisoners. *Scipio* laid violent hands on himself; but the rest were brought to *Silius*, who consigned them to *Cæsar*. These services the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on *Numidia*.

(3) Plut. in Cat. & Cæs. Dio Cass. l. xliii.



Cæsar re-  
turns to  
Rome.

Honours  
bestowed  
on him by  
the senate  
and people.

ruins, in which they had lain about an hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with *Roman* colonies; and from these new inhabitants of *Corinth* were descended those *Corinthians*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his two epistles. As the dictator had now no enemy to contend with in *Africa*, he left that country, loaded with glory and spoils; and set sail for *Italy* on the ides of *June*, that is, on the fourteenth of the *Julian April*; and, arriving three days after at *Caralos*, now *Cagliari*, sailed from thence, on the third of the calends of *July*, for *Ostia*, which he did not reach, the weather proving very stormy, till the twenty-sixth of the *Julian May*, that is, twenty-eight days after. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the success of his arms.

THE senate and people strove who should be most forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and sacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together, in thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in *Africa*. His usual guard was, by a decree of the senate, trebled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of censor, which had been hitherto divided between two magistrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of *prefect*, or *reformer of manners*, that of censor seeming too vulgar. His person was declared sacred and inviolable; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next to the consuls; that he should give his opinion the first in all public deliberations; that he should sit at all public shews in a curule chair; and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed as usual at the shews, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went so far, as to place his statue in the capitol next to that of *Jupiter*, with this inscription on the pedestal, *To Cæsar a demigod*<sup>m</sup>.

CÆSAR had too much penetration not to know, that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any sincere kindness or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting such marks of distinction, he declared, That he would make no other use of the authority, with which they were pleased to trust him, than to prevent any further disturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy (Q). His speech, and the pardon he granted

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. DIO. HIRT. ibidem.

(Q) “ I shall not (said he) re- “ *Marius*, which I cannot reflect  
“ new the massacres of *Sylla* and “ on without horror. I wish I  
“ had



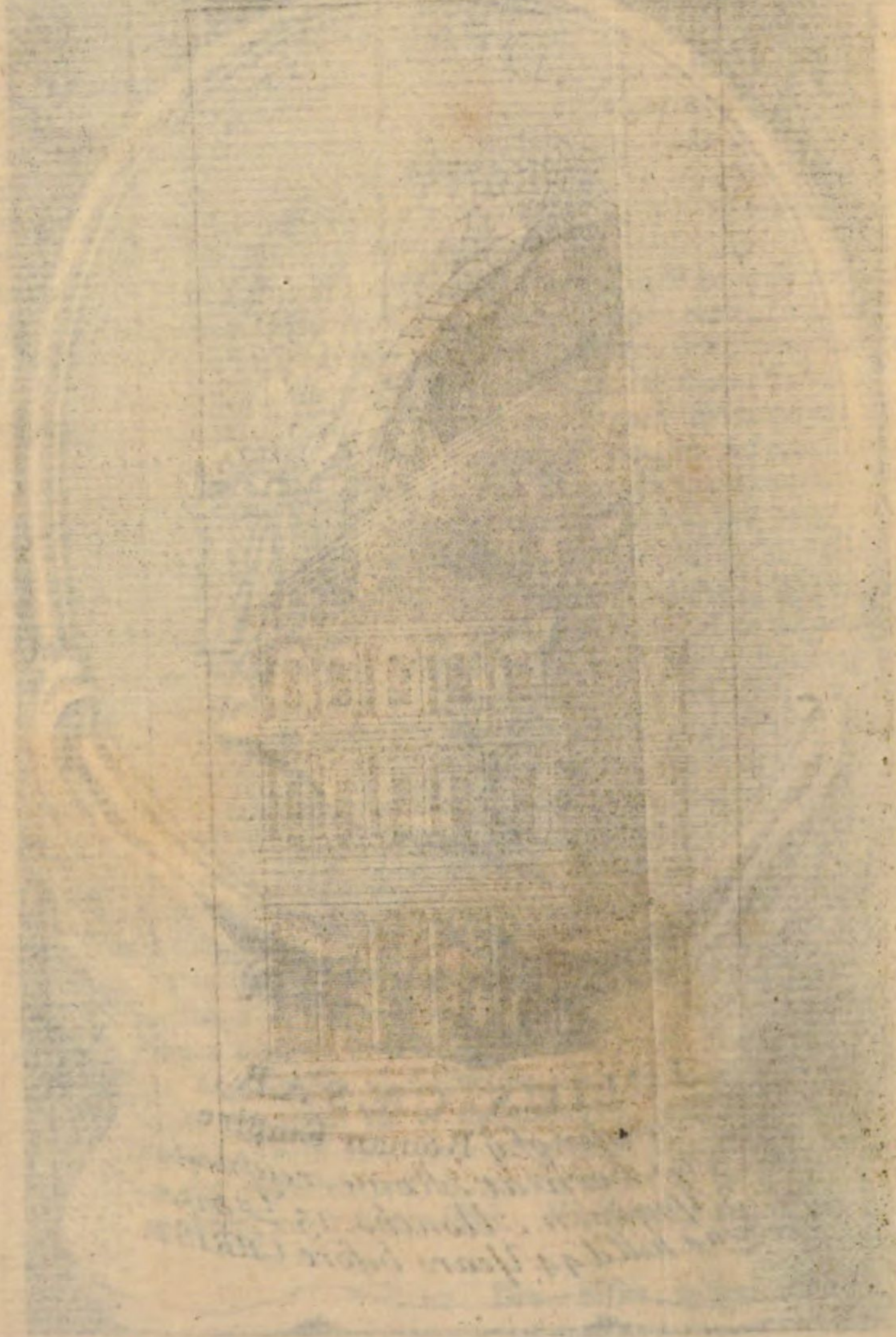


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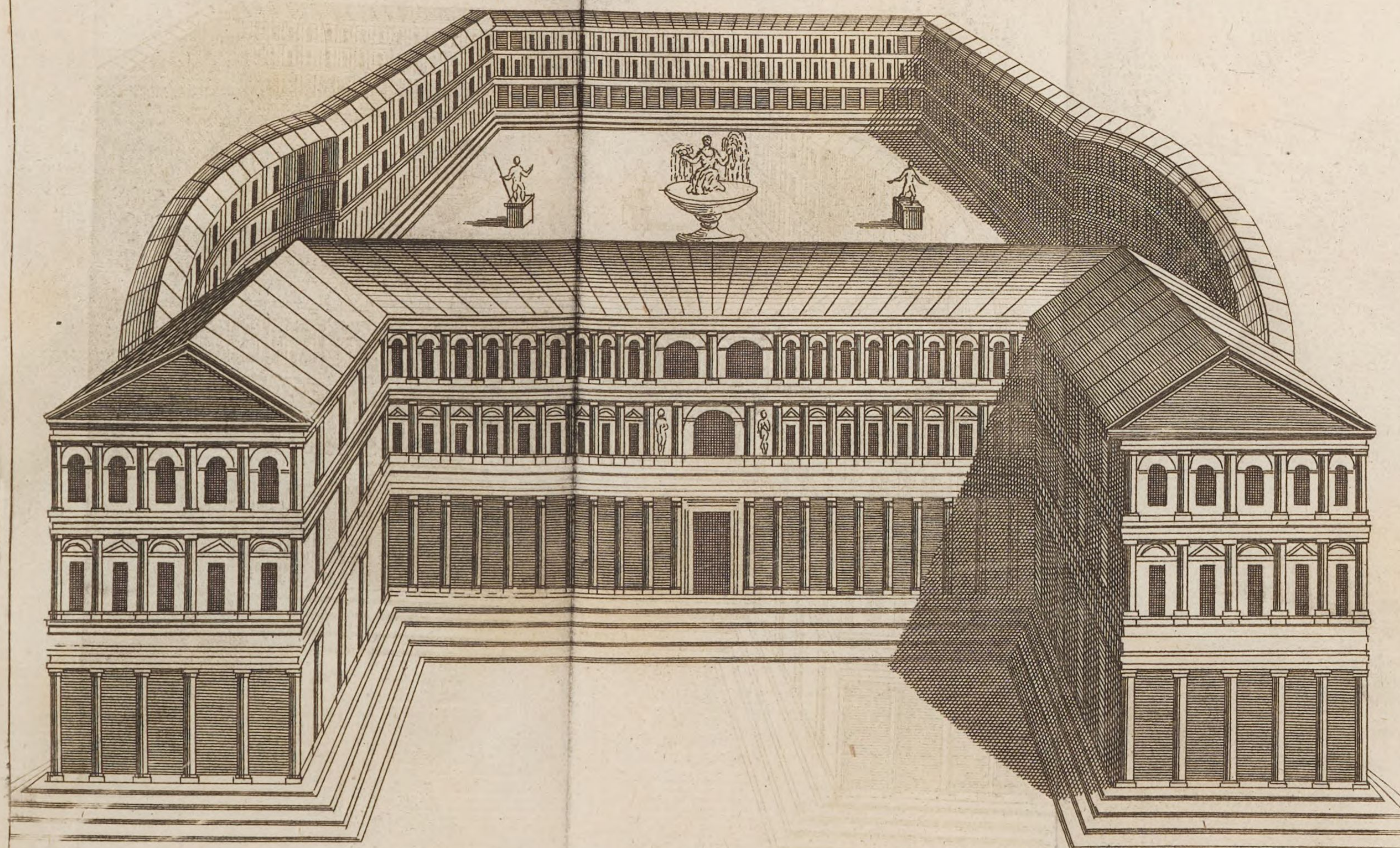
PLATE I



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1900



# THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR



ex Dominic de Rubens.







granted a few days after to *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of his most inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the senate and people (R).

## THE

“ had been able to save the re-  
 “ public without shedding a drop  
 “ of blood, and without de-  
 “ priving *Rome* of one single  
 “ citizen; but, since that was  
 “ not in my power, now that my  
 “ enemies are subdued, I will  
 “ make no further use of the  
 “ sword; but endeavour to gain,  
 “ by good offices, those who still  
 “ continue obstinate. You shall  
 “ all find in me not a *Marius* or a  
 “ *Sylla*, but an indulgent father,  
 “ and zealous protector. As  
 “ for my troops, I shall keep  
 “ them together, not so much  
 “ for my own defence, as for  
 “ that of the republic. They  
 “ shall not, however, be any  
 “ charge to you; the spoils I  
 “ have brought with me from  
 “ *Africa*, will be sufficient to  
 “ maintain them, and likewise  
 “ to defray for some time the  
 “ expences of the government.”

(R) *Marcellus* had been consul five years before, and, during his consulate, employed all his interest and authority against *Cæsar*. He had fought under *Pompey*'s banners at *Pharsalia*; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had chosen the city of *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lesbos*, for the place of his residence, and there led a quiet life, being intirely taken up with the study of philosophy. *Cicero*, who had always professed a strict friendship for *Marcellus*, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly, the first time *Cæsar* appeared in the senate, *Lucius Piso* having addressed him with an affecting speech in favour of the

illustrious exile, all the conscript fathers seconded him, and, quitting their places, surrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in the behalf of one of the most worthy members of their body. *Cæsar* heard them with great attention, and, as soon as they had done speaking, *I willingly pardon Marcellus*, said he, *out of regard to your intercession, conscript fathers, and to his own merit. Let him return, and take his place in the senate. I shall not, for the future, look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body.* The conscript fathers returned him thanks, and *Cicero* in particular, in that famous speech, which is still admired by all the learned. But *Cæsar*'s clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the first notice of what had passed at *Rome*, he left *Mitylene*, and came to *Athens*, with a design to pass from thence over into *Italy*; but when he was ready to embark, he was stabbed by one *Magius Chilon*, a no less zealous follower of *Pompey* than himself. What prompted him to this murder, is not well known; some suspected *Cæsar* of being privy to it; but that suspicion seemed quite groundless to *Cicero*, since *Magius*, with the same dagger, put an end to his own life, and died on the spot with *Marcellus*. *Cicero* writes on this subject to *Atticus* thus: *We can by no means suspect Cæsar of having any hand in the death of Marcellus, since Magius stabbed himself with the same dagger,*



Returns  
thanks to  
the people  
for their  
attach-  
ment to  
him.

THE dictator having, by his clemency, and the extraordinary civility he shewed to all without distinction, delivered the senators from their fears, in the next place summoned the people, and appearing in the assembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a most obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his person. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his last victory, subdued a country so rich, and of such extent, that it would yearly supply the city with two hundred thousand bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the senate and people.

Four tri-  
umphs de-  
creed him.

His tri-  
umph over  
the Gauls,

ACCORDINGLY, he triumphed four times the same month, to wit, over the *Gauls*, over *Egypt*, over *Pharnaces*, and over *Juba*. In the first triumph, were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the prisoners, appeared *Vercingetorix*, who had stirred up all *Gaul* against *Cæsar*, and attempted to relieve *Alesia*, at the head of three hundred thousand men. His soldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midst of the public rejoicings, the axle-tree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of *Fortune*, the victor narrowly escaped being crushed by the wheels. The superstitious *Romans* drew from thence presages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience that unforeseen accident occasioned then, was the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then *Cæsar*, to prevent all disturbances in the dark, embellished his triumphal procession with a new ornament, causing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each side of his chariot, with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, disposed in the shape of so many pyramids, which, in a manner, turned night into day, and conducted, without the least confusion, the numerous croud to the capitol. There *Cæsar*, to set the people an example of religion, mounted the steps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the usual sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he viewed the statue, which

dagger, which he had plunged into Marcellus's breast. I am at a loss, to know what could prompt him to so black an attempt. Marcellus had been bail for him a little time before at Sunium. Perhaps, as Magius was not in a condition

to satisfy his creditors, he had recourse to Marcellus, who refused to supply him with the necessary sums, in a rough and uncivil manner, which was natural to him; and hence their quarrel (4).

(4) Cic. ad Attic. l. xiii. epist. 10.



the senate and people had erected to himself near that of the god; and being offended at the inscription, *To Cæsar a demigod*, ordered the fulsome title of demigod to be immediately cancelled.

THE second triumph was over *Egypt*, when the pictures of <sup>over</sup> *Ptolemy*, *Photinus*, and *Achillas*, were carried before the triumphal chariot, with representations of the cities of *Pelusium* and *Alexandria*, of the palace of the *Egyptian* kings, of the tower of *Pharos*, &c. Before the chariot, walked many prisoners of distinction; among the rest *Arsinoe*, the sister of *Cleopatra*, loaded with chains: but, after she shew, she was set at liberty, and only banished from *Egypt*, that she might not create new disturbances in that kingdom, to the prejudice of *Cleopatra* (S). The third triumph, shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* <sup>over</sup> *Phar-* king of *Pontus*. In the midst of the spoils, which the conqueror had brought from *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, the famous words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, were carried on a table in large characters, to shew rather the dispatch, than the difficulty or importance of that victory.

THE subject of the fourth triumph was, the conquest of *Africa* and <sup>over</sup> *Numidia*, with the defeat of *Juba* and his allies. In this triumph *Juba*, the son of king *Juba*, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the shew was over, *Cæsar* set him at liberty, and gave him an education suitable to his rank, appointing masters to teach him the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and such sciences as the young noblemen of *Rome* studied in those days. By this means, he became one of the most learned men of the age he lived in; insomuch that the emperor *Augustus*, in consideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards bestowed on him the kingdom of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony* (T). The vessels of gold and silver, which in these triumphs were carried before the conqueror, amounted to the value

(S) This young princess took up her residence in *Asia Proper*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the request of *Cleopatra*, caused her to be put to death (5).

(T) He was the author of several works, and, among the rest, of the history of *Rome*, which he wrote in *Greek*, and

which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients; but is now intirely lost, as are also all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of *Assyria*, and chiefly collected from the writings of *Berosus*.

The *Romans* were not so well pleased with this triumph, as with the other three, *Cæsar* hav-

(5) *Hirt. de bell. Alexand. Joseph. antiq. l. xv. c. 4.*



value of sixty-five thousand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, besides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thousand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made him, according to the custom of those times, by princes and cities after his victories.

*His liberality towards the soldiers, and the Roman people.*

OUT of these sums, he paid his soldiers their arrears, and, besides an hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the Roman people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each particular person ten bushels of corn, ten measures of oil, and added an hundred denarii, by way of interest, to the three hundred he had promised them before he set out for *Africa*. After this, he entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables with six thousand murenas, and an incredible profusion of other dainties and rich wines, which most of them had never tasted before; and, that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, with representations of sea and land fights, in which were three or four thousand combatants on a side, and with all sorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (U). These entertainments lasted several days, and drew such

ing caused the statues of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato*, to be carried before him, among those of the foreign kings and princes whom he had subdued. They could not behold *Cato* tearing his bowels, as the statue represented him, without expressing their concern, with loud sighs and tears, for the death of so great a man.

(U) The two famous *mimics*, or, as they were then called, *pantomimes*, *Laberius* and *Publius*, acted on this occasion. *Laberius* was, by birth, a Roman knight; but nevertheless acted on the stage mimic pieces of his own composing. *Cæsar* rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he presented the people, giving him, when they were

over, five hundred sesterces, and a golden ring, which was restoring him to the equestrian dignity he had forfeited, by performing on the stage. *Macrobius* has given us part of a prologue of this author (6), which may serve for a taste of his wit and style. *Horace*, indeed, taxes his compositions with want of elegance (7). But *Scaliger* thinks the censure very unjust, and the verses cited by *Macrobius* more elegant than those in which *Horace* finds fault with them (8). When *Laberius* was going, after he had received the golden ring of *Cæsar*, to resume his place among the knights, *Cicero* told him, as he passed by the *orchestra*, where the senators sat, that he would, with all his heart, make

(6) *Macrobi. Satur. l. ii. c. 7.*

(8) *Scaliger de re poet. l. i. c. 10.*

(7) *Horat. satir. l. i. satir. 10. v. 5, 6.*



such multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the croud, among the rest two senators<sup>n</sup>.

CÆSAR, having by his largesses, entertainments, and shews, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good rule in *Reforms* the city. In order to this, he published many wholesome laws. *the go-* In the first place, as many of the inhabitants had lost their lives *vernment.* in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country, he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families; recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries; and invited to *Rome*, from all parts of the world, such persons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them, for their encouragement, all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. At the same time, he published a *Some of his* law, forbidding all citizens above twenty years of age, and *laws.* under forty, to absent themselves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatever (W). By other laws,

<sup>n</sup> DIO, lib. xlii. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. SUET. in Cæs. VEL. PATERCUL. lib. ii. c. 56.

room for him there, but that he was already squeezed up himself: this he said, in allusion to the many senators *Cæsar* had lately created. No wonder, replied *Laberius*, that you, who commonly make use of two seats at once, fancy yourself squeezed up, when you sit like other people. This was a severe reflection on the inconstancy and double-dealing of the orator (9).

*Publius* was a *Syrian* by birth, but received his education at *Rome*, in the condition of a slave. Having, by several specimens of wit, obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of *Italy*. At last, being brought to *Rome* to bear a part in *Cæsar*'s plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and

carried the prize from every one of them, even from *Laberius* himself (1). A collection of sentences taken out of his works is still extant, which *Joseph Scaliger* highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to translate them into *Greek*.

(W) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people, who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were now reduced to an hundred and fifty thousand: so great a waste, says he, had the civil war made in *Rome* alone; not to mention what the other parts of *Italy*, and the provinces, had suffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious mistakes in this passage, as the learned *Rualdus* observes. The first is, where it is said, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people: *Suetonius* does not mention

(9) *Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 7.*

(1) *Idem ibid.*



Sumptuary  
Laws.

laws, he restrained the profuse way of living, which at that time prevailed in *Rome* and all over *Italy*; he confined the use of litters, of embroidered robes and jewels to persons only of the first rank, or of overgrown estates; he limited the expence of feasts by many sumptuary laws, which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour, his officers often breaking into the houses of the rich citizens, and snatching from off their tables such meats as had been served up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets swarmed with informers, so that nothing could be brought thither, or sold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to punish with heavy fines such as he found guilty of the least breach of the laws he had enacted for the restraining of luxury.

Reserves  
to himself

As for the management of the public money, he reserved that intirely to himself; but committed the administration of

it, and *Augustus* himself, in his *Marmora Ancyriana*, says, that in his sixth consulate, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that, before the civil wars broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the number of the people in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand citizens were reduced by that war, to an hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that, a little while after, *Cæsar* made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left no more than seventy thousand souls in *Rome*? But, what is still stronger, eighteen years after, *Augustus* took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three

thousand, *censere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & sexaginta tria millia*, says *Suetonius*. Such an increase, in so short a time, must be prodigious, if not impossible. *Ru-aldus* has not only discovered these mistakes, but the source of them; he makes it appear, that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough understanding of the *Latin* tongue, has been misled by the following passage in *Suetonius*, who says of *Cæsar*, *Recensum populi nec more, nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (2). *Suetonius* speaks there of the review taken by *Cæsar* of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to an hundred and twenty thousand. *Plutarch* mistook *recensum* for *censum*, the muster taken by the censors; and this error led him into the other mistakes.

(2) *Sueton. in Jul. c. 41.*



justice to the senators and knights, choosing from among them *the ma-* such persons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As *nagement* his long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of *of the pub-* usurping an absolute power, to prevent others from treading in *lic money.* his footsteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor should be continued in his government above a year, and no consular above two. All the magistrates in *Rome*, as well as in the pro- *Disposes of* vinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he suffered *all employ-* to assemble in the comitium, to maintain at least some appear- *ments.* ance of a republican state, not daring to choose any but such as he proposed or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæstors, and even the consuls, were all persons who had served under him, and were inviolably attached to his interest. The government of the countries subject to the republic was committed to such only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus *Sicily* was allotted to *A. Allienus*, *Cisalpine Gaul* to *M. Junius Brutus*, *Transalpine Gaul* to another *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, *Achaia* to *Servius Sulpitius*, *Numidia* to *Crispus Sallustius*, *Illyricum* to *P. Vatinius*, *Syria* to *Q. Cornificius*, and *Spain* to *Q. Cassius Longinus*; so that the absolute authority of *Cæsar* seemed to be equally established in the capital, and in the most distant provinces.

IN *Syria*, indeed, his power was disputed by one *Cæcilius Cæcilius Bassus*, who created great disorders in that province. He was a *Bassus* Roman knight, and had fought on *Pompey's* side in the battle of *Pharsalia*. After that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there pre- *turbances* tending to be a merchant, underhand engaged in his party many *in Syria* who had been favourers of *Pompey*, and even some of the *Roman* soldiers, who were sent thither to garison the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæsar*, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he hastened northward against *Pharnaces*, he was summoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. *Bassus*, without betraying the least fear, told the governor, that he was raising volunteers, and making other preparations, with no other design but to assist *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* in the reduction of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been given him by *Cæsar*. *Sextus* believing him, he was dismissed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a considerable number of conspirators, he seized on the city of *Tyre*, giving out, that *Cæsar* was killed in *Africa*, and that thereupon he was appointed by the senate president of *Syria*. By this imposture he increased his forces, so as to be able to take the field, and engage *Cæsar*; but he was intirely defeated, and forced to take shelter in *Tyre*.

THERE he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then, by his emissaries,

stirred



Sextus stirred up the troops, under the command of *Cæsar*, who was *Cæsar*, given to all manner of lewdness, to rebel against their leader, and murder him. Upon his death, the troops he commanded Syria, joined *Bassus*, except a small body that retired into *Cilicia*. *Bassus*, seeing himself again at the head of a considerable army, murdered by his own men. marched straight to *Apamea*, and seizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his residence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But *Antistius Verus*, putting himself at the head of those who had retreated into *Cilicia*, and drawing to him several others of the *Cæsarean* party in that country, marched back with them into *Syria*. There he was joined by the sons of *Antipater*, with auxiliaries from *Judæa*, and by several of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to shew their attachment to the dictator, and by that means gain his favour. Thus *Antistius* was enabled to make head against *Bassus*, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to *Apamea*, where he was closely besieged by *Antistius*; but, as he was a brave soldier, and experienced commander, his adversary, having spent the whole summer before the place, without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced, towards the end of the campaign, to raise the siege, and forbear all hostilities, till he received new supplies, both of men and provisions<sup>o</sup>.

The various successes of *Bassus*.

He is besieged in *Apamea*.

The siege raised.

*CÆSAR*, being informed of what passed in *Syria*, immediately dispatched *Statius Murcus*, whom *Josephus*, through mistake, names *Marcus*, to succeed *Sextus* in the government of *Syria*, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. These, with the troops which *Antistius* commanded, formed a very considerable army; so that *Bassus* was again obliged to shut himself up in *Apamea*, the siege of which place was renewed by the united forces of *Murcus* and *Antistius*. During the siege, both sides solicited the assistance of the neighbouring princes and states. *Alcaudonius*, an *Arabian* king, being on this occasion sent to both by *Bassus* and *Murcus*, came with all his forces; and, placing himself between *Apamea*, and the camp of the *Cæsareans*, that covered the siege, offered his assistance, by way of auction, to that side which would give most for it; and *Bassus* having bid highest, he immediately joined him. At the same time, *Pacorus* came to his assistance, at the head of a numerous body of *Parthians*; which two reinforcements added such strength to the besieged, that the *Cæsareans* were again forced to raise the siege, and leave *Bassus*

<sup>o</sup> DIO, l. xlvii. LIBO apud APPIAN. de bell. civil. lib. iii. Epit. LIV. lib. cxiv. JOSEPH. antiq. lib. xiv. c. 17. & de bell. Judaico, lib. i. c. 8.



master of the field<sup>p</sup>. Hereupon the dictator sent orders to *Q. Martius Crispus*, governor of *Bithynia*, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the assistance of *Murcus Bassus*, at his approach, retired to *Apamea*, where he was closely besieged the third time; but held out till the death of *Cæsar*, when he was relieved by *Cassius*, who seized on the province of *Syria*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

WHILE the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the *Cæsar* re-  
east, the dictator himself, to shew that nothing escaped his care, *forms the*  
undertook at *Rome* the reformation of the *Roman* calendar, *calendar.*  
which it belonged to him to rectify, as pontifex maximus, an  
office he had borne long before he was either consul or dictator.  
This reformation was at this time much wanted; for, by reason  
of the faults of the former calendar, the festivals of the *Romans*,  
and their solemn days, were removed by degrees, and put out  
of their due time, till at last they came to fall in with seasons  
quite opposite to those of their primitive institution. The year  
which the *Romans* made use of till this time, consisted of twelve  
lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short  
of a solar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus, with  
the college of the pontifices, to add such intercalations as should  
make all even. This they usually did, by casting in an interca-  
lary month every two years, which alternatively consisted of  
twenty-two and twenty-three days. This short month is called,  
by *Plutarch* in one place, *Mercedinus*<sup>q</sup>, and, in another, *Mer-*  
*cedonius*<sup>r</sup>. The place it was allotted, in the *Roman* calendar,  
was between the 23d and 24th of *February*. But the care of  
this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in, or left  
out, the intercalary month, according as they had a mind to pro-  
long or shorten the time of the annual magistrates then in office;  
by which means great disorders crept into the political, as well  
as the astronomical year; to prevent which, *Cæsar* undertook  
that reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever  
since, and happily completed it (X).

YET

<sup>p</sup> DIO, lib. xlvii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN.  
<sup>q</sup> ibid. lib. iii. & iv. CIC. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 9. <sup>r</sup> PLUT. in  
Numa. <sup>r</sup> Idem in Cæs.

(X) This did he by the follow-  
ing methods: 1<sup>st</sup>, He abolished  
the lunar year, consisting of  
twelve lunar months, or three  
hundred and fifty-five days, by  
which the *Romans* had hitherto  
computed their time; and intro-  
duced the use of the solar year,  
consisting of the time in which  
the sun goes through the *Zodiac*,  
and comes about again to the  
same point, whence his course  
began. 2<sup>dly</sup>, Having, accord-  
ing to the best observations of  
those times, concluded this revo-  
lution to be made in three hun-  
dred



Censured  
by some on  
that ac-  
count.

YET so commendable and useful a work gave offence to some, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occasion from thence to say, that after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewise in heaven. It is no strange thing, to hear ignorant people talk at that rate; but that *Cicero*, who had long before translated *Aratus*, and, consequently, ought to have been better acquainted than any with the disorders of the former calculation, could be

dred and sixty-five days and six hours, of these he made his solar year to consist. 3<sup>dly</sup>, These three hundred and sixty-five days he distributed into twelve artificial, instead of lunar months before in use, some of them consisting of thirty-one days, some of thirty, and one, that is, *February*, of twenty-eight. 4<sup>thly</sup>, The six hours over and above in four years making a day, he made every fifth year to consist of three hundred and sixty-six days, and this is what we call the *leap-year*. 5<sup>thly</sup>, This day he added between the 23<sup>d</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> day of *February*, in the same place in the *Roman* calendar, where formerly the intercalary month *Mercedinus* had been inserted. As this addition was made, by putting the latter of those days, which was called *sextus calendas*, twice in the calendar, the year was thence called by the *Latins*, *annus bissextilis*, the *bissextile* year. But we, instead of putting the 24<sup>th</sup> day of *February* twice in the *bissextile* or *leap-year*, number on the days, so as to make the month consist of twenty-nine. 6<sup>thly</sup>, *Cæsar* began this year on the *calends* or first day of *January*, because on that day the annual magistrates of *Rome* entered on their offices. 7<sup>thly</sup>, The first of *January* he then fixed to the winter solstice; but it has now over-run that time

several days, by reason that the *Julian* solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year. 8<sup>thly</sup>, To bring this reformation into practice, besides the month *Mercedinus*, which was inserted in *February*, as usual, *Cæsar* added to this present year two months more, which he put in between the months of *November* and *December*; so that this year thereby consisted of four hundred and forty-five days, to wit, three hundred and fifty-five days for the common *Roman* year, twenty-three for the month *Mercedinus*, and sixty-seven for the other months, added between *November* and *December*; so that this year, which was the longest the *Romans* had ever had, putting their affairs out of their usual order, was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this point, *Cæsar* made use of the assistance of *Sofigenes*, an astronomer of *Alexandria*, for the astronomical calculations, and of *Flavius* a scribe, for the forming and digesting of them into a calendar, according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their *calends*, *ides*, and *nones*, and fixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days on which they were to be observed. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the old confusion, not well understanding the new computation,



be guilty of such a weakness, is surprising. Yet the orator made the reformation of the calendar the subject of several severe jests (Y).

WHILE *Cæsar* was thus employed at *Rome* in works of peace, the two sons of *Pompey*, having assembled beyond the *Pyrenees*, such of their father's party as had escaped from the *Pompey* battles of *Pharsalia* and *Thapsus*, made themselves masters of a great part of *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, who had formerly served under their father, flocked to them from all parts; insomuch, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very numerous army, composed partly of *Romans*, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewise experienced officers, and among the rest *Labienus*, who had learnt the art of war under *Cæsar* himself, and had, on many occasions, given signal proofs both of his courage, and the wisdom of his conduct. *Cæsar* had, indeed, after the conquest of *Africa*, dispatched first *Caius Didius* into *Spain*, to oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country, and after him, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pædus*, two of his lieutenants, with such a body of troops as he thought sufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in awe. But the republican party being favoured by the natives, had gained the ascendant over them, made themselves masters of several cities, and obliged the *Cæsareans* to shut themselves up in their strongholds. The dictator's presence was therefore necessary; and accordingly he resolved to go in person, and put a stop to their further progress.

computation, instead of interposing the leap-day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which disorder was continued for thirty-six years following; by which means, twelve years having been made leap-years instead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon *Augustus*, who succeeded *Julius Cæsar*, to bring matters into the right course again, ordered, that, for the twelve years next ensuing, no leap-year should be made; whereby the three supernumerary days, which had been erroneously cast in, being again dropped,

this way of computing has been observed ever since without any alteration, except that made by *Gregory XIII.* which we have mentioned above.

(Y). As one chanced to say in his company, that the next morning the *Lyra* would rise, *Yes*, replied *Cicero*, by *Cæsar's* order, insinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to subject even the celestial bodies to his power. But *Cæsar*, who knew better than *Cicero*, what advantages would accrue to posterity from so useful an undertaking, and what glory to himself, thought it beneath him to take any notice of such low jests (3).

(3) *Plut. in Cic. & Cæsare.*



Cæsar  
chosen con-  
sul the  
fourth  
time.

BUT before he left *Rome*, he assembled the comitia, and having caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator, he appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whom the tribes had given him for his colleague, his general of the horse. All the inferior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppose the election of such as he thought fit to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of choosing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms: *Cæsar recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs they would oblige him so far as to choose him.* This recommendation from *Cæsar* was, in reality, an order, which no one had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were intirely addicted to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence.

He sets out  
for Spain.

HAVING thus settled matters, *Cæsar* took his leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he had invited to *Rome*, and kept in his own house during her abode in that city, and setting out for *Spain* about the beginning of this year, which was the first *Julian* year, he arrived in twenty-four days in the province of *Bætica*. There he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and putting himself at their head, marched, without loss of time, towards *Corduba*, hoping to surprise *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of *Cæsar's* arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and intreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. *Cneius* had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprize, and fly to *Corduba*.

Invests the  
city of A-  
tegua,

*CÆSAR* having, upon his arrival, attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither *Cneius* followed him, and encamped on some hills, at a small distance from *Cæsar's* intrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him to raise the siege. But the dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties he had to struggle with, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but, being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, the garison, which consisted mostly of *Romans*, re-  
solved



solved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt, by a general sally, to force the enemy's lines, and retire to *Cneius's* camp, which was in sight of the city. The cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garison, after having attempted in vain to make their way through *Cæsar's* camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter.

At length *L. Minutius Flaccus*, who commanded in the city, and had distinguished himself, during the siege, in a most eminent manner, surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and makes and put *Cæsar* in possession of the few magazines which the *mimself* flames had spared. From *Ategua*, *Cæsar* marched to *Bursa*-master of *volis*, which he surprised, and put great numbers of the in-it, and o-habitants to the sword, for having cruelly massacred such of *ther places*, their countrymen as had advised them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, *Cæsar* marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Ucubis*, now *Lucubi*, according to *Mariana*, in the kingdom of *Grenade*. *Cæsar* posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp, which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which *Cæsar's* cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great slaughter. *Pompey* was so elated with this advantage, that he resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action. He even wrote to his *Pompey* friends, that *Cæsar* had with him only raw and unexperienced *encamps in* soldiers: that he apprehended he would never venture an en-*the plain* gagement, so long as he could avoid it, but that he would find *of Munda*, means to force him to it. In order to this, he marched towards the city of *Hispalis*, now *Seville*, and from thence advanced into the plains of *Munda* (Z), and encamped there.

*CÆSAR* was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, *Cæsar fol-* than he decamped, and after two days easy march, appeared *lowes him* with his army in the same plain where *Pompey* was encamped. *thither*. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising ground, whereof one side was defended by the city of *Munda*, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front. *Cæsar* likewise drew up his troops with great art, and having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his

(Z) The city of *Munda* is or rather a rivulet. It was in placed, by the antient geogra- former times a place of great phers, in the province of *Bætica*, note, but is at present, as *Ma-* about twenty miles from *Ma-* *riana* informs us, a sorry village, *laga*, in an agreeable and fruitful known by its antient name. plain, watered by a small river,



troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post, and come to meet him. But, as they did not stir, *Cæsar* made as if he intended to fortify himself in that post, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works. *Pompey's* army was by far the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six thousand horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour and bravery. *Cæsar* had eighty cohorts, three legions, to wit, the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse. As the enemy drew near, *Cæsar* betrayed a great deal of uneasiness and concern, as if he were doubtful of the success, knowing he was to engage men no-way inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occasions given signal proofs of their bravery and conduct. *Cneius*, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and *Labienus* esteemed scarce inferior to *Cæsar* himself.

The battle  
of Munda.

Year of  
the flood  
2308.

Bef. Chr.

40.

Of Rome

708.

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Cæsar in
great dis-
tress.

HOWEVER, the dictator, desirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death, or that of his rivals, gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution. At the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides betook themselves to flight, leaving the *Romans* to decide their quarrel by themselves. Then the legionaries engaged, with a fury hardly to be expressed; *Cæsar's* men being encouraged, by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and those of *Pompey* exerting themselves out of necessity and despair, since most of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned, when defeated under *Afranius* and *Petreibus*. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. *Cæsar's* men, who had been always used to conquer, found themselves so vigorously charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifest, that shame alone kept them in their posts. All authors agree, that *Cæsar* had never been in so great danger; and he himself, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himself abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had some thoughts of stabbing himself with his own sword, and, by a voluntary death, preventing the disgrace of a defeat. But returning soon to himself, and concluding it would be more to his reputation, to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than in a fit of despair, by his own, he dismounted from his horse, and snatching a buckler from

from one of his legionaries, he threw himself, like a man in despair, into the midst of the enemy; crying out to his men, *Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?* At these words, the soldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in spite of their utmost efforts, *Pompey's* men still kept their ground, and though greatly fatigued, returned to the charge with equal vigour. Then the *Cæsareans* began to despair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his disheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, without any considerable advantage on either side.

At length a mere accident decided the dispute in favour of the dictator. *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, of whom we have spoken above, had joined *Cæsar*, soon after his arrival in *Spain*, with some squadrons of *Numidian* horse; but, in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the shouting of the soldiers, intermingled with groans, and the clashing of their arms, he had abandoned his post, and retired, with the auxiliaries under his command, to a rising ground, at a small distance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle spectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But towards the evening, partly out of shame, and partly out of compassion for his friend *Cæsar*, he resolved to fall upon *Pompey's* camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. *Labienus*, apprised of his design, hastened after him, to the defence of the camp; which *Cæsar* observing, cried to his legionaries, *Courage, fellow-soldiers! the victory at length is ours; Labienus flies.* This artifice had the desired effect: *Cæsar's* men, believing that *Labienus* was truly fled, made a last effort, and charged the wing he commanded so briskly, that after a most obstinate dispute they put them to flight.

THOUGH the enemy's left wing was thus intirely defeated, the right wing, where the elder *Pompey* commanded, still kept their ground for some time. *Pompey* dismounting from his horse, fought on foot like a private man in the first line, till most of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to save himself by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took shelter in the city of *Munda*. The camp was immediately attacked, and taken in hand; and as for the city, *Cæsar*, without loss of time, drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic, and raised *Cæsar* to the highest pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time to dispute his authority. This victory was gained on the sixteenth of the calends of

April, i. e. according to our way of counting, on the seventeenth day of *March*, when the *Dionysian* festival, or the *Liberalia*, were celebrated at *Rome* (A); the very day, as *Plutarch* observes, in which *Pompey the Great*, four years before, had set out for the war. In this action *Pompey* lost thirty thousand men; among whom were the famous *Labienus*, *Attius Varus*, and three thousand *Roman* knights. Seventeen officers of distinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and ensigns, together with *Pompey's* fasces, which he had assumed as governor of *Spain*. On *Cæsar's* side only a thousand men were killed, and five hundred wounded.

Cæsar
besieges
Munda.

THE battle being over, *Cæsar*, in the first place, completed his lines about *Munda*, using, instead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raising them up in heaps, so as to equal the height of the walls. This sight filled *Cæsar* with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the siege to *Fabius Maximus*, one of his lieutenants; and, having caused the bodies of *Attius Varus* and *Labienus* to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of *Munda*, and marched towards *Corduba*, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had disappeared after the battle. But he was disappointed; for the elder *Pompey* fled, with a hundred and fifty horse, from the field of battle towards his navy; which lay at *Carteia*, a city

The elder
Pompey
flies to his
fleet;

PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hisp.

(A) *Plutarch* tells us, that this battle was won on the *Dionysian* festival; τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων εορτῇ, says that writer; which passage, as *Madam Dacier* rightly observes, most interpreters have grossly mistaken. The old *Latin* version, says she, has it thus: *Hanc victoriam obtinuit Saturnalibus*, "This victory was gained on the festival of Saturn." The *Dionysia* and *Saturnalia* were two very different festivals. Others who have translated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by *the feast of the Bacchanals*. How could *Cæsar* gain a victory on the day of a festival, which had been abolished a hundred and forty-one years before; and suppressed throughout all *Italy* by

an order of the senate, on account of its abominations, as we are informed by *Livy* (4)? *Plutarch*, by the *Dionysia*, means that feast which is called by the *Romans* *Liberalia*, and stands in their calendar against the seventeenth of *March*. *Liberalia*, says *Festus*, *Liberi festa, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionysia*. "The *Liberalia* are the festivals of *Bacchus*, which are by the *Greeks* called *Dionysia*." As *Liber* and *Dionysus* are two names of *Bacchus*, this is what has misled those interpreters, and made them believe, tho' very absurdly, that the feast, called *Liberalia*, was the same with the *Bacchanalia*. Thus far the learned *Madam Dacier*.

(4) *Liv. l. xxxix.*

about an hundred and seventy miles distant from *Corduba*. The inhabitants opened their gates to him ; but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle of *Munda*, than they sent deputies to *Cæsar*, acquainting him, that they had secured *Pompey*. But, as a good number of the inhabitants still remained in *Pompey's* interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far, as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuary actions *Pompey* himself received several wounds ; but, having, nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and, hoisting sail, put to sea with thirty gallies. But *Didius*, who commanded *Cæsar's* fleet at *Gades*, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to sea after him, having first taken on board a considerable body of horse, as well as foot, in case there should be occasion to pursue the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their gallies, and, surprizing them while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at *Carteia*, he burnt several of them, took the rest, and, by that means, cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. *which is destroyed by Didius, Cæsar's admiral.*

POMPEY, seeing himself thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to save himself by flight cross the mountains. But, as he had been dangerously wounded at *Carteia* in his shoulder and left leg, and, besides, had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to put his ankle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, the enemy's horse, who had been put on board for that particular service, soon came up with him. Upon their approach, the unfortunate *Roman*, discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small distance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The *Cæsareans*, under the command of *Cæsennius Lento*, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault ; but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued, in their retreat, with great slaughter. Hereupon *Didius* began to besiege the castle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it ; which so terrified *Pompey's* men, that they resolved to quit the place, and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally ; but were, for the most part, cut off in their retreat. *Pompey* retired with the rest ; but not being able to keep pace with them, by reason of his wounds, he concealed himself in a cave, where he was betrayed by some of his own soldiers, and delivered up to the *Cæsareans*, who immediately put him to death. Thus perished the elder *Pompey*, after having exerted

The fate
of the
younger
Pompey.

erted his utmost efforts to revenge the death of his father, and save his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but, nevertheless, in this first essay, as we may call it, performed such wonders, as forced *Cæsar* to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, some writers tell us, that he was not present at the battle of *Munda*, but remained in *Corduba*, to defend that important place in case of any misfortune; others say, that he retired to *Corduba* after the action. However that be, he was no sooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and, giving out, that he was going to meet *Cæsar*, and treat with him about an accommodation, he left the city, fled in disguise to *Celtiberia*, and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himself so well, that *Cæsar* could never discover him^t.

Cæsar

marches to
Corduba.

BUT to return to *Cæsar*: the battle being over, and the lines about *Munda* completed, he marched to *Corduba*, which was defended by a body of troops that had escaped the slaughter, under the command of one *Scapula*, a zealous republican. Upon *Cæsar*'s approach, *Scapula* armed all the slaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city; and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undisciplined multitude, and possessed himself of a bridge. As *Cæsar*'s army drew near, the rabble insulted them, asking them whither they designed to fly; as if they had been the army defeated. But *Cæsar*, not thinking it advisable to force that post, despised their bravadoes, and, taking a long compass, passed the river without opposition, and appeared before *Corduba*. Hereupon *Scapula*, giving all up for lost, retired into the city, and, calling together his friends, gave them a sumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his best apparel, distributed what money he had among his attendants, and then ascending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to dispatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which soon reduced the body to ashes.

Scapula,
governor
of the
place, or-
ders one of
his own
men to dis-
patch him.

UPON *Scapula*'s death, the city was divided into two factions: some were for surrendering, others were for standing a siege; but, the former prevailing, deputies were sent to *Cæsar*, who got possession of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always attached to *Pompey*, began to set fire to the houses, choosing rather to perish with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occasioned a bloody battle between them and the *Cæsareans*,

^t Auſt. bell Hispan. APPIAN, bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. SÜET. in Julio. DIO, l. xlv.

in which most of the legionaries, with about twelve thousand Cæsar of the inhabitants, were killed upon the spot. Cæsar, having ^{makes a} thus made himself master of *Corduba*, at that time the capital ^{great} of *Bætica*, marched from thence to *Hispalis*, now *Seville*. On ^{slaughter} his march he was met by *Cæfennius*, who gave him an account ^{of the ene-} of the tragical end of the elder *Pompey*, and, at the same time, ^{my, and} presented to him the young *Roman's* head; which, some ^{possesses} writers say ^u, he exposed to public view, while others tell us, ^{himself of} that he caused it to be honourably interred ^w. ^{the place.}

As he drew near *Hispalis*, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the divisions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to send with them a detachment, and an experienced commander, to keep the adverse party in awe. Cæsar readily complied with their request, and sent them *Caninius Rebilus*, with some *manipuli*, who entered the *Hispalis* town without opposition. But, in the mean time, *Pompey's* ^{receives a} friends privately dispatched one *Philo*, a zealous assertor of Cæsarean their party, into *Lusitania*, where he was well known, to beggar ^{ison}; assistance of *Cæcilius Niger*, who still supported *Pompey's* interest there, at the head of a considerable number of the natives. *Philo* soon returned with a numerous body of *Lusitanians*, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the *Cæsareans*, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon ^{which is} Cæsar immediately invested the town; but, in drawing the ^{cut off to} lines of circumvallation, left several open places for the *Lusi-* ^{a man by} *tanians* to make their escape, lest despair should prompt them ^{Philo.} to set fire to the houses, and demolish the walls. At the same time he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from that city, ordering them to conceal themselves till the *Lusitanians* appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obstinacy and resolution; but at length made a sally, and got safe beyond Cæsar's lines through the passages that had been left open for that purpose. But, while they thought themselves out of danger, they were all on a sudden attacked by the *Cæsarean* cavalry, and put to the sword, not one of them escaping the general slaughter. Cæsar, having thus recovered *Hispalis*, Cæsar ^{re-} marched towards *Asta* (B), the inhabitants of which city sent ^{covers} *His-* ^{palis.}

^u Auct. bell. Hispan. c. 6. ^w APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii.

(B) *Asta*, which *Pliny* honours with the title of *Regia*, was about sixteen miles distance from *Gades*, according to *Antoninus's* itinerary, and situated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by *Pomponius Mela*, and also by *Ptolemy*. *Mar-* *tin de Roa* is of opinion, that it stood where the present city of *Xeres della Frontera* stands; but others pretend to discover its ruins between *Xeres* and *Tribuxena*.

embassadors

embassadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town.

THESE he received the melancholy news of the death of *Didius* his admiral, who had distinguished himself, on all occasions, in a very eminent manner. After he had destroyed *Pompey's* fleet, as we have related above, he caused his vessels to be hauled on shore to be refitted; and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring castle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of *Lusitanians*, who had escaped from the battle of *Munda*. The *Roman* admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the *Lusitanians* having set fire to his ships, he made a sally, and marched in good order to the sea-side, hoping to repulse the enemy, and preserve his navy. While his men were busy in extinguishing the flames, a body of *Lusitanians*, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, starting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the castle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. *Didius*, thus invested on all sides, behaved with signal bravery; but was, in spite of his utmost efforts, overpowered, and, with most of his men, cut in pieces. *Cæsar's* concern for the loss of so brave an officer was in great measure allayed by the agreeable news he received at the same time of the surrender of *Munda*, after a long and close siege. When the besieged saw themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, they deserted in great numbers to *Cæsar*, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But, before they came over, it was agreed between them, and their friends in the city, that, upon a certain signal, the latter should make a vigorous sally, while the deserters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very seasonably discovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were, by *Fabius's* orders, decimated, and all the officers executed without distinction.

SOON after the besieged made a sally, with a design to force their way through the enemy's works; but most of them having lost their lives in the attempt, *Fabius* at length carried the place by assault. From *Munda* he marched strait to *Urson*, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid siege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had, for some time, defended the place with incredible bravery. And now *Cæsar*, having reduced all the places which had declared for *Pompey*, and exacted immense contributions from the *Spaniards*, under pretence of punishing their rebellion, retired to *Hispania*; whence, to give new marks of his esteem for *Cicero*, he wrote a consolatory letter to him on occasion of the death of his beloved daughter *Tullia*, who died at *Rome* in childbed,

childbed, while her husband *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was attending *Cæsar* in *Spain*. This letter, as appears from *Cicero's* works, was written the day before the calends of *May*; and, a few days after, *Cæsar* left *Hispalis*, and marched, with the best part of his army, to *New Carthage*; where he was met by deputies from most cities of *Spain*, with whom he settled the affairs of the two *Spanish* provinces; and then embarked for *Rome*, having finished, in seven months, an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years^x.

CÆSAR reached *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, and *Cæsar* re-entered the city in triumph, which displeased the *Romans* turns to more than any thing he had yet done. They could not brook Rome. his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his re-^{His tri-umpb of-}joicing for an advantage, which he ought rather to have de-^{fends the}plored, and for which no better apology could be made, than *Romans*. that he was absolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look still more distasteful, was, that he had never before acquainted the senate, by any letter or express, of the victories he had obtained during the course of the civil wars; but seemed rather to be ashamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might arise to him from it. *Cæsar*, not contented with having triumphed himself, bestowed the same honour on two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*; but with this difference, that the representations of the cities, rivers, &c. carried before *Cæsar*, were of ivory; whereas those that were made use of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of common wood; which made a humorous *Greek*, by name *Chrysippus*, say, by way of raillery, that the statues carried before *Fabius* and *Pedius* were only the cases of those which *Cæsar* had displayed in his triumph^y.

HOWEVER, the *Romans*, taking the same side with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and those greater than any they had yet bestowed. *Cicero*, indeed, proposed in the senate, the conferring such honours on him as were, in some measure, within the bounds of modesty; but others, striving who should deserve most, carried them so high, that they made *Cæsar* odious, even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of men. They made him dictator for life; Created subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to dictator his power; decreed, that he alone should levy troops, com-^{for life}; mand armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money; and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by oath to observe whatever decrees he should think

^x *Auct. bell. Hispan. DIO, VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xiii. epist. 20.* ^y *DIO, l. xliii. APPIAN. ibid. QUINTILIAN. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in Cæs.*

and impe- fit to enact. Among other titles, that of *imperator* was given
rator, or him; not in that sense in which it had been formerly bestowed
emperor. on generals after some signal victory, but as it imported the
greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From
him was derived the name of *imperator* or *emperor*, and like-
wise that of *Cæsar*, to his successors; and this was the begin-
ing of the imperial state of *Rome*, tho' it was not settled till
some years after. His enemies are thought to have had some
share in the extraordinary honours conferred on him, as well
as his flatterers, since they took from thence an opportunity
of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of
such as were friends to the antient form of government. On
the other hand, *Cæsar* made it his whole study to gain the
affections even of his most inveterate enemies. He not only
His cle- mency, and pardoned all those who had borne arms against him, but on
obliging several of them bestowed honours and offices; insomuch that
behaviour both the senate and people, to testify their gratitude to him
for the mild use he made of his power, decreed a temple to
Clemency.

He courts As the people still retained an affection for *Pompey*, he or-
the affe- dered all the statues of that great man, which had been thrown
ctions of down, to be set up again; upon which *Cicero* said, that by
the people; raising *Pompey's* statues he had fixed his own. To gain the
confidence of the senate, and the republican party, contrary to
the advice of his best friends, he dismissed his guards, saying,
it was better to suffer death once, than to live always in fear
of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his best
and surest guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige
them, entertaining them frequently with public feasts and
shews, and distributing corn among the poorer sort of people.
To gratify his army, he sent out colonies to several places,
of which the most remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* (C).

and of the As for the nobility, he attached most of them to his interest
nobility. by raising them to the chief offices in the state, and trusting
them with the government of the many provinces that were
then subject to *Rome*. In short, he ingratiated himself with
all orders of men by his gentle deportment, and winning be-
haviour, so as to work in them a chearful and willing submis-
sion. Tho' he had been invested with the consular dignity for
ten years, yet he named others to that eminent post in the re-
public, appointing Q. *Fabius Maximus* and C. *Trebonius* con-
suls for the remaining part of that year (D).

(C) It may be said there was
something singular in the fate of
these two cities; for, as they had
been both destroyed at the same
time, so were they now at the

same time rebuilt and repeopled.

(D) He carried his pretend-
ed observance of the antient cus-
toms and laws so far, that the
consul *Fabius Maximus* happen-
ing

As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increased ^{Increases} the prætors to sixteen, and the quæstors to forty; he created ^{the number} six new ædiles, and increased the number of the other curule ^{of the ma-} magistrates in proportion. But, as there still remained many ^{gistrates} unrewarded, who had served him with great fidelity, he al- ^{and sena-} lotted them places in the senate, by which means the number ^{tors.} of the senators rose from three hundred to nine hundred. This gave great offence to the conscript fathers; the more, because among those, whom the dictator raised to that high station, were many common soldiers, sons of freedmen, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenship, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, &c. *Cæsar*, having thus debased the senate, began to look upon them with contempt, and consider them no otherwise than his vassals and creatures. Of this he gave, not long after, a signal instance. The senate, having passed a decree, conferring on him some extravagant honours, went in a body to present him with it, as he was sitting on the rostra administering justice. Tho' the consuls, prætors, and all the curule ^{He offends} magistrates then in *Rome*, attended the senate; yet the dictator ^{the senate.} received them with all the pride and haughtiness of a sovereign, without so much as condescending to rise to them. We are told by *Plutarch*, that he offered to stand up to the senate; but that *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: *Remember*, said he, *you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay you that respect which is due to your dignity.* However that be, his carriage offended not only the conscript fathers, but the people too; the latter thinking the affront on the senate equally reflected on the whole republic. *Cæsar*, sensible of the false step he had taken, immediately retired home, and caused a report to be spread abroad by his emissaries, that his sitting had been caused by the distemper to which he was subject, to wit, the falling-sickness; which, he said, discomposed the senses of those who were affected with it, if they talked much standing ^{z.}

^z PLUT. in Cæs.

ing to die on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilus* to be consul for the remaining hours only, i. e. till six in the evening, when the calends of *January* began. As the *Romans* were all hastening to pay their compliments, as was usual, to the new consul, *Let us make haste*, said *Cicero*, by way of raillery, *lest he be gone out of his office before we get to his house.*

There was no end of *Cicero's* witticisms on that occasion: *We have had a very vigilant consul*, said he; *for he has not shut his eyes during the whole time of his consulate.* *Caninius was a consul of such strictness and severity, that not one among us dined, supped, or slept, during his consulship.* *Caninius has indeed been consul; but we may well ask, under what consul he has been consul, &c.*

Not

Marc Antony offers him a crown.

His statues crowned.

He displaces two tribunes, and disoblige the people.

NOT long after, he gave a fresh occasion of resentment, by affronting the tribunes. While *Cæsar* was one day sitting in a golden chair upon the rostra, to view the ceremony of the *Lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was then *Cæsar*'s colleague in the consulship, after having run up and down the city naked, as was usual during that solemnity (E), came into the forum; and, falling down before *Cæsar*, presented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a small shout was raised by some, who had been placed near the dictator for that purpose; but, when *Cæsar* refused it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. *Antony* offered the crown again, and, upon *Cæsar*'s second refusal, all who were present testified their satisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then *Cæsar*, finding it would not take, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, saying, that *Jupiter* alone was king of the *Romans*. The next morning *Cæsar*'s statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people, went presently, and not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended, and committed to prison, who the day before had applauded *Antony*, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on *Cæsar*'s head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous *Brutus*, the founder of the republic. This *Cæsar* highly resented, displaced the two tribunes, and, while he inveighed against them in a public speech, he abused and ridiculed, on that occasion, the people, calling them *bruti* and *Cumæi*, i. e. *beasts* and *fools* (F).

A

(E) The *Lupercalia* were, as we have observed elsewhere, at their first institution, peculiar to the shepherds, and of the same nature with the *Arcadian Lycea*. The young patricians, and some of the magistrates, used to run that day up and down the city naked, striking all they met with leathern thongs by way of sport. Women of the first rank placed themselves in the way, and held out their hands to the lash, from an opinion, that it procured an easy labour to those who were with child, and made those conceive who were barren.

(F) The *Cumæi*, as Madam

Dacier observes, were noted for their stupidity. Κόπτεται δ' ἐς ἀναίδουσιαν ἢ Κόμῳ, *Cumæ* is stupid to a proverb, says *Strabo* (5); and he gives us these reasons for it. The first, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours, and before they found that they inhabited a maritim city. The second, that, having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain sum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them: but, when the

(5) *Strabo*, l. xii.

A FEW days after, as he was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, some of his friends saluted him, as he was entering the city, with the title of king; but he, finding the people disrelished it, seemed to resent it himself, and answered aloud, *My title is Cæsar, not king*. This affectation of being king gave the common people the first occasion to quarrel with him, and proved a specious pretence for those who had been his secret enemies all along, to conspire against him. The zealous republicans, detesting his ambition, began to form private cabals, and consult among themselves about the proper measures for delivering *Rome* from the yoke she groaned under. The chief of the conspirators was *C. Cassius*, a sincere friend to his country, and, at the same time, an enemy to *Cæsar* on a private account, the dictator having, a few months before, bestowed the first and most honourable prætorship on *Brutus*, tho' he could not help owning, that *Cassius* had the best claim to it. *Cassius*, therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a spirit of revenge, formed first with himself the plan of the conspiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be secret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny.

As *Brutus* was highly esteemed, both by the people and senate, *Cassius* looked upon him as the most proper person for carrying on the conspiracy. He was thought to be descended, by his father's side, from the famous *Junius Brutus*, who drove out the *Tarquins* (G), and, by his mother's side, from *Brutus's* descent, ob-
ligations the to *Cæsar*,
&c.

rains began to fall, those creditors, being touched with compassion, caused it to be published, that the *Cumeans* might, if they pleased, take shelter under their own porticoes; which gave occasion to this raillery, *The Cumeans had not the sense to know, that they had a right to stand under their own porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier.*

(G) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Dio Cassius*, assure us, that *Marcus Brutus* was not descended from the famous *Junius Brutus*. The *Junian* family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in *Brutus* himself, after he had

sacrificed his two sons to the safety of his country. The other flourished many ages after, and furnished *Rome* with many heroes; among the rest with *Marcus Brutus*, of whom we are speaking in this place. As he bore the same name with the first consul, and was of the same family, the common people believed him to be descended from the first *Brutus*. *Plutarch* himself, upon the authority of *Posidonius* the philosopher, was of the same opinion; and will have *Brutus* to be sprung from a third son of *Junius Brutus*, who was but a child when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debase *Brutus*, who acted

the *Servilii*, one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*; but what, in *Plutarch's* opinion, was more than all the rest, he was both nephew and son-in-law to *Cato of Utica*. He was a most zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at *Cæsar's* hands restrained him from using violent measures. He had not only been pardoned himself, and obtained the same grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, but was one in whom *Cæsar* had a particular confidence. He had, at that time, the most honourable prætorship, was named for the consulship four years after; and designed, in all appearance, by *Cæsar* for his successor. For, being once accused as engaged in a conspiracy against him, *Cæsar* would not hearken to the accusation, saying, that *Brutus* was not so ambitious but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death.

Cassius endeavours to draw him into the conspiracy;

CASSIUS, therefore, who had already formed the design of assassinating *Cæsar*, being on one hand desirous of drawing into the plot a man of so great credit as *Brutus*, but, on the other, not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid, in the night-time, papers about his chair, where he used to sit as prætor, and determine causes, with sentences to this import: *You are asleep, Brutus; you are no longer Brutus; and under the statue of the famous Junius Brutus he wrote the following words: Would to heaven thou wert alive, or some of thy descendents resembled thee!* *Cassius*, perceiving that these sentences made a deep impression on his mind, first employed his wife *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus*, to revive in the breast of her brother those generous sentiments which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards resolved, at all adventures, to discover to him his design, not doubting but he should be able to draw one into the plot, who, tho' he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny.

and succeeds.

Cassius's speech to Brutus.

ACCORDINGLY, as the senate was to meet a few days after, in order to deliberate, as was said, about giving *Cæsar* the title of king, *Cassius* took this occasion to pay a visit to *Brutus*, and ask him, whether he designed to be present in the senate on the calends of *March*, when *Cæsar's* friends were to propose the giving him the title of king. *Brutus* answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. *But suppose you are called thither*, replied *Cassius*. *Then*, said *Brutus*, *I should think it my duty to speak, and use my utmost endeavours, against*

acted a chief part in the conspiracy, pretend, that he was come of a mean family, which had been raised to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

such

such unwarrantable proceedings; nay, and to die rather than outlive the liberty of my country. *Ab!* replied *Cassius*, what generous Roman would suffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourself, *Brutus*, if you imagine, that those papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the most illustrious and bravest men of Rome. From other prætors they demand games, shews, gladiators, &c. but from you, whose very name is dreadful to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfall of arbitrary power, being ready to expose themselves to the utmost dangers, in expectation of your auspicious aid. These words made such a deep impression on *Brutus*, that, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Cassius's* measures, and, from that time, took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of *Brutus* soon engaged a great Many of many illustrious citizens in the conspiracy, among whom were *C. Trebonius*, *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, the two *Servilius Casca's*, *Publius Caius*, *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, *Tullius Cimber*, and *Lucius Minutius Bacilius*. These had all served under *Cæsar* from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his most trusty friends. It was more easy to draw into the conspiracy those who had always shewn an utter aversion to *Cæsar's* usurpation. Among these *M. Junius Brutus*, *L. Cassius*, brother to *C. Cassius*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *P. Turullius*, *C. Attilius*, *L. Petronius*, *C. Cornelius Cinna*, *Cassius Parmensis*, *L. and C. Cæcilius*, *Rubrius Ruga*, *M. Spurius*, *P. Sextius Naso*, *Pontius Aquila*, *Antistius Labeo*, and many others, to the number of sixty, whose names have not been transmitted to us (H). In the time *Cæsar's* enemies made it

(H) As for *Cicero*, tho' he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet, as he was naturally timorous, and greatly addicted to *Cæsar*, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, *Brutus* did not think it adviseable to trust him with the secret. The conspirators would fain have engaged the famous *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, and would have laid violent hands on himself after the defeat of *Pompey's* party in *Africa*, had he not been prevented by *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, as we have related above. *Brutus*, in order to discover his true senti-

ments, asked him, in a private conversation, which of the two evils was the greatest, To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the risk of a civil war by shaking it off. To this question *Statilius* answered, without hesitation, that he had rather patiently suffer the oppressions of an arbitrary master, than the cruelties and disorders which generally attend civil dissensions. *Brutus* likewise endeavoured to engage in the conspiracy *Favonius*, a philosopher of great reputation; and, in order to sound him, proposed the same question to him; when *Favonius* declared, that, in

and endeavour to estrange the minds of the people from him. it their whole business to stir up the common people against him, by spreading among the multitude a thousand false reports; to wit, that he designed to fix the seat of his empire in *Egypt* or *Phrygia*, and to transport thither all the riches of *Italy*, abandoning *Rome* to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. *Cæsar*, in hearing these groundless reports, began to suspect, that some plot was privately carrying on against him. His friends, believing that *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, advised him not to trust them, but to be upon his guard, and watch them narrowly. *Cæsar* answered, that he was not afraid of those plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, such as *Cassius* and *Brutus*. However, as he too-easily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were some of the conspirators, telling him, that, after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himself in his preservation, he neglected the necessary precautions for his safety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vast designs he had formed, than in guarding himself against the attempts of his domestic enemies.

Cæsar's vast designs.

He had resolved to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, after having revenged the death of *Crassus*, and the *Romans* slain with him at the battle of *Carrhæ*, to pass through *Hyrkania*; thence to march by the *Caspian* sea to mount *Caucasus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itself; whence he designed to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*; describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the sea. He had already ordered sixteen legions, and ten thousand horse, to march towards *Brundisium*, and was himself to follow them in a few days. But his friends, who were desirous to see him honoured with the title of king before he left *Rome*, gave out, that the books of the *Sibyls* declared, that the *Parthians* could never be overcome by the *Romans*, unless they fought under the conduct of a king. *Aurelius Cotta*, one of *Cæsar's* creatures, who had the sacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report out of them to the senate, and to propose, that *Cæsar* should only be stiled dictator in *Italy*; but that he should be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with respect to all foreign nations subject to the *Roman* republic.

The conspirators

THE senate was appointed to meet, for this purpose, on the ides of *March*; and that day the conspirators fixed upon

his opinion, a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Upon this, *Brutus* gave over all thoughts of gaining *Statilius* and *Favonius*.

as the most proper for putting their design in execution, since *fix on the* *Cæsar* would not fail coming to the senate on such an occasion of *ides of* *March*; and it was safer to fall upon him there, most of the senators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, *for putting* where the populace might divert the blow. All the antient *their de-* historians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their *sign in exe-* opinion, were manifest presages of *Cæsar's* tragical death (I). *cution.* The dictator himself was so alarmed with them, that, *Marc*

(I) They tell us, that men were seen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious flame seemed to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, insomuch that those who saw it thought he must be burnt; but nevertheless he received no hurt; that as *Cæsar* was sacrificing, the victim was found without an heart; that *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the *ides of March*; for that he was then threatened with some great danger. They add, that when the day was come, *Cæsar*, as he went to the senate, meeting the augur, said to him, by way of raillery, *The ides of March are come. They are come*, answered calmly the augur; *but they are not past.* The night before the plot was put in execution, he supped with *M. Lepidus*; and the discourse turning upon the kind of death which seemed best, *Cæsar*, busy as he was in signing some letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, *Of all deaths a sudden one is the best.* After supper, he retired to his own house, where both he, and his wife *Calpurnia*, passed the night in great care and uneasiness. He was scarce fallen asleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being startled at the noise, and the light, which broke all on a sudden into his room, he sat

up in his bed; when, by the moonshine, he perceived *Calpurnia* fast asleep; but heard her utter, in her dream, some inarticulate words, mixed with groans. She dreamt, at that time, that the pinnacle, which the senate had allowed to be raised on *Cæsar's* house, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and also fancied, that she was weeping over *Cæsar*, and holding him, all covered over with wounds and blood, in her arms. When it was day, she begged of *Cæsar*, that he would not stir out, but adjourn the senate to another time; and that, if he slighted her dreams, he would be pleased to consult the gods by sacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her request; sacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the priests, all the victims proved inauspicious. *Cæsar* was not a man to be easily intimidated; he had braved death on a thousand occasions, and gained many victories, among the rest, that of *Munda*, when the auspices threatened him with utter destruction. But, however, as he had never before discovered in *Calpurnia* any kind of superstition, he now began to look upon her fears and apprehensions as inspirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected.

Antony being come, according to his custom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had some thoughts of sending him with orders to the senate not to assemble that day. But, as most of his troops were already embarked, and he himself was to leave *Rome* in four days, he could not come to any fixed resolution; but remained in suspense till the senate began to assemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by *Pompey* near his theatre ^a.

WHILE *Cæsar* was thus deliberating with himself, whether he should suffer the senate to assemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, *Brutus* was busy in administering justice in the forum, he being *prætor urbanus* for the present year. We are told, that he heard those who pleaded before him, pronounced sentence, and dispatched the causes that were brought to his tribunal, with as much care, equity, and application, as if he had no other business in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his house, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his robe, with a firm resolution of plunging it into *Cæsar's* breast before he returned home, yet he did not betray, on his tribunal, the least concern, but acquitted himself of his office with his usual calmness and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned in a certain sum, refused to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to *Cæsar*; when *Brutus* casting his eyes on the conspirators, *Cæsar*, said he, *how powerful soever, shall not prevent me from seeing such sentences put in execution, as are agreeable to the laws of Rome.* However, several accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify *Brutus*, and the other conspirators, and had almost defeated their best-concerted measures. While *Brutus* was hearing causes in the forum, with his usual attention and patience, news were brought him, that his wife *Porcia* lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of *Cato*, and the only person, not concerned in the conspiracy, to whom *Brutus* had revealed it. He strove, as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness of mind to himself; but at home, and especially in the night-time, he was not the same man; but sometimes, all on a sudden, started out of his bed, and, at other times, was so taken up with unquiet thoughts, and so perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia* concluded he had some dangerous and difficult enterprize in agitation.

The courage of *Porcia*, wife to *Brutus*.

As she was addicted to the study of philosophy, fond of her husband to a great degree, and full of courage and prudence, she resolved not to inquire into *Brutus's* secrets, till she had tried whether she had courage and resolution enough to

^a PLUT. in *Cæs. & Bruto.* APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. DIO, l. xlv. Suet. in *Julio*, &c.

conceal them, even in the midst of torments. With this view she dismissed all her attendants, and, taking a knife, gave herself a deep gash in the thigh, which threw her into a violent fever. *Brutus*, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment; when she, in the height of her pain, addressed him thus: “I am, O *Brutus*, the daughter of *Cato*; and
 “ was given to you in marriage, not to partake only in the
 “ common civilities of bed and board, but to bear a share in
 “ your good, as well as your evil, fortunes. When I look
 “ upon you, I find no reason to repent the match; but,
 “ from me, what evidence of my love, what satisfaction, can
 “ you receive, if I am not allowed to share with you in
 “ bearing your hidden griefs, nor admitted to any of your
 “ counsels, that require secrecy and trust? I am well ap-
 “ prised, that women are commonly thought to be of too
 “ weak a nature to be trusted with secrets; but certainly,
 “ *Brutus*, a virtuous birth and education, and frequent con-
 “ versing with men of honour, are of some force to the form-
 “ ing of our manners, and the strengthening of our natural
 “ weakness. I am the daughter of *Cato*, and the wife of
 “ *Brutus*; in which two great titles I did not place much
 “ confidence, till I tried myself, and found, that even against
 “ grief itself, and pain, I am invincible.” Having thus spoken,
 she shewed him her wound, and related to him the trial she
 had made of her own constancy.

BRUTUS, touched with this affecting speech, could not *Brutus*
 help discovering the whole plot to her without reserve; which *discovers*
 when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and *to her the*
 begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprize, that he *conspiracy.*
 might live to be an husband worthy of such a wife as
Porcia (K). But, with all her resolution, when the day
 came, on which the design was to be put in execution, she
 was extremely disturbed with the expectation of the event;
 and, not being able to bear the greatness of her cares, she
 could scarce keep within-doors. At every little noise she
 heard, she started up, and, running into the street, asked those

(K) *Valerius Maximus* is the which *Brutus* being greatly alarm-
 only author, who supposes, that ed, *Porcia* told him, while he
Porcia was acquainted with her was expressing his concern in the
 husband's design before she wound- most tender terms, that she had
 ed herself. According to him, wounded herself, to make a trial
Brutus discovered to her the of her constancy and courage;
 whole plot the night before it being determined to lay violent
 was to be put in execution. hands on herself, in case the suc-
 Whereupon *Porcia*, the next cess of his enterprize did not an-
 morning, gave herself a danger- swer his expectation,
 ous wound with a razor; at

Constancy
and resolu-
tion of
Brutus.

Several
accidents
disturb the
conspira-
tors.

who came from the forum, what *Brutus* was doing. At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome by her fears and doubts, she fell into a swoon. Whereupon her women making a great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to *Brutus's* house, to know what was the matter; and the report was soon spread abroad, that *Parcia* was dying; tho' she recovered in a little time, and came to herself again. These news pierced *Brutus's* heart; yet he was not so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal; but, instead of going home, went to *Pampey's* porch, adjoining to the hall, where the senators were to assemble; and there waited, with the other conspirators, the coming of *Cæsar* to the senate. But, as he did not appear, though the day was far spent, being detained at home by his wife and the augurs, they were all under the greatest uneasiness, and ascribed his delay to the discovery of the plot.

THEY were confirmed in their suspicion by several accidents, which were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were thus waiting for *Cæsar*, a citizen, coming up to *Casca*, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, *You concealed, said he, the secret from me; but Brutus has told me the whole.* At which words *Casca* being greatly alarmed, the other said, smiling, *How came you, Casca, to be so rich on a sudden, as to stand for the ædileship?* These words restored, we may say, *Casca* to life again; for he looked upon himself as lost, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of discovering the secret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The senator *Popilius Lænas* gave room for new suspicions; for, after having saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* very obligingly, he accosted them, and whispered them softly in the ear, *My wishes are with you; may you accomplish what you design! but I advise you to make no delay; for the thing is now no secret.* Having thus spoken, he left them in the utmost consternation. *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, one in whom *Cæsar* had such confidence, that he had made him his second heir, being no less alarmed at these words than the rest of the conspirators, resolved to go in person to *Cæsar's* house, to inform himself there of what kept him so long from coming to the senate. Accordingly, with the approbation of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he flew thither; and, being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, he asked him, with his usual familiarity, what kept him so long from appearing in the senate? *Cæsar*, who looked upon him as one of his best friends, imparted to him, in confidence, what his wife had dreamt the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon *Decimus*, fearing lest he should put off the senate to

to another day, and that the business might, in the mean time, Decimus get wind, turned into ridicule both Calpurnia's dreams, and Brutus the divinations of the soothsayers; telling *Cæsar*, that he would prevail be much to blame, if he gave the senate such just grounds to ^{upon Cæ-} complain: For they are, said he, ^{far to go} met upon your own summons, ^{to the se-} and are ready to vote unanimously, that you should be declared ^{nate.} king of all the provinces out of Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place. Now, if any one should be sent to tell them, that they must break up for the present, and meet again when Calpurnia shall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies say? or who will, with any patience, hear your friends pretending to justify you, and maintaining, that this is not an instance of downright servitude on one side, and barefaced tyranny on the other? But, if you are so far prepossessed with groundless fears, as really to think this an unlucky day, it will be more decent for you to go to the senate yourself, and adjourn it in person. Having thus spoken, he took *Cæsar* by the hand, and forced him, in a manner, out of his house.

HE was not gone far from his door, when an unknown slave made towards him; but, not being able to get near him by reason of the croud, he went into his house, and put himself into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to secure him till *Cæsar* returned, because he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate to him. Soon after one *Artemidorus*, a native of the island of *Cnidus*, by profession a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with most of the conspirators, put into *Cæsar's* hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to discover to him. *Artemidorus* had observed, that *Cæsar*, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to some of his officers, who attended him; and therefore, coming as near to him as he could, he cried out, *Read this, Cæsar, quickly; for it contains affairs of the greatest importance, and such as concern you nearly.* Some writers tell us, that *Artemidorus*, not being able to come near *Cæsar*, by reason of the throng, gave this note to another, who presented it to him. However that be, *Cæsar* attempted several times to read it; but, being diverted by the croud of those who came to speak to him, he kept it in his hand by itself till he came into the senate.

WHEN he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conscript fathers were assembled, *Popilius Lænas*, who, but a little before, had wished Brutus and *Cassius* good success in their undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him in private, *Cæsar* standing still all the time, and seeming very attentive. The conspirators, not being able to hear what he said, but guessing, from what they were conscious of, that this conference was a discovery of their treason, ^{The conspi-} ^{rators} ^{alarmed.}

son, were strangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them, with a design to stab themselves, if the plot were discovered; but judging, from *Lænas's* looks and gestures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmness and unconcern that appeared in *Cæsar's* countenance, that the conspiracy was not the subject of their conference, they took courage, and were soon after delivered from all their fears. For *Lænas*, in retiring, was observed to kiss *Cæsar's* hand; which was a plain indication, that he had been petitioning, and not accusing. *Cæsar*, having dismissed *Lænas*, entered the hall; where the senators were assembled. This was one of the many edifices which *Pompey* had raised for the use of the public; whence *Plutarch* concludes, that some deity guided the action, and brought *Cæsar* thither to revenge upon him the death of *Pompey*.

The conspirators
croud
round *Cæsar* in the
senate-house;

UPON *Cæsar's* entering the great hall, the senate stood up in respect to him. Of the conspirators, some stood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers with those of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother, who was banished. In the mean time *Trebonius* (L) drew *Marc Antony*, who was faithful to *Cæsar*, and a man of great strength and resolution, towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long discourse contrived for that purpose. When the dictator was seated, the conspirators, crouding round him, renewed their supplications in favour of *Cimber's* brother, and, taking him by the hand, kissed it, in appearance, with great respect. But the dictator rejected their petition; and, upon their urging him farther, and growing very impor-

(L) *Plutarch*, in the life of
Cæsar, tells us, that *Antony* was
detained without by *Brutus Al-*
binus; and, in the life of *Brutus*,
that he was kept in talk by C.
Trebonius. How could he be
guilty of so manifest a contra-
diction, in the relation of an
action so considerable and noto-
rious? He was certainly mistaken
in the life of *Cæsar*, and in that
of *Brutus* hits upon the truth;
since all the historians, who men-
tion this action, agree, that *Tre-*
bonius entertained *Antony* at the
door. *Cicero*, who is more to
be relied on than all the historians

put together, says, in express terms, in his second *Philippic*, addressing his speech to *Antony* himself, *Cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus servocari*; "When *Cæsar* was about to be dispatched, we then saw thee called aside by *Trebonius*;" and, in the 13th, *Sceleratum Trebonium! quo scelere? nisi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit.* "Wicked *Trebonius*! Wherefore wicked? Unless that on the ides of *March* he withdrew thee from deserved destruction."

fortunate,

tunate, he first reprimanded them severely, and afterwards, starting up, pushed them from him. Hereupon *Cimber*, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his shoulders, which was the signal agreed on to fall upon him. In that instant *Servilius Casca*, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the first wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who, at the beginning of such a bold action, was probably very much disturbed; so that his strength, as well as his courage, might fail him. *Cæsar*, immediately turning about, seized *Casca* by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the same time, *Cæsar* in *Latin*, *Wicked Casca, what dost thou mean?* and *Casca* calling to his brother in *Greek* to come and help him. Those, who were not privy to the design, were struck with such horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor assist *Cæsar*; nay, not utter a single word. But the conspirators, who came prepared, inclosed him on all sides, with their drawn daggers in their hands; so that, which way soever he turned, he met with wounds, and saw their daggers leveled at his face and eyes. *Cassius*, having first turned his face to the statue, which the republic had erected to *Pompey* in the hall, and silently implored the assistance of that hero, flew at *Cæsar* with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound in the head, encouraging the others to follow his example, and rid *Rome* of her tyrant. Hereupon they all pressed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of dispatching him, they wounded one another. *Brutus*, in particular, received a wound on the hand from *Cassius*; and most of them were stained either with *Cæsar*'s blood, or their own. The hero, tho' thus baited on all sides, to use *Plutarch*'s expression, like a wild beast taken in a toil, fought and defended himself in the best manner he could; till, looking round about him, to see if he could make his escape, he perceived *Brutus*, with his dagger in his hand. This sight stung him to the heart, so that he struggled no more; but, crying out, *What! my son Brutus, and thou too!* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly surrendered himself. Then the conspirators, pushing him either by chance, or, as some say, by design, to the pedestal on which *Pompey*'s statue stood, which, by that means, was sprinkled with his blood, dispatched him there with twenty-three wounds, the senate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the least assistance. We are told, that as he found himself fainting away, and ready to drop down, he

and fall upon him.

The circumstances of his death.

He is killed.

Year of the flood 2399.

Bef. Chr. 39.

Of Rome, 709.

he

he wrapt the skirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency^b.

THUS died in the fifty-sixth year of his age the greatest warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world ever saw, after he had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault above a thousand towns, and slain, if *Pliny* is to be credited^c, eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men. He was, without doubt, a person of extraordinary parts, and wonderful abilities in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to intrude his country, and usurp a despotic and arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and usurpers deserve. If the state had been deemed irretrievable, and an usurper a necessary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæsar*. But as *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the best and ablest *Romans* judged otherwise, the dictator's power and dominion was downright usurpation, and consequently every *Roman* was warranted by all the laws of *Rome* to put him to death.

^b PLUT. in *Cæs. & Bruto*. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. SUET. in *Julio*, c. 81. 88. 91. APPIAN. l. ii. p. 522. CIC. l. ii. de divin. ^c PLIN. l. vii. c. 25.

CHAP. XIV.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Cæsar to the first Consulate of Octavianus.

WHEN *Cæsar* was dispatched, *Brutus* stepping forth into the middle of the senate-house, offered to give an account to the conscript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had restored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmost consternation, and carried terror and confusion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall, and in the porch, that some of the senators were stifled in the croud, and others dangerously wounded by running blindly in that general distraction against the drawn daggers of the conspirators. The news of *Cæsar's* death being in a trice spread all over the city, the friends of the deceased retired in all haste to their houses, and there shut themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from so tragical an event. The artificers, shutting their shops, ran in that sudden surprize, some to see the body of the deceased, others up and down the streets

to inform themselves of the circumstances of so bold an attempt. In the mean time *Brutus* and the other conspirators marched in a body from the senate-house all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like persons who thought of escaping, but with an air of confidence and assurance. Some persons of distinction, who had not been privy to the conspiracy, joined them with their drawn swords, being desirous to share in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part in it. Of this number were *C. Octavius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Patiscus*, *L. Statius Murcus*, who had served under *Cæsar* in quality of lieutenant against the sons of *Pompey* in Spain, *A. Aquinius*, and several others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by *Antony* and young *Octavianus*. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the streets that they had killed the king of *Rome*, and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by an herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the symbol of liberty among the *Romans*. As they marched along, they called to the people to resume their antient liberty, and complimented such persons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, *Brutus*, holding up his bloody dagger, cried out, *Cicero, we have revenged the republic*. This he did, as some writers conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cause, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country against the wicked attempts of *Catiline*, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of *Cæsar*.

HOWEVER that be, the people did not join them; but alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city, some bewailing the loss of one who had supported them with his largesses, and others laying hold of the present general distraction to plunder the houses of their fellow-citizens. They were no more those antient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more dear than life itself. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accustomed to live by the price of their votes, which they sold to the best bidder. *Brutus* therefore, with his followers, thought it adviseable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. The next day, as nobody was injured by the conspirators either in his goods or person, the senators, and many of the people, took courage, and went up to the conspirators in the capitol. *Brutus* made an harangue to them very popular, and adapted to the present state of affairs. When he had done speaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come into the city. Hereupon the conspirators descended with confidence into the forum, *Brutus* being attended and guarded by many persons of the most eminent quality in *Rome*, while the other conspirators went promiscuously mingled with the croud.

He

Brutus ha-
rangues
the people.

But re-
turns with
his follow-
ers to the
capitol.

Dolabella
takes upon
him the
consular
dignity,
and de-
clares for
Brutus.

Is obliged
to save
himself in
the capitol.

He no sooner appeared on the rostra, than the rabble, though consisting of a confused mixture, and all disposed to raise a tumult, were struck with reverence, and hearkened to him with silence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put *Cæsar* to death, and solemnly protested, that neither he nor his companions had any thing else in view, but the delivering of *Rome* from a tyrannical yoke, and the restoring of their country to her former condition; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than subjection, expressed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly displeased at the action; and that they revered *Brutus*, but at the same time pitied *Cæsar*. Hereupon the conspirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where *Brutus*, who expected to be besieged, dismissed several persons of distinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it just, that those who had no hand in the action, should share in the danger².

As *Cæsar* had designed to set out in a few days on his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, he had resigned his consulship to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. The new consul, out of respect to *Cæsar*, waited for his departure to enter upon his office; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and fasces, without the consent either of the senate or people. As this was an open acknowledgement of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends against *Brutus* and the other conspirators; but he, to the great surprize of all, after so unwarrantable a step, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a consul; and there congratulating *Brutus* and his followers on the success of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would support them to the utmost of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made an harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having cast out many bitter reflections on *Cæsar*, and bestowed the highest elogiums on *Brutus*, he went so far as to propose a law, enacting, That for the future the *ides* of March should be celebrated with the same solemnity as the day on which *Rome* was built. The day, said he, in which *Rome* recovered her liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by all true Romans as happy a day as that in which the city was first built. To the latter she owes her being, to the former her liberty; and what is being

itself without liberty? But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had supported with his liberal presents, were so far from being moved by his speech to approve of his death, that on the

PLUT. DIO CASS. APPIAN. ibid.

contrary

contrary they would have torn the consul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, saved himself in the capitol.

HOWEVER, the menaces which the multitude threw out on this occasion against the dictator's enemies, did not deter *L. Cornelius Cinna* from renouncing his party in a most solemn manner. *Cæsar* had married to his first wife *Cornelia* the sister of *Cinna*, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raised him this year to the prætorship, and promised him the consulate. But *Cinna* was in his heart a well-wisher to his country, and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon *Cæsar*'s death, he not only sided openly with the conspirators, but going into the forum with all the ensigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective against his brother-in-law, styling him tyrant, usurper, oppressor of his country, &c. When he had done speaking, he stripped himself, in presence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, *These I received of Cæsar, against the known laws of Rome; and now I resign them to the Roman people, who alone have a right to dispose of them.* But even this generous and disinterested proceeding was highly resented by the vile populace, and *Cinna* obliged to abscond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury.

IN the mean time *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were intirely addicted to *Cæsar*, and had concealed themselves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people stood affected, appeared again in public. When the conspirators first consulted about the execution of their design, they were all, except *Brutus*, of opinion, that *Antony* should be cut off with *Cæsar*; for they looked upon him as a dangerous person, on account of his unbounded ambition, and the powerful interest he had among the soldiery; but *Brutus*, whose intentions were upright and sincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, saying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of justice, ought to be free even from all appearance of injustice. Besides, he gave them hopes, that a great change might be wrought in *Antony*. Thus the generous *Brutus* saved *Antony*'s life; but he, instead of answering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the first news of *Cæsar*'s death, fled in the disguise of a slave, and concealed himself, till he was informed, that the populace were disposed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majesty and splendor of a consul, being this year *Cæsar*'s colleague in that dignity, and managed matters with such address, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finishing blow to the republic, and reduced *Rome* to a lasting monarchy.

Lepidus is ordered by Antony to march a legion into the city. THE first step he took, was to order *Lepidus* to march into the city a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood, and to encamp in the field of *Mars*. This alarmed the conspirators in the capitol, who thereupon sent deputies to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, desiring them to consider the sad consequences of a division in so critical a conjuncture, and remonstrating, that no hatred to *Cæsar's* person had armed them against him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the state was already so drained by civil wars, that any new disturbances must prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views transport them to the prejudice of the public, &c. Both *Antony* and *Lepidus*, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar's* death, aimed at the sovereign power themselves, and sought it in the ruin of those brave men, who stood up in defence of their oppressed country; but as *Decimus Brutus* was already set out from *Rome* to put himself at the head of an army of veterans in *Cisalpine Gaul*, which province had been allotted him by *Cæsar*, they both dissembled even their design of revenging *Cæsar's* death, and, to gain time returned the following answer: "That they were ready to sacrifice their private
" regards to the public good, and suffer the senate to be assembled,
" that they might govern themselves by the advice of so many
" illustrious and discerning persons as composed that venerable
" body."

Antony assembles the senate.

ACCORDINGLY *Antony*, as consul, appointed the senate to meet early the next morning in the temple of *Tellus*, near his own house, and in the mean time placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raising disturbances, and likewise ordered all *Cæsar's* money and papers to be conveyed to his house. Next morning by break of day, the conscript fathers assembled pursuant to their summons; and never did that august body meet on so important and nice an occasion. They came to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an usurper, or a lawful magistrate; and whether those who had killed him, deserved punishments or rewards. As none of the conspirators appeared in the senate, not daring to expose themselves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmness and temper than could have been expected in a matter of such consequence. Most of the conscript fathers were inclined to favour the conspirators; but nevertheless divided among themselves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them the deliverers, the saviours of their country, and allotting them, as such, ample rewards. Others were for approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, since nobody demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to bury in oblivion what was past, without bestowing either praises or rewards on the authors of *Cæsar's* death. Some of *Cæsar's* friends

Different opinions of the conscript fathers.

friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable; but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, out of a due regard to so many illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this question should be put, *Whether Cæsar was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?* since on the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators.

ANTONY, foreseeing that this question would be decided to the disadvantage of his party, warded off the blow with an address and dexterity, which will seem incredible to those who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in *Cicero's* letters and speeches. "Have you well weighed with yourselves, conscript Antony? fathers (said he) the consequences that must attend the decision of this question? If you declare the late dictator a tyrant, all his acts will be of course void and null; and who can conceive what confusion and disorders will hence ensue, not in this metropolis only, but in all the states and kingdoms subject to *Rome*? The republic will be without lawful magistrates, the provinces without governors, the armies without commanders, &c. since we have been all invested in our offices, commands and governments, by *Cæsar*. If we pronounce *Cæsar* a tyrant and usurper, we must lay down those honours, since we can no longer think them lawfully conferred upon us. If *Cæsar* is an usurper, his body must, pursuant to the ordinances of our ancestors, be ignominiously dragged through the streets, and thrown into the *Tiber*. What disturbances and tumults will not this produce among the populace, who adore him as a god! You are going, conscript fathers, to plunge the republic, nay, the whole world, which is filled with *Cæsar's* glory, into a bloody war, and eternal disorders."

ANTONY's words make a deep impression on the assembly, *The senate* which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not been nominated by *Cæsar* to any civil or military employments, still insisted on his being declared an usurper and tyrant; but all the present magistrates, and those whom *Cæsar* had appointed to succeed them (A), were for dropping the question relating

(A) *Cæsar*, foreseeing that his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to *Rome* for some time; had appointed consuls, as *Cicero* informs us, for the two following years, to wit, *Aulus Hirtius*, and *Caius Vibius Pansa* for the first year after his departure, and *Decimus Brutus*, with *Lucius Munatius Plancus*, for the second. According to *Dio Cassius*, he had named consuls for the three following

An act of
oblivion
past, and
Cæsar's
acts con-
firmed.

relating to him, and only decreeing, that nobody should be prosecuted on account of his death. Among the latter was the consul *Dolabella*, who, as he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the consular dignity, was well apprised, that, if he once parted with it, the people would not be easily induced to restore him, in defiance of the laws, to that post. However, several prætors were prevailed upon by the friends of the conspirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to strip themselves of their robes, and publicly resign the offices, to which *Cæsar*, by his authority alone, had raised them. The division, which reigned in the senate, was likely to have involved the republic anew in a civil war, when *Cicero*, by an excellent speech, which has been transmitted to us, not in the language in which he spoke it, but in *Greek*^c, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*, to wit, *Whether he was a tyrant or no*; and to pass an act of oblivion for what was past. Accordingly a general amnesty was proclaimed, and at the same time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero*, and the most zealous patriots, That not the least thing should be altered, which *Cæsar* had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the same time both innocent and guilty, since it was inconsistent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time decree, that those who had put him to death, should not be prosecuted. *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, expresses himself on this subject thus: *The tyrant is no more; but the tyranny still subsists. We express great joy at his death, and at the same time confirm all his ordinances*^d.

THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable posture. *Antony* and *Lepidus* were still resolved to pursue their revenge on the conspirators, hoping to raise themselves by their destruction to the same post, which *Cæsar* had held; but as they were afraid of each other, and both of *Decimus Brutus*, governor of *Cisalpine Gaul*, they artfully concealed their ambitious designs, and caused the act of oblivion to be published in all the quarters of the city. As the conspirators still kept in their asylum for fear of some sudden tumult, *Antony* and *Lepidus* sent their children to the capitol as hostages for their security; and then *Brutus*,

^c Dio, l. xlv. ^d Cic. Philip. i. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 58. PLUT. in Cic. Brut. & Cæs. APPIAN. l. ii. DIO, l. xlv.

lowing years; according to *Appian* for five, and according to *Suetonius* for many years. But the authority of *Cicero* ought to be of more weight than that of any historian, since he writes of such transactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally speaking, no small share.

Cassius,

Cassius, and their followers, came down into the city. The *Brutus* same night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, *Antony* invited ^{and his} *Cassius* to supper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus* (B). And now nobody ^{followers} doubted but the republic would soon be restored to her former ^{come down} tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the con- ^{into the} spirators as the deliverers of their country, and honour them ^{city.} with the title of *tyrannicides*. This tranquillity no-way suited *Antony's* ambitious views. He therefore soon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incense the multitude anew against those, whom they had deservedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greatest honours and rewards.

CÆSAR, on the ides of *September* of the preceding year, had made his will in his house at *Laricum*, and appointed his father-in-law, *Calpurnius Piso*, to see it executed. To him *Marc Antony* applied, and pressed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well apprised, that this would produce new disturbances, and have a great effect on the inconstant multitude. On the other hand the dictator's enemies endeavoured to persuade *Piso* to suppress it; but he, being supported by *Antony*, openly declared, that nothing should divert him from discharging the trust *Cæsar* had reposed in him. The affair was at length brought before the senate, where it occasioned fresh disputes. *Antony* and *Piso* warmly insisted on having the ^{Piso and} will read, and the body of the deceased dictator honourably in- ^{Antony} terred. Those, said *Piso*, who boast of having killed a tyrant, ^{are for} treat us themselves in a most tyrannical manner. They are ^{having} willing that whatever *Cæsar* has done in their behalf should be ^{Cæsar's} ratified, and at the same time demand, that his last dispositions ^{will read.} be suppressed. As to *Cæsar's* funeral, you may order what you think fit; but as to his will, which he has deposited in my hands, I am resolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties, and with great warmth; *Cassius* violently opposing the proposal of *Antony* and *Piso*, which, if complied with, he foresaw, would revive the affections of the people, and cause fresh troubles; but *Brutus* at length yielded, ^{Brutus} and it was decreed, That *Cæsar's* will should be opened, his ^{yields them} funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he ^{their re-} worshiped as a god (C). ^{quest.}

THE

(B) As *Antony* liked joking, he asked *Cassius*, *Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robes.* Yes, answered *Cassius*, who was naturally choleric and fullen, and a sharp one too, for any who shall dare to aspire at the sovereign

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power. This answer put a stop to any further jests.

(C) This was an unpardonable oversight in *Brutus*, and *Cassius* loudly complained of his too easy condescension, and unseasonable humanity; and indeed with a

U

great

Cæsar's
will.

Disturb-
ances oc-
casioned
by the
reading of
it.

Brutus's
speech to
the people.

THE will being produced, it was read in the presence of the people; and there it was found, That he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, *C. Octavius*, *Lucius Pinarius*, and *Quintus Pedius*. To *Octavius*, the grandson of his sister *Julia*, he left three-fourths of his estate, and the remaining part to the other two. He also ordained, that young *Octavius*, his principal heir, should take his name, and be adopted into the *Julian* family; and that if any of his great-nephews should die, or renounce his inheritance, *Decimus Brutus* and *M. Antony* should be substituted in their room. Several of the conspirators were appointed guardians to his children, in case he should have any; and *Decimus Brutus*, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to succeed *Octavius*, in case he should die without issue male, and to be adopted into the *Julian* family. By the same will he bequeathed to the *Roman* people his fine gardens beyond the *Tiber*, and to each individual citizen the sum of seventy-five *Attic* drachmas, or three hundred sesterces. These last tokens of *Cæsar*'s good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew against *Brutus* and his followers, on whom they no longer bestowed the glorious name of *tyrannicides*, but that of *assassins*, threatening to treat them in the same manner they had treated the dictator, their common benefactor.

BRUTUS, perceiving this change, mounted the rostra in quality of prætor, and with the following speech endeavoured to appease the enraged populace: "Great pains have been taken (said he) to prejudice you against us, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. We are accused at the same time of cruelty, ingratitude, and perfidiousness. It is pretended, that we have violated the oaths which tied us to *Cæsar*. What oaths, immortal gods! Had *Cæsar* any lawful power to require them? Did he not extort them with his sword at our throats? Do you look upon forced engagements as really binding? Can forced oaths oblige us to submit to a tyrant? Has not *Cæsar* acted as such ever since *Pompey*'s death? He has disposed of the great charges and principal employments, without your advice, or that of the senate. The public money, the revenues of the provinces, were conveyed into his coffers. All the orders in the republic were forced to submit to his lawless and arbitrary will. There is not one *Roman* throughout the empire, whom he did not injure in the highest degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greatest blessing of mankind. When he seemed to be rendering his country

great deal of reason: for the reading of the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceased, proved fatal both to the avengers of the republic, and the republic itself.

" the

“ the most important services by his successful undertakings, at
 “ that very time was he laying his schemes how to bring her
 “ into subjection. He made war on foreign enemies, only that he
 “ might know how to subdue and enslave his fellow-subjects. It
 “ is said, that he was meditating great things for the republic
 “ when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty
 “ laurels for himself by more wars at the expence of the re-
 “ public; but what advantage would have redounded to us
 “ from his victories? Every accession of power must, by raising
 “ his tyranny higher, have sunk us lower, and strengthened
 “ our chains. Had he left us any hopes of his laying down
 “ one day the power he had usurped, we should have borne the
 “ yoke with patience; but the name of *perpetual dictator* threat-
 “ ened us with eternal slavery. He treated the very name of
 “ liberty and the republic with contempt. He ridiculed *Sylla*
 “ for resigning his usurped authority, and manifestly shewed,
 “ that he had nothing in his head or heart, but absolute rule,
 “ a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world ac-
 “ cording to his pleasure. It is said, that his person was sacred and
 “ inviolable; but did not he the first violate that respect which
 “ is due to sacred persons? Did he not depose two of our tri-
 “ bunes, and even condemn them to banishment, for no other
 “ reason, but because they took from his statues the royal dia-
 “ dem?” Then turning to the old legionaries, who had, for
 the most part, received lands of *Cæsar*, by way of reward for
 their long services, “ As for you, brave veterans (said he), when
 “ you first entered into the service, was it to *Cæsar* or the re-
 “ public, you engaged your fidelity by the military oath? You
 “ have fought under *Cæsar*; but was it for him you fought?
 “ You have conquered; and your victories ought to be amply
 “ rewarded. We are resolved to allow you the rewards which
 “ *Cæsar* had promised you. The commonwealth will not
 “ suffer you to be losers by his death. Those who have already
 “ received inheritances, shall be confirmed in the possession of
 “ them; and such as have not yet been rewarded, shall be sa-
 “ tisfied for their services out of the first money that comes into
 “ the public treasury. This I promise in the name of the re-
 “ public; and my word shall be sacred and inviolable in every
 “ thing but the supporting of tyranny.” This speech,
 which was no *frivolous apology*, as some assertors of absolute
 power are pleased to call it^c, appeased both the people and sol-
 diery; but *Antony* and *Piso* soon found means to inflame them
 anew with fury and sorrow, two gross passions, which do not
 reason, but feel.

^c APPIAN. l. ii. DIO, l. xlv.
vol. xvii. p. 404.

^f CATROU and ROUILLE,

The body
of Cæsar
brought
forth with
great
pomp.

Antony
inflames
the po-
pulace by
his funeral
oration.

THEY caused the body of *Cæsar* (D) to be brought forth with a great deal of pomp; being carried on the shoulders of men, who were all in office, and of the most illustrious families in Rome. They had raised a kind of stage in the forum over-against the rostra, and on the stage a small temple of gilt wood, after the model of that of *Venus*, *Cæsar's* pretended mother. In this temple was a bed of ivory, richly adorned with curtains of cloth of gold and of purple. On the bed was laid the body of the deceased, the robe in which he was killed being hung up by it. All Rome crouded to see the mangled body of their deceased hero, whose loss they bewailed anew with many sighs and tears. Those chiefly, who had served under him in most of his wars, were inconsolable, and with loud cries demanded vengeance. Then *Antony*, to incense them still more, ascended the rostra (E), and took upon him to pronounce his funeral oration, enlarging on every topic which could move compassion (F). The senators were

(D) We are told by some historians, that the conspirators designed at first to throw the dead body of the dictator into the *Tiber*, in order to remove that object of compassion out of the sight of the populace; but being prevented from putting their design in execution by the tumult which happened in the senate, they left it in the senate-house, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his house by three of his slaves, who took care to have it embalmed, not doubting but the senate or people would, in due time, order it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence.

(E) *Suetonius* is the only writer among the antients, who tells us, that *Antony* pronounced no funeral oration. *The consul*, says that historian, *made no oration, as was usual, in commendation of the deceased. He only ordered an herald to read aloud the decree of the senate, placing Cæsar among the gods, and ordering divine honours to be paid him. Antony spoke only a few words in praise of*

the illustrious deceased. It is surprising, that *Suetonius* should be ignorant of so remarkable an incident, related at length by all other historians; and, what is more, by *Cicero*, who, in his second *Philippic*, reproaches *Antony* with it in most bitter terms.

(F) He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conquests he had made, the various nations he had subdued, &c. Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorship, his being several times honoured with the consulate, the censorship, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and above all, with the glorious name of the *Father of his country*. From thence he passed to his virtues, extolling his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generosity, clemency even to his enemies, &c. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of Rome had taken to him, and by which they had sworn, that his person should be sacred and inviolable, and that they would defend

were highly provoked against *Antony*, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he observing from their countenances, and fearing to disoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that august body, and in some degree qualify what he had said, concluded thus: *Yes, the gods themselves absolve me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; since it is the crime of some evil demons, enemies to Rome, rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illustrious deceased, and placing him among the immortal gods.*

ANTONY had scarce done speaking, when one of the spectators, flying, as seized with some fury, from the midst of the croud, and mounting the stage, lay hold of *Cæsar's* robe, and, displaying it again to the multitude, *There is the spoil of an hero, he cried, beloved of the gods, and revered by the world even to adoration.* These words, interrupted with frequent sighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries, and strange postures of sorrow, occasioned a general commotion. At the same time appeared all on a sudden an image of *Cæsar* in wax, which moved by springs, and shewed the twenty-three wounds, which he had received on his face, and other parts of his body. This sight transported the populace even to madness: the forum resounded with sighs mixt with menaces and curses against the authors of his death, whom they stiled assassins, parricides, &c. worthy of the most cruel punishments. Their fury was so great, that they would defer no longer the solemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magistrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining shops, raised with them a funeral pile, and placing *Cæsar's* body upon it, set it on fire; so that the body, the bed, and the temple, were consumed at once. When the fire

§ DIO, APPIAN. SUET. *ibid.*

defend him at the hazard of their own lives. *Antony*, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he said in commendation of *Cæsar*, to stir them up yet further to compassion, or rather to madness, unfolded the bloody garment of *Cæsar*, shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon *Antony*, seeing rage mixed with grief painted in every

one's face, resumed his discourse, and turning to the capitol, *Great Jupiter*, said he, *and ye gods, protectors of the Roman empire, I call you to witness, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but the decree of the conscript fathers has tied my hands. Am I guilty of sacrilege and perjury?* At these words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but *Vengeance, vengeance!*

first began to flame out, the old soldiers, who had served under the deceased, threw into the flames all the military rewards he had given them. Many women of distinction, to testify their grief, and honour the memory of the deceased, committed to the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incensed multitude, whose blind fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in spite of the guards placed round the pile, snatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houses of the conspirators; but they, having beforehand got together a great number of their friends and domestics, easily repulsed a disorderly mob, who had no other arms but their grief and fury (G).

Brutus
and his
followers
retire from
Rome.

BRUTUS and his party were so alarmed at these proceedings, that they thought it adviseable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to *Antium*, with a design to return again as soon as the fury of the people was abated, which they hoped would be soon, since the senate had espoused their cause. All the strangers in *Rome* mourned after the custom of their respective countries, especially the *Jews*, who watched several nights at the place where his body had been burnt. At last divine honours were given him, and an altar erected by the populace in the same place, which was ever after looked upon as sacred, his great nephew *Octavius* having caused a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jasper twenty feet high, with this inscription, *To the father of his country*^h.

^h PLUT. APPIAN. DIO. SUET. *ibid*.

(G) As they were returning from the conspirators houses, they met one *Cinna*, who had been always greatly attached to *Cæsar's* party; but mistaking him for another of the same name, who was concerned in the conspiracy, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the spot. We are told, that *Cinna* had the night before an odd dream: he fancied, that *Cæsar* invited him to supper, and that upon his refusing to comply with the invitation, the dictator pressed him very earnestly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this vision, he was seized with a fever; but nevertheless in the morning, hearing that *Cæsar's*

body was to be interred, and being ashamed not to be present at the solemnity, he went into the forum, out of respect to the memory of his friend, tho' his dream gave him no small apprehension. One of the rabble, whom *Antony's* speech had stirred up and enraged, seeing him there, asked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was presently reported, that he was one of the conspirators, or, what is most probable, that he was that *Cinna*, who had a little before, in a speech to the people, inveighed against *Cæsar*; and this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

THE

THE conspirators and the conscript fathers were equally offended at the artful speech of *Antony*. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the senate, and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had passed in oblivion, he had so pathetically enlarged on the praises of *Cæsar*, with no other view but to stir up the rage of the people. *Antony* therefore, finding *Antony* he had discovered himself too soon, and being well apprised, that *endeavours* it was in the power of the senate to cross his designs, resolved to *to gain the* regain their favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by *senate.* inflicting such punishments on the authors of the disturbances, as struck the unruly multitude with terror (H), and for a while restored the city to its former tranquillity. After this, *Antony* having assembled the senate, assured the conscript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention should be, how to reunite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occasion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war.

AT the same time, to gain the fathers intirely, he proposed *Proposes* the recalling of *Sextus Pompeius*, son to *Pompey the Great*, who, *the recall-* ever since the battle of *Munda*, had concealed himself in *Celti-* *ing of Sex-* *beria*. He was even of opinion, that the loss of his paternal *tus Pom-* estate, which had been confiscated by *Cæsar*, and divided among *peius* his creatures, should be made good to him at the expence of the public, and that the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic should be conferred upon him, in the same unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This proposal was heard with surprize, and received with general applause (I).

THE

(H) One *Amatius*, passing himself upon the multitude for the grandson of *Marius*, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of *Cæsar* his kinsman, committed every where great disorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But *Antony*, to make his court to the senate, caused him to be seized, and put to death without any further trial. As the people flocked daily in crouds to the altar, which they had erected to *Cæsar*, *Antony* caused it to be demolished. This provoked the mutineers,

who thereupon assembled the next day in great numbers, in order to rebuild the altar; but *Dolabella*, with the consent of his colleague, fell upon them at the head of some legionaries, and cut several of them in pieces. Those who escaped the swords of the legionaries, were prosecuted by the two consuls, and punished with the utmost rigour, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. The slaves were all crucified, and such as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock.

(I) Some ascribed this change in *Antony* to his fear of the conspirators; others suspected, that

*Demands
a guard;*

THE conscript fathers were highly pleased with such a conduct in a consul and a friend of *Cæsar*; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing sides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. *Antony* failed not to make himself a merit with the senate of this aversion. He even pretended to be afraid, lest the enraged multitude should make some attempt upon his life; and, as if he were not safe, demanded a guard of the senate to secure himself against the rabble, who, he said, threatened him with destruction. The conscript fathers could not well reject his request, since he had incurred the hatred of the people for the interest of the senate. They allowed him therefore a guard for the security of his person; but *Antony*, under this pretence, chose six thousand old legionaries, who had served with him under *Cæsar*, and passionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The senate was alarmed to see the consul walk the streets of *Rome* always attended with such a number of armed men. Even his friends remonstrated to him, that such an extraordinary attendance made him suspected and odious in a free state. *Antony* promised to disband them as soon as he thought himself out of danger; and in the meantime, to remove the suspicion they might entertain of his aspiring to succeed *Cæsar* in the dictatorship, he proposed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it passed in the assembly of the people.

*which is
granted
him.*

*He is su-
spected by
the senate.*

*His fals-
hood and
double-
dealing,
in concert
with Cæ-
sar's secre-
tary,*

THIS calmed for a while the fears of the conscript fathers: but *Antony* soon gave them fresh motives of jealousy; for having gained over to his interest *Cæsar*'s secretary, whom some call *Faberius*, others *Tabirius*, and by his means made himself master of all his papers, he appointed what officers he pleased, brought whom he thought fit into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, &c. and all this as ordered so by *Cæsar*, whose acts had been declared void by the senate (K). *Antony*,

he was desirous of engaging the senate in his favour against young *Octavius*, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from *Greece* to *Rome*. All the senators however bestowed on him the greatest commendations; which were so much the sincerer, as the restoration of young *Pompey* seemed to be an implicit condemnation of *Cæsar*'s memory. *Cicero* himself, deceived by this false appearance of zeal, highly commended *Antony*'s conduct, first in the senate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the

consul kept, and in due time made public by way of answer to the orator's bitter invectives.

(K) The *Romans*, by way of raillery, called those new magistrates and senators *Charonites*, because, if obliged to prove their patents, they must have had recourse to the registers of the dead, that is, of those who had passed the river *Styx* in *Charon*'s bark. They were also styled *Orcini*, an epithet given to such slaves as were enfranchised by their masters will made on their death-bed.

having

having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the senate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conscript fathers, or the populace, since he had now a strong party in the senate, and was guarded by a numerous body of chosen troops against the insults and attempts of the multitude. Besides, the whole authority *Governs Rome with an absolute sway.* of the government was, we may say, in his hands. He was himself consul, one of his brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was tribune of the people, and the other, *C. Antonius*, prætor; so that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, it may be said that he governed *Rome* with an absolute sway¹. As for *Lepidus*, *Antony* attached that powerful *Roman* to his interest, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of *Cæsar*, and betrothing his daughter *Antonia* to young *Lepidus* his son.

IN the mean time some of the conspirators returned to *Rome*, while others continued at *Antium*. Among the latter was *M. Brutus*, who, upon intelligence that many of the old soldiers, who had served under *Cæsar*, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by small parties had stolen into the city, would not expose himself to unnecessary dangers. However, in his absence, most magnificent shews were exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having brought up a great number of wild beasts of all sorts, he gave positive orders, that not one of them should be disposed of, or saved; but that they should be all used in those shews. He even went in person as far as *Naples* to engage a considerable number of comedians, and wrote to *Cicero* and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his shews with their presence^k. *Cæsar* had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conspirators, to wit, *Macedon* to *M. Brutus*, *Syria* to *Cassius*, *Asia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*. Some authors write, that these provinces were given them by the senate. However that be, they still continued in or near the capital, to watch *Antony's* steps, who now manifestly aspired, notwithstanding all his former protestations, to the sovereign power. *Magnificent sport exhibited by Brutus.*

SUCH was the posture of affairs, when news were brought, that young *Octavius*, *Cæsar's* great-nephew and adopted son, was coming to take possession of his inheritance. He was the *Octavius's* son of *Caius Octavius* of the senatorial order, who had been prætor of *Macedon* and of *Accia*, daughter to *Julia*, *Cæsar's* sister. The *Octavian* family was divided into two branches, to wit, the *Cneii* and the *Caii*. The former were early distin-

¹ APPIAN. l. iii. & viii. DIO, l. xlv. PLUT. in Bruto. CIC. in epist. passim, & in Philippicis.

^k PLUT. in Bruto.

guished at *Rome* with the first honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom *Cæsar's* adopted son was descended, were but simple knights at the time of the second *Punic* war. *Octavius's* great-grandfather served in *Sicily* in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the first employments in *Velitræ*, his native city. His mother *Accia*, or *Atia*, was the daughter of *Julia* and *M. Accius Balbus*, whose family, as appears from several antient inscriptions, had been, long before the birth of *Octavius*, one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*, an antient city of *Latium* (L). *Octavius* was born in the consulate of *Cicero* and *Caius*

(L) *Marc Antony* reproached *Octavius* with the meanness and obscurity of his ancestors. According to him, *Octavius's* great-grandfather, on the father's side, was a freedman, and by profession a rope-maker in the territory of *Thurium*, and his grandfather a banker. On the mother's side, *Antony* derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of *Aricia*. *Cassius Parmensis*, in a letter he wrote to *Octavius* before the battle of *Actium*, told him, that he owed his birth to a money-changer, and a woman brought up in the mills of *Aricia*. But these calumnies are learnedly re-

jected by *Joseph Rocco Volpi*, an *Italian* jesuit, in his account of the antiquities of antient *Latium*, where he proves from several antient inscriptions, that the *Octavian* family, before their migration to *Rome*, which happened, according to him, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, had borne the first employments in the republic of *Velitræ*, now *Velletri*. As to the *Atian* family, he shews, that, for several ages before the birth of *Octavius*, it had been one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*. *Virgil* indeed derives the *Atian* family from *Atys*, the companion of *Iulus*, son to *Æneas*:

*Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo* (1).

The second, *Atys*, whence our *Atii* came,
Dear to *Iulus*, and in age the same.

Many writers, and among the rest *F. Volpi*, are of opinion, that *Octavianus* was brought up in the town of *Ulubræ*, situated in the district of *Velitræ*; for *Suetonius* tells us, that he was educated in *avito suburbano prope Velitras*, "in the country-seat of his ancestors near *Velitræ*;" and that, as soon as he spoke, he commanded the frogs that were

croaking to be silent; and from that time, adds he, *negantur ibi coaxare*, "it is affirmed they never croak there." From this passage they infer, that *Octavius* was brought up in a place near *Velitræ*, which abounded with frogs, and consequently at *Ulubræ*, which was in the territory of *Velitræ*; and, as it was situated in the midst of the *Pomptine*

(1) *Æneid*. l. v. ver. 568, 569.

Caius Antonius. His father *Caius Octavius* dying when he was but four years old, his mother *Accia* married again, and took to her second husband *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, descended from those *Philippi*, who signalized themselves in the *Macedonian* wars. From his infancy he bore the surname of *Thurinus*, borrowed, as *Suetonius* conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of *Catiline's* army from the neighbourhood of *Thurium*, a city of *Great Greece*, and was from thence styled *Thurinus*.

ACCIA his mother, and *Philippus* his father-in-law, took *His education.* care to have him educated and instructed by the best masters then in *Rome*; and he is said to have so profited by their instructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother *Julia* when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glaring proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the most difficult enterprises. His extraordinary parts, say they, joined to the majesty of his mien, and comeliness of his person, influenced in his favour all who knew or only beheld him. Above the rest *Julius Cæsar*, *The regard Cæsar had for him.* his great uncle, was so taken with his prudent conduct, and a certain maturity of judgment, which young *Octavius* discovered from his tender years, that he cherished him with all the fondness of a father, and very early formed the design of adopting him, in case he had no children of his own. He designed to take him with him into *Spain*, when he went thither to make war on the sons of *Pompey*, that he might have an opportunity of instructing him in the military art; but his mother *Accia*, alarmed at a slight indisposition, with which he was seized when upon the point of departing, kept him in *Rome* till that war was near ended, the battle of *Munda* being fought before he reached *Spain*. He intended to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, and with this view sent him before to *Apollonia*, on the other side the *Adriatic*, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*.

HE had been six months in *Apollonia*, when he received the *Is informed* news of his uncle's tragical death, which most sensibly afflicted *at Apollonia of his* him. At first he knew not whether the whole senate was privy *uncle's death.* to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conspiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed, that sixty senators of the most illustrious families in *Rome* had been

marshes, must of course have inhabitants of this town *frogs*, been well stocked with frogs (2). because, like frogs, they lived in Hence it is that *Tully* calls the the midst of marshes (3).

(2) *Suet. in Octav.*(3) *Cic. epist. fam. l. vii. ep. 18.*

in the plot; that even those who had no share in it, did, however, secretly favour the conspirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions, occasioned by the animosity of different parties, &c. At the same time, he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, advising him to forbear for the present declaring either his pretensions or resentment, since there could be no safety for him, but in an obscure and private life (M).

Rejects the
advice of
his friends
and rela-
tions, and
sets out for
Italy.

Declares
himself
Cæsar's
heir.

BUT *Octavius*, rejecting the timorous counsels of his friends, resolved to pass over into *Italy* without delay, to inform himself on the spot of the situation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a small vessel, and passing the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Lupia*, now known by the name of *La Rocca*, between *Brundisium* and *Hydruntum*. The former of these two cities was the usual place of landing, for those who came from the East; but *Octavius* thought it adviseable not to shew himself there, the place being full of soldiers, till he had, by means of some dextrous persons, sounded the disposition both of the inhabitants and garison. The latter no sooner heard of the arrival of their late general's son, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of triumph into the city. *Octavius* thanked them for their attachment and respect to the memory of his uncle, and after having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, declared himself *Cæsar's* heir, and son by adoption, calling himself no longer *Caius Octavius*, but *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus* (N); and by the latter name we shall distinguish him, following therein most of the antients, till he acquires that of *Augustus*, which was given him by the senate, after

(M) Some of his friends went even so far, as to advise him to renounce *Cæsar's* adoption, lest he should be involved in the same fate with his uncle. Others would fain have persuaded him to seek for shelter among the troops in *Macedon*, which had, for the most part, served under *Cæsar*, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition against the *Parthians*.

(N) Adopted persons assumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper descent, added at

the end either their former *nomen* or *cognomen*; the first exactly the same as before, for instance, *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*, the name of *M. Junius Brutus*, when adopted by *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo*. The other was added with some slight alteration, as in the case before us, *Octavianus* calling himself, after his adopted father, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and changing the *cognomen* *Octavius* into *Octavianus*, declaring himself thereby to be of the *Octavian* family.

the

the victory he gained over *Antony* at *Actium* (O). The garison of *Brundisium*, which was very numerous, and consisted for the most part of brave veterans, whom *Cæsar* intended to lead against the *Parthians*, not only offered their service to *Octavianus*, but put him in possession of all the military stores and provisions which *Cæsar* had prepared for his *Parthian* expedition, and conveyed to *Brundisium*, in order to be transported from thence into the East. At the same time, *Octavianus* had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were sent annually to *Rome* from the provinces on the other side the sea, and likewise the provisions and money designed for the support and payment of the troops of the republic in *Macedon*. These *Octavianus* seized for his own use, which was, according to the laws of *Rome*, a capital crime, and would have been punished with death in less turbulent times; but *Octavianus*, young as he was, had already resolved to make himself master of the republic, under the specious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus supplied at once with men, money, arms, and provisions, he set out from *Brundisium*, and took his route through *Campania* to *Rome*. On the fourteenth of the calends of *May* he arrived at *Naples*, and the next day went to visit *Cicero* at his country-house, in the neighbourhood of *Cumæ*, whither the orator had retired for fear of *Antony*, who now governed *Rome* with an absolute sway (P).

FROM

(O) His thus taking the name of *Cæsar*, and declaring himself his heir in so critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold step in a youth scarce eighteen years old; the more, because it was against the advice of all his friends and relations: but, from his first setting out, fortune seemed to espouse his cause; and indeed his rise seems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to seasonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whose memory was adored by the soldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether historians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, represent him as the greatest commander, the ablest statesman, and the most accomplished prince, the world ever

saw; but whether he deserved the praises, which they so lavishly bestowed upon him, and for which they were amply rewarded, is a question which must be decided by facts.

(P) Of this visit *Cicero* himself makes mention in one of his epistles to *Atticus* (4). *Octavianus* wanted a man of *Cicero*'s eloquence and authority to support his interest in the senate, and *Cicero*, one of *Octavianus*'s credit among the troops, to screen him against the attempts of *Antony*, with whom he had quarreled. It was therefore agreed between them, that *Cicero* should assist *Octavianus* with his eloquence, both in the senate and with the people, and that *Octavianus*, on the other hand, should defend *Cicero* against all his enemies, especially *M. Antony*. We

(4) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.*

*Arrives
at Rome.*

FROM *Cumæ*, *Octavianus* pursued his journey to *Rome*, being joined, as he passed through *Campania*, by the most considerable of his uncle's friends, his relations, freedmen, and even his slaves. The veterans likewise, to whom *Cæsar*, after the civil wars, had given lands in *Italy*, hastened from all parts, to offer their service to his adopted son. As he drew near *Rome*, most of the magistrates, the officers of the army, and the people, came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay him the least respect; nay, he did not so much as deign to send any of his servants or attendants to compliment him in his name; but of this young *Octavianus* took no notice, being unwilling, on so trifling an account, to disoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to transact. His friends, indeed, could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of *Antony*; but *Octavianus*, with a seeming good temper, excused him on account of his greater age, and the prerogatives of the consular dignity. *It behoves me, who am but a young man, and in a private station, said he, to wait the first on one who is my senior, and in the highest post of the republic.* Accordingly, he resolved to make him a visit the next morning; but, as he de-

are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cicero* had long had a tender regard for young *Octavius*, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occasioned by the following dream: While *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, says *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, in a dream, seemed to summon the sons of the senators into the capitol, as if *Jupiter* designed to declare one of them the sovereign of *Rome*. The citizens, hastening thither out of curiosity, surrounded the temple; and the youths, sitting in their purple robes, kept a profound silence. On a sudden the doors opened, and the youths arising, passed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all, one after another, and dismissed them; at which they seemed much displeased: but when it came to *Octavius's* turn to be reviewed, *Jupiter*, stretching forth his hand, said aloud, *This, O Romans! this young man, when*

he shall become master of Rome, shall put an end to all your cruel wars. The same author adds, that *Cicero*, by this vision, had framed a perfect idea of the youth, and preserved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day, as he was going down into the *Campus Martius*, he met the boys returning from their exercises, and the first he saw was young *Octavius*, just as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly surprised at this, he asked him who he was; and, hearing he was the grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar's* sister, from that time he saluted him where-ever he met him, and shewed, on all occasions, a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all *Cicero's* works; and yet it is not to be presumed, that he would have concealed so significant a dream from his friend *Atticus*.

signed

signed to have his adoption first ratified by the prætor, according to the *Roman* custom, he desired his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to assist at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crouds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, pursuant to his request, into the forum, where he proved before *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, at that time prætor urbanus or city prætor, his adoption, declared, with the usual ceremonies, his acceptance of the same, and caused this his acceptance to be registred by the public scribes or notaries.

FROM the forum, *Octavianus* went strait to *Pompey's* gardens, where *Antony* then resided, he having appropriated them to himself upon that great man's death. The consul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected disregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he designed to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeness and civility. *Octavianus* spoke first. He began with returning thanks to *Antony*, for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modestly complained of his having suffered a pardon to pass in favour of the conspirators, whom he might have punished with as much severity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impostor *Amatius*. He reminded him, in a very handsome manner, of *Cæsar's* friendship to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to assist him in revenging his death, at least not to oppose him in so laudable an undertaking. In the close of his speech, he gave *Antony* to understand, that he was resolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father had left to the people and soldiery; and therefore desired him to deliver up to him, as *Cæsar's* chief heir, the money which he had caused to be conveyed from *Cæsar's* house to his own: But as that, said he, will hardly be sufficient to discharge all my obligations, I shall be highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me some of your own, or procure me some at interest from the quæstors, that I may pay off what shall remain due to those whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you should keep them, as marks of his affection; but for the ready money I have present occasion, and therefore hope you will order it, without delay, to be delivered to me.

ANTONY, amazed at the young man's boldness, and piqued at what he said in the close of his speech, relating to his father's money, which, according to *Plutarch*, amounted to no less than four thousand talents, told him, with an air of authority, That *Antony's* he was very much mistaken, if he fancied, that *Cæsar* had left him

him heir of the *Roman* empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought to have taught his adopted son, that the constitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective sovereigns; and that therefore he ought not to demand reasons of a *Roman* consul, for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him, on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, since what he had done, was without any regard to him, and only designed for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his estate; for had *Cæsar* been treated like an usurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I secured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and estate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. It is true, I have suffered some decrees to pass in the senate, favourable to the conspirators; but I have been prompted thereto by reasons, which one of your age is not capable of discerning. As to *Cæsar's* money, which you demand, it does not amount to so great a sum as you imagine; besides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, shared among the magistrates since his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the state. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to advise you, young man, not to lay it out in largesses and gratifications: employ it rather, in sending back to their respective colonies that shoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monster, that will never be satisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the basest ingratitude. As you are conversant in the *Grecian* history, you must know, that the favourites of the people are, generally speaking, short-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconstant than the waves of the ocean¹.

OCTAVIANUS, highly offended at this speech, took his leave of *Antony*, repeating several times, as he went out of the door, the name of *Cæsar*. He was well apprised, that the consul kept his father's money and estate from him, with no other view, but to disable him from purchasing the favour of the people. He therefore resolved to expose to public sale all the houses and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent *Antony* from depriving so many families of the effects of *Cæsar's* bounty to-

¹ LIV. l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 531, 533. DIO, l. xlv
VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 60. SUET. in Octavio. CIC. epist. ad
Attic. 10 & 13. l. xiv. OROS. l. vi. c. 10.

wards them; but the consul, to put a stop to the sale, prevailed Antony's upon some private citizens to claim the lands, as the estates of *artifice*. their ancestors, which the dictator had appropriated to himself during the civil war. At the same time, the quæstors, and other officers of the revenue, at the instigation of the consul, claimed part of those lands, as having been confiscated for the use of the public. Hereupon *Octavianus*, foreseeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, instantly put up to sale his own patrimony, with the estates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his designs, and assist him purchasing the favour of the people. With the money *Octavia-* accruing from these sales, he paid part of his father's legacies; *nus gains* which affected generosity so charmed the populace, who ex-*the favour* pected more favours from him, that they all declared in his *of the peo-* behalf, and broke out into bitter invectives against *Antony*, for with-holding from him his father's estate. A few days after, a new dispute arose between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, on occasion of the public shews, which *Crotonius* exhibited during his ædileship. The senate had decreed, as we have related above, in *Cæsar's* life-time, that at all public shews a gilt chair, and a crown of gold should be placed for him, even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Pursuant to this decree, *Octavianus* failed not to send the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by *Antony*, refused to admit them. Hereupon the affair being carried before the consul, *Antony* answered coldly, That he would refer it to the senate: And I, answered *Octavianus* haughtily, *will go and place my father's chair where it ought to stand, while you are consulting the conscript fathers.*

ANTONY, provoked at the young man's boldness, threatened to send him to prison, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of *Crotonius*, or at those which he himself was to exhibit in honour of the dictator, before the temple of *Venus*. *Octavianus*, perceiving that this prohibi-*Falls out* tion was ill received by the people, resolved to turn it to his ad-*with An-* vantage; and, accordingly, going into the forum, complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father; addressing himself to *Antony*, as if he had been present (Q). His discourse incensed the populace against *Antony*; every

(Q) *Why should your hatred decreed, for him? Sacrifice me, if to me (said he) extend to Cæsar, you please, to your revenge; but do who deserved so well of you? Why not thus revile the manes of a do you endeavour to prevent me great man, to whom you owe your from paying those honours to the present dignity. Suffer me, at least, memory of my father, which you O Antony! to discharge those yourself procured, and the senate legacies, which he has left to his fellow-*

*They are
reconciled.*

*Antony
obtains of
the people
the pro-
vince of
Cisalpine
Gaul.*

every one detested his ingratitude, even his own guards, who had all served under *Cæsar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the son of their general. Hereupon *Antony*, finding it behoved him to dissemble, notwithstanding his passion against young *Octavianus*, answered, That he preserved a tender regard for the memory of *Cæsar*, and had also a great value for his son; but that as the young man, proud of the name of *Cæsar*, pretended to put himself upon the level with a consul, he thought himself obliged to make him sensible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magistrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was past, provided *Octavianus* would, for the future, pay him that respect and deference, to which his office and age intitled him. This explanation was, at the request of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual protestations of friendship, they promised to assist each other in revenging *Cæsar*'s death, and persecuting the authors of it^m.

In this pretended reconciliation with *Octavianus*, *Antony* had his private views. As the consular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the interest of *Octavianus*, to procure for himself the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been given to *Decimus Brutus* by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death, by a decree of the senate. As he knew the importance of that government, with respect to all *Italy*, he remonstrated to *Octavianus*, that since he was generously disposed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to suffer one of his assassins to enjoy a command at the very gates of *Rome*. *Octavianus* fell into the snare, and promised to assist him with all his interest. Hereupon the affair was brought before the senate, where it met with great opposition, the conscript fathers looking upon the cause of the conspirators as the same with that of liberty. Besides, they could not turn *Brutus* out of the province which *Cæsar* had allotted him, without reversing the decree, by which they had confirmed all his acts. The proposal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting some, who, well apprised of *Antony*'s ambitious views, proposed declaring that province a free state, rather than trusting the government of it to one, who would make use of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but, as that province seemed very convenient for his designs, *Antony* had recourse to the people,

^m PLUT. DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.*

fellow-citizens; I freely abandon his memory, by distributing among to your insatiable avarice all the the people what he has left them rest. I shall think myself rich by his will. enough, if I can but do justice to

whose

whose tribunes he had bribed; and the undiscerning multitude, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the senate, granted him the government he desired. On this occasion, *Octavianus* employed all his interest in favour of *Antony*, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the consul carried his point. The conscript fathers immediately dispatched a messenger to *Brutus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and advising him not to deliver up the province to *Antony*, but to fortify himself there, and keep out the consul, if necessary, by force of arms ⁿ.

THE friends of *Cæsar* triumphed, on account of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but, as the interests of the two rivals were so widely opposite, each of them aspiring at the same power which *Cæsar* had enjoyed, it was impossible they should continue long united. *Antony*, thinking himself ^{A new} now master of *Italy*, began to thwart *Octavianus*'s measures, ^{breach be-} and regard him less; nay, he commanded him, under severe ^{tween An-} penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largesses: ^{tony and} and because *Octavianus*, by the great interest he had among the ^{Octavia-} people, was likely to get *Flaminius*, one of his creatures, named ^{nus.} to the tribunate, *Antony* employed all his credit and authority with the multitude, to postpone the election. Thus the hatred and aversion of the two rivals were kindled anew. *Antony* never mentioned *Octavianus*, but with the epithets of a rash, turbulent, and seditious young man; while *Octavianus*, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to stir up the resentment of the people against *Antony*. The senate was overjoyed at this division; but *Antony*'s guards, and the late dictator's friends, did not fail to remonstrate to him anew the dangerous consequences of their disagreement, and to exhort *Antony* to be reconciled again to the son of their general. *Antony* was no less desirous of destroying the conspirators than his soldiers and officers; but he could not brook it should be owing to *Octavianus*. He was afraid, that, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar*'s death, he might seize on the sovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the secret motive that prompted him to oppose *Octavianus*, whom he saw greatly beloved both by the soldiery and people.

HOWEVER, as it much concerned him not to disoblige the *Antony* officers and legionaries, who had followed him since the dictator's ^{endeavours} death, he undertook to justify his conduct to them in an harangue, ^{to justify} which is related at length by *Appian* ^o, and unravels all the ^{his con-} mysteries of his wicked policy (R). The speech satisfied his ^{duct.} officers;

ⁿ PLUT. DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.*

^o APPIAN. l. iii. c. 9.

(R) After having given them that happened in the city upon an account of the disturbances the first news of *Cæsar*'s death,

Is recon- officers; yet they insisted on his being reconciled anew to *Octa-*
ciled anew *vianus*, with whom, at their request, he had a second inter-
to Octavi- view in the capitol, which ended in mutual engagements and
anus. promises to assist each other, as the former had done; but, not-

withstanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted just as sincere friends as they were before. *Octavianus* was willing, that *Antony*, as his father's creature, should assist him in revenging *Cæsar's* death; but would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the defeat of the conspirators, would be master of the republic. On the other hand *Antony*, quite indifferent about the revenging of *Cæsar's* death, only pretended to

he goes on thus: "The general
 "cry was, that the republic was
 "restored, and the senate seemed
 "disposed to decree a reward
 "for the assassins, as the authors
 "of liberty. If this had been
 "effected, *Cæsar* had been de-
 "clared a tyrant, and we all in-
 "volved in the same sentence as
 "his accomplices; but I alone
 "stood up against all the con-
 "spirators, their relations, their
 "friends, and, I may say, a-
 "gainst the senate itself. Their
 "adherents foreseeing, that, if
 "*Cæsar* was not declared a ty-
 "rant, the conspirators might
 "be punished, were very san-
 "guine for having his memory
 "branded with infamy. As
 "both parties defended their
 "opinions with obstinacy, I
 "thought it adviseable to pro-
 "pose a general pardon for the
 "conspirators, rather than a
 "reward. The conscript fa-
 "thers approved of my propo-
 "sal, and thinking the con-
 "spirators secure, were easily
 "prevailed upon to drop the
 "question relating to *Cæsar*.
 "Thus I preserved the glory of
 "his name intire, saved his
 "estate and goods from being
 "forfeited, and prevented that
 "adoption from being cancel-
 "led, which now makes *Octa-*

vianus so daring. He enjoys
 "the fruit of my cares. To get
 "his father's will confirmed, I
 "consented to a pardon in fa-
 "vour of the conspirators; but
 "you must not infer from
 "thence, that my design was to
 "secure their lives: I only re-
 "prieved them. It was not my
 "fault, if they were not all torn
 "to pieces on the day of *Cæ-*
 "*far's* obsequies. Under pre-
 "tence of deploring *Cæsar's*
 "death, I incensed the people
 "against them, and obliged
 "them to quit *Rome*. I have
 "opposed all the measures of
 "the senate, tending to their
 "safety. I have obtained of
 "the people, notwithstanding
 "the opposition of the conscript
 "fathers, the province of *Cisal-*
 "*pine Gaul*, whence, with your
 "assistance, I design to drive
 "*Decimus Brutus*. In short, I
 "am determined, at all adven-
 "tures, to revenge your gene-
 "ral's death, and use my ut-
 "most endeavours to compass
 "the total ruin of all who had
 "any hand in his murder. Such
 "has hitherto been my conduct,
 "such are at present my designs,
 "which I was unwilling to con-
 "ceal from you, who are to
 "assist me in the execution of
 "them."

he

be in earnest, to ingratiate himself with the soldiery and populace. The sovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traversed him in the pursuit of it, whether *Octavianus*, *Brutus*, or *Cassius*, was equally odious to him.

AND now *Antony*, the more to attach his colleague *Cornelius Dolabella* to his interest, and at the same time to weaken the party of the conspirators, persuaded him to demand the government of *Syria*, which had been allotted by *Cæsar* to *Cassius*, and the command of the army which the dictator had designed to lead against the *Parthians*. The senate, highly offended at such an unseasonable demand, remonstrated to him, that it was an insult, both upon the memory of *Cæsar*, who had given that government to *Cassius*, and upon them, who had, by a special decree, confirmed all his ordinances; but *Dolabella*, who was now wholly addicted to *Antony*, answered, That *Cassius* had first transgressed the ordinances of *Cæsar*; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought not to have any share in his favours. As the senate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of *Syria* to *Dolabella*, in hopes of seeing a speedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies, without considering, that their death would be immediately followed with the loss of their own liberty. *Antony*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the people, prevailed upon them, at the same time, to confer on his brother *Caius Antonius* the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, which had been given to *M. Brutus*. By these new promotions, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were deprived of their governments; but the senate, who placed all their hopes in these brave patriots, and were equally jealous of *Octavianus* and *Antony*, procured other provinces for them, to wit, *Cyrene* and *Crete* for *Cassius*, and *Bithynia* for *Brutus*.

As the reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octavianus* was forced, and no way sincere, their pretended friendship was but short-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged, in the capitol, to assist each other, *Antony* caused some of his guards to be put under arrest, giving out, that they had been corrupted by *Octavianus* to murder him (S). This was, perhaps, a mere pretence.

A new breach between Antony and Octavianus.

P. DIO, l. xlv. LIV. l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 543--546.

(S) This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was only an artifice of *Antony*, to estrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others seem inclined to

believe, that *Octavianus* had really formed such a design, and that he was put upon it by the conscript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon very good terms. *Cicero*, tho' a friend to

Octavianus,

They both
arm.

pretence to raise forces. Accordingly *Antony* sent orders to his brother *Caius*, for whom he had procured the government of *Macedon*, to bring over into *Italy* four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himself, that *Lepidus*, who was now in *Spain* at the head of four legions, and *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Transalpine Gaul*, would declare for him. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, fearing to be surprised and crushed by his enemy, hastened into *Campania*, where he drew together ten thousand brave veterans, who had served under *Cæsar*, and had been rewarded by him for their service, with lands in that part of *Italy* (T). He likewise found means to corrupt with large presents, and gain over two of *Antony's* legions, the *Martian* and the fourth.

Octavia-
nus enters
Rome
with a nu-
merous bo-
dy of men.

HAVING thus raised an army by his own authority, without being invested either with a military title, or any magistracy which gave him right to head the forces of the republic, especially against a consul, he marched strait to *Rome*; but thought it adviseable to halt at the temple of *Mars*, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the consent of the people for his entry. *Canutius*, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, assured them, that young *Octavianus* had no other view in entering *Rome* with so numerous a guard, but to protect them and himself from the insults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious consul. The populace, always short in their foresight, believed their tribune, and suffered *Octavianus* to enter the city with all his forces. *Antony* was then at *Brundisium*, whither he had gone to appease a tumult, which some mutineers had raised among the *Macedonian* legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions, which had remained faithful to him, nobody doubted but a civil war would soon be kindled within the very walls of *Rome*. In this persuasion, some sided with *Antony*, others with *Octavianus*; but the most discerning among the senators declared

Octavianus, does not question the fact; but endeavours to turn it to the glory of *Octavianus*, as if he ought to be highly commended for attempting to deliver the republic from so cruel an enemy. There were not wanting some among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was agreed on beforehand, between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a plausible pretence to raise troops for the accomplishment of

their private designs; but their ensuing conduct sufficiently shewed, that each of them sought the other's destruction, and aspired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was opposite to that of the conspirators.

(T) To these the name of *evocati* was first given, because, after they had served their legal time, and received the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army.

for

for neither, affecting to stand neuter, and in the mean time stirring up underhand the heads of the two parties against each other, not without hopes of seeing them both undone by their mutual hatred⁹ (U).

BUT to return to *Antony*: after he had appeased the tumult, *Antony* which had been raised among his troops at *Brundisium* by the emissaries of *Octavianus*, and discharged such of the officers as he distrusted, he ordered his legions to march to *Ariminum*; but took himself his route towards *Rome*, which he entered at the head of a thousand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to *Alba*, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they shutting the gates against him, he hastened from thence to *Tibur*, where he had lodged great store of ammunition and provisions, with a design to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of *Cisalpine Gaul*. At *Tibur*, he was joined by the tenth legion lately arrived from *Macedon*, by several senators, and a great number of *Roman* knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly

⁹ APPIAN. DIO, VEL. PATERC. ibid. CIC. in epist. ad Attic. & famil. pass.

(U) *Cicero*, out of the aversion he bore to *Antony*, sided with *Octavianus*, whom he had assisted with his advice ever since his first arrival in *Italy*, omitting no occasion to discredit his rival *Antony*, both with the senate and people, as plainly appears from those inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of *Philippics*, a name borrowed from the orations which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. *M. Brutus*, who was still in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, wrote several letters to *Cicero*, wherein he complained of his conduct in very sharp terms, telling him, That, notwithstanding his boasted love of liberty, he was very sensible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifest, from his courting

Octavianus, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful master for himself: But our forefathers, said *Brutus*, could not brook even an easy and gentle slavery. As for my own part, says he in one of his letters, I am not resolved, whether I shall make war or peace; but, as to one point, I am fixed and settled, which is, never to be a slave. I wonder that you, says he in writing to *Cicero*, should fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous peace. All you can promise yourself, from destroying the tyranny of *Antony*, is to make *Octavianus* the tyrant. Such were the sentiments of that noble and truly generous spirit (5).

(5) *Plat. in Bruto, & Cic.*

Antony served under him, flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*; so that he began his march towards *Ariminum*, at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of *Roman* knights. *Octavianus* was, in the mean time, at *Alba*, with the two legions that had abandoned *Antony*, one of new-raised soldiers, and two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that august body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had basely abandoned his party, and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against *Antony*, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. But the soldiers pressed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and, in that quality, to head them against *Antony*. *Octavianus* well knew, that this would give great umbrage to the senate, whose favour he designed to court, till he had got rid of *Antony*; and therefore he refused the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his most intimate friends, whom he used to consult in all affairs of moment, remonstrated to him, that his troops would scruple to obey a citizen without any title or magistracy, he acquainted them with the reasons which induced him to refuse the title offered him by the army (W).

(W) The senate, said he, has declared for me, not out of friendship to me, but because they are afraid of *Antony*: their design is to make use of me to destroy him, and afterwards to destroy me by the hands of those who have assassinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them understand, that I have penetrated so far into the mysteries of their policy, which I should certainly do, if I accepted of those honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do *Antony*. Let us therefore dissemble for a while; my pretended respect and submission to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity which they know my soldiers are disposed to give me in spite of them. And indeed the conscript fathers, deceived by his seeming modesty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refused; nay, at the motion of *Cicero*, desirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector against *Antony*, they ordered a statue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the senate, and enabled him to hold the consulate ten years sooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator securing a protector to himself, at the expence of the public safety (6).

(C) *Appian. Dio, Plut. ibid. & Cic. passim, in epist. & Philippic. i. & ii.*

IN the mean time *Antony*, from his camp at *Ariminum*, dispatched a messenger to *Decimus Brutus*, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and conferred it on himself. To the decree of the people, *Brutus* opposed that of the senate, confirming all the acts of *Cæsar*. After several messages and deputations, *Antony* at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if, within a limited time, he did not resign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the *Roman* people. *Brutus*, without being in the least frightened by his threats, returned answer, that he had been appointed governor of *Cisalpine Gaul* by a decree of the senate, and would not quit his province, till those who had placed him in it thought fit to recal him. Hereupon the consul, breaking into the province, at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of several cities, and even laid siege to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, whither *Brutus* had retired with a troop of gladiators, and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under *Cæsar*. The siege of *Mutina* was looked upon by the senate as a declaration of war; but they postponed all deliberations on so important a subject, till the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Caius Vibius Pansa* and *Aulus Hirtius*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar's* commentaries.

THEY no sooner entered upon their office, than they assembled the senate, and after having set forth, in a very pathetic speech, the evils with which the republic was threatened, they proposed the two following questions to the consideration of the conscript fathers, to wit, what rewards the two legions deserved, that had abandoned *Antony*, to side with *Octavianus*, and what expedients they judged proper to be taken, in order to bring *Antony* to renounce his pretensions to the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*? It was unanimously resolved, that the two legions should be rewarded, and the consuls were empowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for *Antony*, some were of opinion, that a deputation should be sent to him, intreating him, in the name of the senate, to raise the siege of *Mutina*, and abandon that province. But *Cicero*, in a speech, which has reached us, to wit, his fifth *Philippic*, shewed it was beneath the dignity of the *Roman* people, to treat with a revolted citizen; and that negotiations would only give him time to strengthen himself in the province he had usurped: he was therefore of opinion, and promoted it with great warmth and eloquence, that war should be forthwith proclaimed against him, as a common

Antony
ordered by
the senate
to raise the
siege of
Mutina.

He is, at
the motion
of Cicero,
declared an
enemy to
his coun-
try.

Year after
the flood

2311.
Bef. Chr.

37.
Of Rome

711.

C. Trebo-
nius trea-
cherously
murdered
by Dola-
bella in
Syria.

common enemy (X). After warm debates, which lasted three days, *Cicero*, who bore great sway in the senate, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to pass a decree, commanding *Antony* to raise the siege of *Mutina* without delay, to quit the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and marching his troops over the *Rubicon*, which parted *Gaul* from *Italy*, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the senate. All this he was ordered, upon pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But *Antony*, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not persuade himself that *Octavianus* would employ his forces against him, in favour of one of the conspirators, paid no manner of respect either to the deputies of the senate, who were sent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itself. Hereupon, at the motion of *Cicero*, *Antony* was declared an enemy to his country, and the two consuls were ordered to raise troops, and hasten to the relief of *Brutus*, who was closely besieged, and already reduced to great straits in *Mutina*. At the same time, *Octavianus* was commanded by the senate to join his forces to those of the consuls, and to act in concert with them against the common enemy. He was invested with a power equal to that of the consuls; and it was decreed, that the veterans, who served under him, should be rewarded with lands, as soon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the service.

WHILE the two consuls were busy in raising troops, news were brought to *Rome* of the death of *Caius Trebonius*, who, by a decree of the senate, had been sent into *Asia* in quality of pro-consul. The manner of his death is thus related by *Cicero*: *Dolabella* having obtained, as we have related above, by means of *Antony*, the government of *Syria*, hastened thither; but, on his arrival, found *Trebonius* in possession of several cities, which he had seized, as lieutenant to *Brutus*, who had been first appointed governor of that province. As *Dolabella* was not in a condition

^r Cic. Philippic. v. & epist. ad Brutum 15. Liv. lib. cxviii. VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii. c. 81. SUET. in Octavio. PLUT. in Antonio. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 359, 360. DIO, l. xlv. p. 310.

(X) His speech was filled with most bitter invectives against *Antony*, and the highest commendations of *Octavianus*; which seems to confirm the truth of what *M. Brutus* wrote to his friend *Atticus*, to wit, that *Cicero* did not, in siding with young *Cæsar*, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bound-

tiful master to himself. Others are of opinion, that *Cicero*, deceived by the affected modesty, and feigned protestations of the young politician, really believed that he had nothing else in view, but to guard himself and the republic against the ambitious attempts of *Antony*.

to dispossess him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed, that they should abstain from all manner of hostilities. and live in perfect amity and friendship; for *Dolabella* pretended now, as he had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wisher to *Brutus* and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promises of *Dolabella*, continued quietly at *Smyrna*, as in the most peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his security and indolence, surprised the city in the dead of the night, and having taken *Trebonius* himself prisoner, delivered him up to a *Roman* exile, by name *Samarius*; who, after having made him suffer, by *Dolabella's* orders, for two days together, the most exquisite torments, which rage and cruelty could invent, caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through the streets of *Smyrna*, and then thrown into the sea. His head was carried on the point of a spear all over the city, and afterwards set up over-against the tribunal, where he used to administer justice. From thence it was taken down by the soldiers, who, being incensed against *Trebonius*, as privy to the death of their general, abused the poor remains of his body in the grossest manner^s (Y).

^s Cic. Philippica xi.

(Y) *Appian*, *Dio Cassius*, and *Velleius Paterculus*, relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that *Trebonius*, who had been sent into *Syria* by *Brutus*, as his lieutenant, refused to admit *Dolabella*, though consul, into the cities of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*; but nevertheless, out of respect to the consular dignity, supplied his army with provisions, and sent word to the *Ephesians*, that they might open their gates to him. While the consul was marching towards *Ephesus*, at the head of his army, *Trebonius* detached a small body of troops after him to observe his motions. As he quietly pursued his route to *Ephesus*, without committing any hostilities, the greatest part of *Trebonius's* troops returned to *Smyrna*. Then *Dola-*

bella, turning back unexpectedly upon those who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing, by the favour of the night, to *Smyrna* without being perceived, surprised the city, and put all those to the sword who offered to oppose him. A party of his soldiers, breaking into the house, where *Trebonius* lodged, seized him in bed. The proconsul earnestly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to *Dolabella*. *We will carry you to the consul*, answered the centurion, who was one of *Cæsar's* old soldiers: *but your head must remain here*. Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incensed soldiery in a most contemptuous manner (7).

(7) *Vell. Patercul.* l. ii. c. 69. *Appian.* l. iii. p. 542, 543. *Dio.* l. xlvii. p. 344.

Thus

Thus was *Trebonius*, the first of all the conspirators, inhumanly sacrificed to the manes of *Cæsar*. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raised by him to the consulate for the three last months of the year 708. and had been two years before trusted with the government of *Hispania*, whither he was sent to stop the progress of the sons of *Pompey*. He served the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined *Brutus*, and shared with him the glory of delivering, at least for some time, his fellow-subjects from slavery.

WHEN the news of his death, and soon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to *Rome*, the senate, highly provoked at the cruelty and treachery of *Dolabella*, declared him, at the motion of *Cicero*, a rebel, and enemy to his country. At the same time they passed a decree, enacting, that *Brutus* should have the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, and the command of the forces in those provinces, till such time as the republic recovered her antient majesty; that he might make use of the fleet which *Apuleius* had, by *Cæsar*'s orders, got ready, together with all the provisions, military stores, and money, to the amount of seven thousand talents, which *Cæsar* had lodged in the city of *Demetrias*, and designed for his *Parthian* expedition; that *Cassius* should take upon him the government of *Syria*, and the charge of making war upon *Dolabella*, and revenging the death of *Trebonius*; and, lastly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic should receive orders from these two generals¹.

Dolabella
declared a
rebel and
enemy to
his coun-
try.

Antony
endeavours
to gain
over *Hir-
tius* and
*Octavia-
nus*.

ANTONY, being informed by his emissaries of such an extraordinary step taken by the senate, laid hold of this opportunity, to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the consul *Hirtius* and young *Octavianus* against the conscript fathers. He wrote a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude, for basely betraying the cause of their benefactor, to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the secret designs of the senate, which were to make them the instruments of each other's ruin. These remonstrances made a deep impression on *Octavianus*, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But as his own interest was the sole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined *Antony*, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he still pursued his former measures, which

¹ Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 7. & Philippic. xi. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 542. & l. iv. p. 624. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 344.

were to court the favour of the senate, till such time as he had got rid of so powerful and formidable a rival. Pursuant to this scheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conscript fathers; but, to give proof of his deference to the consuls, readily surrendered to *Hirtius* the legion of *Mars*, and the fourth, which had quitted *Antony's* party, and which the consul, by a secret order from the senate, required him to deliver up to himself.

AFTER this he joined the remainder of his forces to those of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, and marched with him into *Cisalpine Gaul* to the relief of *Decimus Brutus*, while *Pansa*, the other consul, continued in *Italy* to raise more troops there. *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* took *Bononia* and several other cities which *Antony* had seized, and then advancing to the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, encamped at a small distance from *Antony's* lines, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of provisions, to raise the siege. In the mean time *P. Ventidius*, a soldier of fortune, who had served under *Cæsar*, and was a particular friend to *Antony*, quitting *Rome*, where *Cicero* governed with an absolute sway, visited all the colonies which *Cæsar* had lately established in *Italy*; and as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he raised in a short time two legions, consisting wholly of veterans, with a design to march them to the relief of *Antony*. But first, he caused several of them to enter *Rome* privately, with orders to seize upon *Cicero*, who was daily inveighing against *Antony*, and wholly taken up in raising money, at the expence of *Antony's* friends, to pay the troops of *Octavianus* and the consuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his design, abandoned the city with several other senators, and concealed himself in the country. Hereupon *Ventidius*, finding his design had got vent, marched in all haste towards *Mutina*; but all the passes being seized by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, he was obliged to retire into *Picenum*, where he raised another legion, keeping his troops in readiness to march on the first opportunity that offered of serving his friend and party.

IN the mean time *Pansa*, having raised four legions in *Rome*, left the city, and taking his route towards *Cisalpine Gaul*, arrived at *Bononia*. As the country between that city and *Mutina* was full of woods and marshes, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, upon the news of his approach, detached the legion of *Mars*, which consisted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of *Carfuleius*, to cover his march. On the other hand *Antony* sent out in the night-time his two best legions, the second and thirty-third, with orders to conceal

■ APPIAN. DIO, VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. CIC. Philippic. xi. themselves

Antony
attacks the
consul
Pansa.

themselves among the rushes of a large morass, which lay on each side of the *Emilian* way, through which the consul *Pansa* was to march. *Carfuleius* joined the consular army with his detachment before they reached the morass, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of *Mars*, and the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, when upon entering the causeway, which led across the march, he observed some armed men lying among the rushes. However, he advanced boldly on the causeway with the legion of *Mars*; but was not gone far before he saw himself invested by *Antony's* two legions, who, starting up from among the reeds and rushes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the same time *Antony* appeared in person at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain. The consul *Pansa*, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the assistance of the legion of *Mars*, which was engaged with two of *Antony's* legions; but those brave veterans refusing to admit the consul's raw and undisciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they should rather incumber than relieve them, the consul, passing the morass, marched in good order into the plain to prevent *Antony* from lending any assistance to his legions and guards on the causeway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expressed.

A sharp
engage-
ment.

ANTONY's two legions were bent on revenging themselves on the *Martian* legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other side the *Martian* legion was resolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under *Cæsar*. Thus the engagement became a particular quarrel between the soldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, *Antony's* two legions being supported by his guards, and the *Martian* legion by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, the battle lasted from morning to night without any considerable advantage on either side. *Octavianus's* guards were almost to a man cut in pieces, but those of *Hirtius*, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, obliged *Antony's* second legion to give ground, which they did in good order. The *Martian* legion and *Antony's* thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the causeway into the morass, till *Carfuleius* drew off his men to relieve the consul *Pansa*, who was engaged with *Antony* in the plain, and hemmed in by his cavalry. But as *Carfuleius's* legionaries were greatly fatigued after so long and obstinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the consul was mortally wounded, and his troops put to flight. *Torquatus*, quæstor of the consular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of a camp, to serve as an asylum for his party, in case of any misfortune. Thither the consul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was pierced thro' the body with a javelin. *Antony* pursued them, not doubting but he should easily force their intrenchments,

Antony
prevails

ments, which were not yet completed. But the consular legions, ^{over the} though wholly consisting of raw soldiers, who had been just ^{consul} defeated in the plain, made so vigorous a resistance, that *Antony*, ^{Pansa;} fearing *Hirtius* might come upon him in the mean time, thought it adviseable to content himself with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before *Mutina*.

BUT while his troops were marching back in disorder, as often happens after a victory, *Hirtius* unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty chosen cohorts, and falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many of them in pieces. However, those brave veterans, tired as they were, made a vigorous resistance, and being encouraged by the example of their general, who distinguished himself on this occasion in a most eminent manner, stood their ground a great while; but were at length ^{but is de-} intirely defeated, and forced to save themselves by flight cross ^{feated by} the marshes on each side the *Æmilian* way. *Hirtius*, who in ^{his colleague} this action discharged the duty both of an experienced general, *Hirtius*. and a valiant soldier, would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives for fear of some ambuscade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marshes. As for *Antony*, he passed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a small village called *Forum Gallorum*, at present *Castel Franco*, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his camp before *Mutina*. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite spent with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of sixty furlongs, through woods and marshes (Z). The loss on both sides was pretty equal: in the first battle *Octavianus's* guards, with a great number of *Pansa's* legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the second *Hirtius* lost only a small number of men, whereas the slaughter of the enemy was very great ^w.

^w CIC. Philippic. xiv. SUET. in *Octavio*. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 61. DIO, APPIAN. ibid.

(Z) As for *Octavianus*, some writers tell us, that he was at the first battle; nay, *Antony* afterwards upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having quitted his horse, and thrown away his arms, that he might with more ease save himself, cross the woods and marshes, where, according to him, he lay concealed two days, being both ashamed and afraid to shew himself. Others say, that he remained

in his camp in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, and there repulsed with great bravery a strong detachment from *Antony's* camp, which attempted to force his intrenchments. They add, that for so gallant an action, which was, we may say, his first essay in the art of war, he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Imperator*, as were likewise the two consuls for their courageous behaviour in the two battles.

AFTER

The battle of Mutina. AFTER the battle both armies returned to their respective camps in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*. *Antony* resolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the siege with all possible vigour. On the other hand *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, fearing the place, if not relieved, might soon be obliged to capitulate, were for venturing another engagement. But as *Antony* kept close within his lines, the two generals resolved to make a bold push, in order to throw some succours into the invested city. Accordingly, leaving a sufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the rest close up to *Antony's* lines, with a design to force them, where they appeared weakest. *Antony* immediately sent out all his cavalry against them; but his horse being put to the rout, after a sharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had possessed themselves of an eminence, he caused two legions to advance, which were so vigorously attacked by *Hirtius*, that they soon began to give ground, and retire in disorder to their intrenchments. The consul pursued his advantage, and suffering himself to be carried away by his courage and ardor, entered the lines along with the fugitives, and penetrated, in spite of all opposition, as far as *Hirtius's* the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid him dead on the ground. And now by the death of one of the consuls, and the absence of the other, who had been conveyed to *Bononia* after the first battle, in which he was mortally wounded, *Octavianus* was left commander in chief of the whole army (A). *Antony*, weakened by these losses, and fearing the event

(A) He is said by some writers to have given on this occasion signal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander. For at the head of some brave legionaries he rescued the body of the dead consul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his standard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himself, fighting like a private man in the first line. But as he observed the consular troops somewhat discouraged by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to seek for shelter behind their intrenchments. Some ascribe the whole glory of this action to *Decimus Brutus*, who, sallying out of the city, and falling upon the enemy's rear, while they were engaged with *Octavianus*, forced them to give ground, and retreat with the utmost confusion to their camp. The battle of *Mutina* was fought on the seventeenth of the calends of *May*, as is plain from a letter, which *Galba*, who was in the battle, wrote to *Cicero* (8).

(8) *Cic. l. x. ad familiar. epist. 30.*

event of a third battle, raised the siege the next day; and not Antony being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, obliged to retire towards the *Alps*, and took the road to *Transalpine Gaul*, raise the siege of *Mutina*, with a design to join *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, who were in those large provinces at the head of considerable armies*.

DECIMUS BRUTUS being thus delivered from a long and troublesome siege, was for some time at a loss how to behave with *Octavianus*, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcilable hatred, notwithstanding the assistance he had lent him against *Antony*. At length, by the advice of his friends, he dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the *Scutemnis*, now the *Panaro*. *Octavianus* received the messenger with a great deal of coldness, but agreed to his proposal; which *Brutus* no sooner understood, than he caused the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broken down, and by a second message required, that the conference might be held in the presence of their troops, and with the river between them. These were not unseasonable precautions, it being well known, that *Octavianus* had vowed the destruction of all those who had been any-way concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made use of on all occasions to destroy such as were true friends to their country, and enemies to tyranny.

OCTAVIANUS having agreed to these conditions, both he and *Brutus* appeared on the opposite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the assistance he had lent him, and acknowledged himself indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite discourse *Octavianus* answered with great surliness, That *Brutus* owed him no obligations, since he had relieved *Mutina*, not for his sake, but to chastise the insolence of *Antony*, who nevertheless might one day become his friend, whereas he should ever maintain a mortal enmity to *Brutus*, and all those who had embued their hands in the blood of his father. *Brutus*, piqued at this haughty and threatening answer, replied smartly, That since *Antony* was already sufficiently humbled, he had no further business in the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the senate, forbidding any other general to enter

* *APPIAN. DIO, ibid. PLUT. in Antonio.*

From the third day after this victory, those seem to reckon the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, who will have him to have governed the Roman empire forty-six years, four months, and one day (9).

(9) *Vide Usher. ad ann. mundi 4671. Theophyl. Antiochen. in Autolycho, & Clement. Alexandrin. l. x. Stromat.*

it without his leave. *Octavianus* was highly offended at the boldness of *Brutus*; but being well apprised that he was supported by the senate, he thought it adviseable to stifle his resentment for the present, and quitting the neighbourhood of *Mutina* to return to *Bononia*, where he found the consul *Vibius Pansa* lying at the point of death.

Pansa's
last advice
to Octa-
vianus.

He no sooner heard of the arrival of *Octavianus*, than he sent for him, and tenderly embracing him, spoke to him in the following manner: "I always loved your father more than myself, and when he was slain, would have ventured my own life to save his, had I been armed. I never laid aside the desire, nor the hopes of revenging one day his death, though some prudential reasons, to which even you have submitted, have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the senate. But now my death, just at hand, deprives me of that comfort. However, before I expire, I will at least acquit myself towards the son of what I was indebted to the father. Know then, that the senate both hates and suspects you. Nothing has pleased them more than to see you fall out with *Antony*, and they flatter themselves with the hopes of finding you become the instruments of each other's ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only because they thought you the weakest, and the man they could the more easily overcome. This they have declared more than once to *Hirtius* and to me. The friendship therefore with which *Cæsar* once honoured me, obliges me to give you such advice, as I myself would follow on the like occasion. Agree with *Antony*; for you have no other means of saving your life, and advancing your fortune. My design was not, as the senate believed, to destroy *Antony*, but compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction pursue the murderers of our common benefactor. I return to you your two legions, and would willingly surrender up to you the rest of the army; but they do not intirely depend upon me. The commanders are most of them the spies of the senate, who have private orders to observe your conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands of *Torquatus*." The words of the dying consul made a deep impression on the mind of *Octavianus*, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. *Pansa* died presently after, having first delivered up his army to *Torquatus*, one of his lieutenants (B).

Pansa dies
of his
wounds.

IN
y APPIAN. bell. civil. l. iii.

(B) *Octavianus* was suspected hand in the heat of the battle, of having murdered both the and *Pansa* after it, by causing consuls; *Hirtius* with his own poison to be poured into his wound

IN the mean time the senate, upon the news of the advantages *A suppli-* gained over *Antony* by the generals of the republic, decreed, at *cation of* the motion of *Cicero*, fifty days supplications to return thanks to *fifty days* the gods for the success of the campaign. By the same decree *decreed for* large sums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public *the success* treasury to such of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, *of the cam-* and to the widows and heirs of those who had died in the battle, *paign.* or since of their wounds; which had never been done before on account of any victory. The bodies of the two consuls were, *The bodies* by an order from the senate, conveyed to *Rome*, and with the *of the two* utmost magnificence interred in the *Campus Martius*, at the *consuls* expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto *carried to* granted to none but the most eminent personages of the republic. *Rome, and* The bodies of three other officers of distinction, to wit, of *interred* *Caius Peduceus*, *Decimus Carfuleius*, and *Pontius Aquila*, were *with great* conveyed to *Rome* with those of the consuls, and interred with *pomp.* great pomp in the burying-places of their respective families, most of the senators attending their obsequies^z.

AND now the conscript fathers, conceiving *Antony* to be utterly undone, began to slight *Octavianus*, for whom they believed they should have no further occasion. He demanded a triumph, which was refused to him, and granted to *Decimus Brutus*; tho' *Octavianus*, it must be owned, had at least as just a claim to that honour as *Brutus*. *Cicero* indeed was for granting him an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the senate to allow him even that mark of distinction. On the *The senate* other hand they heaped all sorts of honours on *Decimus*. They *by honour-* ordered *Torquatus* to deliver up to him the troops which the *ing Brutus* consul *Pansa* had commanded: they appointed him commander *disgust Oc-* in chief of all the forces in *Cisalpine Gaul*, charging him, without *tavianus*:

^z BRUTUS ad Cic. epist. 6. DIO, l. xlv. SUT. in Octavio.

wound by *Glyco*, his physician. It is certain *Glyco* was seized, and even condemned to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master *Octavianus*. *Decimus Brutus* indeed wrote to *Cicero* in behalf of the physician, whom he seems to have thought incapable of so black a crime. But notwithstanding *Brutus's* declaration, who was known to be an humane and good-natured man, the report was credited by many in *Rome*. As for the consul *Hirtius*, *Aquilius Niger* wrote, that Oc-

tavianus killed him undesignedly in the hurry of the battle. We will not warrant the truth of these reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundless, as some modern writers call them, broached by enthusiastic republicans, to blacken the reputation of so great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this *great man*, we shall have many, too many instances in the sequel of this history.

so much as mentioning *Octavianus*, to pursue *Antony*, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of *Rome* were opened, and public prayers appointed for the success of his arms: as the siege of *Mutina* had been raised on his birth-day, the senate decreed, that it should be for ever deemed a lucky day, and such as marked in the *fasti*. At the same time the conscript fathers, as if they had taken pleasure in mortifying *Octavianus*, passed a decree, enacting, that a statue should be raised at the public expence to the memory of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the conspirators, who had been killed in the battle of *Mutina*; and that all the charges he had been at, and the losses he had sustained during the war, should be made good to his heirs out of the public treasure.

Who re- So many marks of distinction heaped upon the conspirators
solves to be left *Octavianus* no room to doubt of the disposition of the senate
reconciled toward him. From that moment he resolved to follow the last
with An- advice of *Pansa*, and to be reconciled to *Antony*. With this
tony. view he sent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle, and among the rest *Decius*, one of *Antony's* most intimate friends, after having signified to him in ambiguous words his intention. *Ventidius*, as we have observed above, had raised three legions for *Antony*, and was attempting to join him after the battle of *Mutina*. *Octavianus* overtook and surpris'd him with a superior force, and might easily have defeated him; but he suffered him to escape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell *Antony* in his name, that he was ignorant of his true interest, and acted quite contrary to it. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the senate, intirely addicted to the assassins of his father, were resolved to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death of their late general, &c. He added some complaints of *Antony*; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was no way averse to a reconciliation.

Antony In the mean time *Antony*, pressed by *Brutus*, endeavoured to
is driven gain the *Alps*, with a design to pass those mountains, and join
out of Italy *Lepidus*, who commanded seven legions in *Transalpine Gaul*,
by Deci- and who, he imagined, would stand his friend, in consideration

^a Cic. ad Attic. l. i. epist. 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epist. 20.
Dio, l. xlyi. APPIAN. l. iii.

of the many kind offices he had done him during his late consulship, and in the dictator's life-time. *Brutus*, having thus driven him out of *Italy*, wrote to the senate, that he had dispersed his army, and that *Antony* himself was sculking somewhere among the *Alps*, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at this news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered its antient liberty, and appointed, as if *Antony* had been actually taken, ten commissioners to try him. They talked of nothing less than repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during his consulship, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to resettle the commonwealth on its antient foundation. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree immediately passed, confiscating all *Antony's* effects, and those of his friends and adherents, with grievous menaces against such as should dare to conceal any part of his estate.

WHILE *Cicero*, at the head of the senate, was thus venting his rage upon *Antony*, that general was struggling among the *Alps* with all the hardships and miseries that can be imagined. *Brutus* having obliged him to quit *Italy*, he attempted to pass those mountains without his baggage, and the necessary provisions for so long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed first upon the flesh of their horses, and afterwards on such wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous and inhospitable country, and which no man had ever tasted before; nay, they were at last so pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. *Plutarch* tells us, that in this extremity, *Antony*, though accustomed to luxury and ease, was a most illustrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be easily distinguished from a virtuous man. He suffered all hardships imaginable with the constancy of an hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleasures. But after all, he must have perished with his whole army, if *Culeo*, one of *Lepidus's* lieutenants, who guarded the passes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander suffered himself to be bribed by *Antony*, and for a sum of money granted him a free passage.

ANTONY no sooner entered *Gaul*, than he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, reminding them of their antient friendship, and exhorting them to join him against the murderers of *Cæsar*, their common enemies. *Lepidus* was greatly surprised at his arrival, and quite at a loss how to behave in so critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illustrious family, but of slender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the same time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined *Antony*, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get

Lepidus *refuses to join him.* the ascendant over him, and scarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this consideration alone he rejected *Antony's* proposals, and wrote him word, that since the senate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himself a decree of the same nature; but he assured him at the same time, that whatever orders he received from the senate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any-way molesting him. *Asinius Pollio*, on the contrary, no sooner received *Antony's* letter, than he assured him, that he should find him always ready to concur with him in all his measures; for he had been one of *Cæsar's* particular friends, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to all those who had been concerned in his death. As for *Plancus*, he kept a secret intelligence with both parties, and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was most likely to prevail.

Antony encamps near Lepidus. In the mean time *Antony* marched strait up to *Lepidus's* army, and marked out his camp near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same party and interest. He sent out immediately some of his officers to him, putting him in mind of their antient friendship, and conjuring him by *Cæsar's* memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But *Marcus Juventius Laterensis*, one of *Lepidus's* most intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from joining *Antony*. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conspirators, he artfully represented to *Lepidus*, that having seven legions under his command, he was one of the most powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight, what side soever he chose; but that, if he joined *Antony*, he would be obliged to submit to the authority of so haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot strove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well apprised would prove fatal to his country. But *Antony*, who saw his ruin unavoidable, if *Lepidus* should be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with *Decimus Brutus*, resolved to push his fortune, and venture all.

Enters Lepidus's camp in a mourning habit, and moves the pity of the soldiers: His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his late defeat. In this condition, and with a mourning mantle slung over him, he went boldly into the camp of *Lepidus*, and there began to harangue the soldiers, who had all served with him under *Cæsar*. They were greatly moved at his habit, and more at his speech; which *Lepidus* observing, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This raised in the soldiery a great sense of compassion; insomuch that they secretly sent *Clodius* and *Lælius* disguised in womens cloaths,

cloaths, advising *Antony* to attack *Lepidus's* camp, and assuring him, that the greater part were disposed to receive him with open arms, and even to dispatch *Lepidus*, if he would give them orders for so doing. *Antony* would by no means suffer any violence to be offered to *Lepidus*; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, founded a river (C), which lay between the two camps, and was the first who flung himself into the water to gain the opposite side. The soldiers of *Lepidus* By whom no sooner saw him than they ran in crowds to receive him, and he is re- began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make ceived into way for him. *Antony* entered the camp amidst the loud accla- the camp, mations of the soldiery, and marched strait to the general's and de quarters, whom he found asleep in his tent. We may easily clared ge- conceive the surprize of *Lepidus* at the sight of *Antony*, no longer neral. in the attire of a suppliant, but surrounded by his guards, and attended both by his own officers, and those of *Lepidus*. He leaped out of his bed in the utmost consternation, and, throwing himself at *Antony's* feet, offered him the command of the army. *Antony*, though now absolute master both of his person and army, treated him with great civility, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title, and all the badges of a general, though he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave *Juventius Laterensis* was so touched with the misfortunes, which he foresaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himself in the height of his grief with his own sword ^b. This union happened on the fourth of the calends of *June*, as is plain from *Cicero's* epistles ^c.

ASINIUS POLLIO, who was encamped at a small distance *Antony* is from *Lepidus*, followed his example, and joined *Antony*. *Mu- joined by* *nati* *Plancus*, who had been hitherto wavering, and doubtful *Pollio* and which side to take, thought it now high time to declare himself; *Plancus*. and accordingly leaving his camp at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, where he had been trusted by the senate with the charge of founding a colony (D), he led all the troops under his command

^b APPIAN. l. iii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 63. ^c Cic. ad famil. epist. 29. PLANCUS ad Cic. l. x.

(C) This river, which is called by the antients *Argenteus*, and by the moderns *Argens*, rises near *S. Maximin* in *Provence*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* at a small distance from *Frejus*.

(D) The city of *Lions* is commonly thought to have been

founded by him. *Dio Cassius* tells us in express terms, that the proconsul *L. Munatius Plancus* stopt at a place called *Lugdunum*, and founded in that neighbourhood a colony which he called *Lugdunum*. The antient city was founded, according to some writers,

command to *Antony*, who was much about the same time joined by *Ventidius* at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before *Brutus*, and abandoned *Italy*, found himself now in a condition to return thither with twenty-three legions, and above ten thousand horse.

WHILE these things were still transacting in *Gaul*, *Octavianus* continued still at *Bononia* with the fourth legion, that of *Mars*, and some others, which had remained with him after the battle of *Mutina*. As the senate had committed the whole management of the war against *Antony* to *Decimus Brutus*, he concluded from thence, that the conscript fathers intended to reduce him to the state of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he resolved to stand for the consulate, which office was become vacant by the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. But as he was well apprised of the difficulties he should meet with in the pursuit of that dignity from the senators, who were for the most part intirely addicted to the cause of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he artfully applied himself to *Cicero*, with whose vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, discovering his design to him as to a bosom-friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very desirous of having him for his colleague in the consulate, in order to be instructed by so great a master in the rules and maxims that are requisite for the government of the commonwealth; that, for his part, he only desired the name of consul to make him some amends for the loss of a triumph, which he thought due to him; but that all the power and authority should be left to *Cicero*, so that he might manage affairs as he pleased. The latter, as old as he was, suffered himself to be made the dupe of a child, as he used to call him; and to the great surprize of all, proposed in the senate the raising of *Octavianus* to the consular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with *Antony*. He added, that as *Octavianus* was yet very young, the conscript fathers ought to appoint him such a colleague, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At these words the senators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himself as the most proper person to be chosen for *Octavianus's* colleague, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no small mortification to *Cicero* to see his vanity at the same time both exposed and disappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conspirators cried out with

ters, in the year of *Rome* 364. by two brothers, named *Momorus* and *Atepomarus*, chiefs of the *Gaulish* nation, and cotemporaries with the famous *Brennus*. In process of time *Lugdunum* and *Lugdunum* became one and the same city (1).

(1) *Vid. Plut. de fluxu et,*

one voice, that to put *Cæsar's* son at the head of the republic, was utterly destroying it^d.

OCTAVIANUS, finding he could obtain nothing of the senate even by *Cicero's* means, resolved to put off no longer his reconciliation with *Antony*; and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into *Italy*, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. *Antony*, overjoyed to find *Octavianus* so earnest for a reconciliation, readily consented to it, and without further delay began his march towards *Italy* to confer there with *Octavianus*. He led with him seventeen legions, and a thousand horse, having left six legions in *Gaul* under the command of *Varius*, one of his bottle-companions, who on that account was nick-named *Cotylon*, which signifies a bottle.

IN the mean time the news of the conjunction of *Antony* and *Lepidus* reaching *Rome*, filled the city with consternation. The senate immediately assembled, and passed a decree, declaring *Lepidus* an enemy to his country, and likewise the legionaries of his army, who should not abandon him, and return to their duty before the calends of *September*. This decree was enacted the day before the calends of *July*, as appears from one of *Cicero's* letters to *C. Cassius*^e. The statue of *Lepidus* was, by order of the senate, thrown down, and that of the brave *Juventius Laterensis* raised in its room. As the senate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and *Lepidus*, they had recourse to *Octavianus*, and committed to him, in conjunction with *Decimus Brutus*, the management of the war against *Antony* and *Lepidus*. *Octavianus*, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the senate thanks in the most humble terms for the honour they had been pleased to confer upon him, and began, without delay, to raise troops, and make the necessary preparations for a new war.

WHEN he saw himself again at the head of an army, he threw off the mask, and assembling his soldiers, told them, that the only thing the senate had in view was to destroy all his father's friends, by sowing divisions among them, and arming them against each other; but that he, well apprised of their wicked designs, had entered into a confederacy with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were on their march into *Italy* at the head of seventeen legions; that this was the only means of procuring safety for themselves, and for so many brave men who had espoused their cause: *Do you believe*, said he, *that those who have murdered my father, will spare my life or yours, if their party should pre-*

^d APPIAN. DIO, ibid.

^e CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 10.

vail?

fail? and prevail they must, if we are divided among ourselves. What security can you have for those houses, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if those men get into power, who approve of his death, and are for annulling all his ordinances? You know I am not ambitious; for you have seen me refuse the prætorship, which you yourselves offered me. But now I must intreat you, not for my own sake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and interest in raising me to the consulate. I shall be in a condition, when vested with that dignity, to secure to you the possession of those inheritances, which my father bestowed upon you, and at the same time to revenge his death with the destruction of those who endeavour to destroy us.

OCTAVIANUS'S SOLDIERS DEMAND THE CONSULATE FOR THEIR GENERAL. THE soldiers received this proposal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to Rome, and demand the consulship for their general in the name of the legions. The senate received the deputies with great civility, but refused to comply with their request, alleging OCTAVIANUS'S youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a consul. But the deputies, who had been well instructed beforehand, brought several instances of persons who had been raised to the consular dignity without any regard to their age, to wit, of Rullus, of Decius, of Corvinus, of the two Scipio's, of Pompey, and of Dolabella, who had been but very lately honoured with the consulate, though much of the same age with OCTAVIANUS. These precedents were of no weight with the conscript fathers: others, it is true, had enjoyed that honour before the lawful age; but most of them were persons of unblemished characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty; whereas they had reason to believe, that OCTAVIANUS would make use of his power to oppress his country. As for Dolabella, he had been raised to the fasces by Cæsar without the consent of the senate. The fathers therefore without casting any reflections on OCTAVIANUS, or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the request of the legionaries; when one of those armed embassadors, by name Cornelius, laying his hand on his sword, *If you will not make him consul, said he, this shall.* Having thus spoken, he left the senate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad success of their negotiation.

OCTAVIANUS MARCHES TOWARDS ROME. THE soldiers, provoked at this refusal, pressed OCTAVIANUS to lead them to Rome, saying, That he, as heir to Cæsar, had a right to dispose of the consulate as he pleased. The ambitious youth heard this with pleasure, and taking advantage of the present disposition of the soldiery, marched immediately towards Rome. He passed the Rubicon, as his father had done, when he began the first civil war, and dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced with one by long marches towards

towards the capital, in order to surprise his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leisurely. The unexpected news of *Octavianus's* approach filled the city with dread and confusion. Several senators, among the rest *Cicero*, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Those who remained, assembled in haste, and came to the following resolutions; to wit, That the money, which the senate had promised to the two legions, the fourth, and that of *Mars*, should be immediately sent to them; that the same sum should be promised in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of *Octavianus*, and that he, though absent, should be allowed to stand for the consulate. Deputies were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with these resolutions. They were scarce gone, when the conscript fathers, reflecting coolly on their behaviour, began to be ashamed of their pusillanimity in thus submitting to a boy, and giving way to the insolence of the soldiery. At the same time two legions, which had been in *Africa*, arrived at the gates of *Rome*. These the senate looked upon as a supply sent them by the gods, and taking courage, resolved with them, and a legion which *Vibius Pansa* had sent back to guard the city, to put themselves in a posture of defence. Two prætors, to wit, *Quintus Gallius Lupercus*, and *Marcus Cornutus*, had governed the city, and supplied the room of consuls ever since the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. The former favoured in his heart the party of *Octavianus*, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican, and an avowed friend to *Brutus* and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the conscript fathers, and inspire them with resolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to garison the *Janiculum*, whither the public money had been conveyed.

In the mean time *Octavianus* drew near, and posting himself on the *Quirinal*, then without the walls, he sent from thence emissaries into the city, assuring the people, that both their lives and estates were safe. Hereupon they flocked out in crowds to see their friends and relations, who served under *Octavianus*, carrying them refreshments, and freely conversing with them. Many of the senators themselves, and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a chosen body of legionaries. He was met by his mother and sisters, who had concealed themselves among the *Vestals*, and accompanied by them, and a numberless

Resolutions
taken by
the senate.

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

Is joined
by the le-
gions in the
city.

berless croud to his house, whither all the nobility flocked to make their court to him (E).

THE next day the three legions, that were in the city, went out to join *Octavianus*, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city, and encamp in the field of *Mars*. From thence he sent a detachment to seize on the *Janiculum*, and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier under his command. The prætor *Quintus Gallius* summoned the people to meet in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of new consuls. But his colleague *Marcus Cornutus*, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the promotion of *Octavianus*, gave up the republic for lost, and scorning to submit to the yoke of his fellow-citizen, laid violent hands on himself. A memorable instance of the old *Roman* spirit, which in the virtuous ages of *Rome* would have been celebrated with the highest encomiums, but is scarce taken notice of by the slavish writers, who flourished under *Augustus* and his successors.

Octavia-
nus chosen
consul.

Year of
the flood

2312.

Bef. Chr.

36.

Of Rome

712.

ON the day appointed for the election, *Octavianus* withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at least, some appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimously declared *Octavianus* first consul, and appointed *Quintus Pædus*, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator, for his colleague. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was sacrificing, according to custom, six, as some say, twelve vulturs are said to have been seen, the same number that appeared to the founder of *Rome*. Hence he concluded, that he should one day be invested with the same power and authority as *Romulus* (F). And thus far of the disturbances which happened in

(E) *Cicero*, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two *African* legions, was one of the last who came to pay him his devoirs. *Octavianus* received him coldly, and when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, *You are the last of my enemies*, answered *Octavianus* with an ill-natured sneer, *who have honoured me with a visit*. He well knew, that *Cicero* was intirely in the interest of *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and besides, he had been told by some of his emissaries, that the orator, in the speech which he made to the conscript fathers, when he demanded the consulate for him, had used a very odd and equivocal expression: *Egregius iste juvenis*, said he, *laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus est*; that is, *That brave youth ought to be praised and honoured*; but as to the last word, it signifies equally to *advance*, and to *cut off*.

(F) This year is reckoned by most of the antient historians, and modern chronologers, the first of the long reign of *Octavianus*, known afterwards by the name of *Augustus*. However, his authority was not yet either full or

in the west, from the death of the dictator, to the first consulate of *Octavianus*. We shall now briefly relate what passed in the east, during the same period of time; for there likewise a war was kindled, and those vast provinces involved in the same fate with *Italy* and *Gaul*.

To return therefore to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; these two chiefs of the republican party, having left *Rome* to escape the fury of the populace, whom *Antony's* artful speech, and the sight of *Cæsar's* dead body, had stirred up against them, retired first to *Antium*, with a design to return to the city, and there discharge the functions of their office (for they were both prætors), as soon as the rage of the unsettled multitude was abated. But *Antony* raising daily new disturbances, they wrote to their friends, that since it was not safe for them to resume the functions of their office in the city, they were determined to spend the rest of the year in *Italy* as private citizens; which the senate, who favoured them underhand, no sooner understood, than they committed to them the care of supplying the city with corn, which *Brutus* was appointed to send out of *Asia*, and *Cassius* out of *Sicily*. The design of the conscript fathers in charging them with such

^f APPIAN. lib. iii. p. 530. CIC. ad Atticum, lib. xv. epist. 9, 11, 12.

or peaceable, but for some time divided with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and warmly disputed by the republican party both in the east and west. *Livy* says, that *Octavianus* was but nineteen years old, when he was created consul (2): but *Suetonius* writes more freely, that he usurped the consulship in the twentieth year of his age (3). *Plutarch* tells us, out of *Octavianus's* own commentaries, that he was scarce twenty years old, when he was honoured with the consular dignity (4). He was declared consul, says *Velleius Paterculus* (5), the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the calends of *October*. But *Velleius* was certainly mistaken, for there

wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of *Octavianus's* age; neither did he obtain the consulate in the month of *September*, in which he was born, but in that of *Sextilis*, which was thence called *Augustus*, as is manifest both from *Suetonius* (6), and the decree of the senate, which is to be seen in *Macrobias* (7). *Dio* observes, that on the nineteenth of *August* he was made consul for the first time, and that he died on the same day (8); and *Tacitus* tells us, that the superstitious multitude after *Augustus's* death admired the strange events of his fortune, That the last day of his life, and the first of his reign, were the same (9), &c.

(2) *Livy*. l. cxix.

(3) *Suet.* in *Octavio*, c. 16.

(4) *Plut.* in *Bruto*.

(5) *Vell. Patercul.* l. ii.

(6) *Suet.* *ibid.* c. 31.

(7) *Macrob.* l. i. *Saturnal.*

4. 12.

(8) *Dio*, l. lvi. p. 590.

(9) *Tacit.* l. i. *annal.* c. 9.

a commission was, to give them an opportunity of assembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of those provinces in their cause, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But in the mean time *Octavianus* arriving from *Apollonia* at *Rome*, the city began to be divided into two factions, some siding with him, and others with *Antony*, and the legionaries, without any regard for their country, publicly selling themselves to the highest bidder. Hereupon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, despairing of being able to do their countrymen any service in *Italy*, resolved to pass over into *Greece*, and from thence into the eastern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were dispersed about those countries.

Brutus
passes over
into
Greece.

ACCORDINGLY, *Brutus*, crossing *Lucania*, came to *Elea*, a maritim city, in order to embark there, and sail for *Athens* (G); which

(G) From *Elea* he thought it adviseable to send back to *Rome* his beloved *Porcia*, who had accompanied him thither. That illustrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief at the thoughts of parting from so tender an husband, yet concealed her affliction with a constancy worthy of the greatest heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in spite of her many resolutions, by a picture which she happened to observe in the house where they lodged. It represented *Hector* parting from *Andromache*, to go and engage the *Greeks*, and giving his young son *Astyanax* into

her arms, while she fixed her eyes upon him with an earnest and affectionate look. The resemblance this piece bore to her own case, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel *Hector*, made her burst out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it, when she reflected on the dangers to which her husband, like a second *Hector*, was going to expose himself. *Plutarch* tells us, that on this occasion *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, repeated out of *Homer* the following verses, spoken by *Andromache*:

Yet, while my *Hector* still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.

Pope.

To which *Brutus* replied with *Porcia* as *Hector* did *Andromache*:
a smile; But I must not answer

————— Hasten to thy task at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom.

Idem.

For though the natural weakness of her country as the best of us. of her body hinders her from acting This *Plutarch* borrowed, as he what only the strength of man can tells us, from the memoirs of perform, yet she has a mind as *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus* the valiant and as active for the good son of *Porcia* (1). For *Porcia*,

(1) *Plut. in Bruto.*

when

which he did accordingly, and was received there with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem. The Athenians still retained those noble sentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers had been so renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man who had so generously sacrificed his private interest to the public welfare. They compared him, and his faithful companion *Cassius*, who joined him a few days after his arrival at *Athens*, to *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two brave Athenians, who by the death of the tyrant *Hipparchus* had delivered their country from slavery. Their ancestors, to perpetuate the memory of so glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected statues to those two deliverers of their country: and the present Athenians, thinking the enterprize of *Brutus* and *Cassius* equally glorious, in imitation of their ancestors, by a public decree ordered statues to be erected to them over-against those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. Notwithstanding these public demonstrations of honour and esteem, *Brutus* seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, that he might be wholly at leisure for the study of philosophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his guest, and constantly attended the lectures of *Theomnestus* the Academic, and *Cratippus* the Peripatetic, as if he intended to pass the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while, being unsuspected, he was secretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief business to gain the affections of the young Roman noblemen, who were attending their studies at *Athens*. Among these was *Marcus Tullius*, *Cicero's* son, of whom he used to say, That, whether sleeping or young waking, he could not help admiring a young man of so great spirit, and such an enemy to tyrants. As *Brutus*, during his stay at *Athens*, began to want money, young *Marcus* generously supplied him with as much as he could spare. (H).

How received at Athens.

Statues erected to him and Cassius by a public decree.

Gains several noblemen.

when *Brutus* married her, was the widow of *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, by whom she had a son named also *Bibulus*.

and set sail for *Athens*, while she, bathed in tears, took her route towards *Rome*.

Brutus was extremely troubled, and not without reason; yet he did not suffer himself to be so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear *Porcia*, and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a small vessel,

(H) In one of *Marcus's* letters to *Tiro*, wherein he speaks of those, who boarded with him, I have hired, says he, a place hard by me for *Brutus*, and, as much as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intended to declaim in Greek before *Cassius*, but before *Brutus* I will perform my exercise in Latin (2), &c.

(2) *Cic. l. xvi. ad famil. epist. 21.*

Raises troops, and prepares for war. BRUTUS continued some time longer in *Athens*, whence he sent one *Herostates*, whom he had gained over to his interest, into *Macedon* to found the *Roman* troops quartered in that province. *Herostates* discharged his trust with no less fidelity than address; for he either found the *Macedonian* troops ready to side with *Brutus*, or dextrously prevailed upon them to do so. Hereupon *Brutus*, pulling off the mask, began to act openly, and raise troops in all the city of *Greece*, whither many *Romans* had retired, being dissatisfied with the present situation of affairs at home (1).

IT was no sooner known that *Brutus* was raising forces, than all the remains of *Pompey's* army, who, ever since the defeat of their general, had wandered about *Theffaly*, readily and joyfully joined him. With these he obliged *Cinna*, who was leading five hundred horse to *Dolabella* in *Asia*, to deliver up that body to him. Young *Cicero* gained over to him an intire legion, which *Piso* designed to convey to *Mark Antony* in *Italy*.

AND now *Brutus's* army being greatly increased, the prudent leader embarked with a strong detachment for *Demetrias*, a town

(1) He wanted money; but this want was soon supplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quæstor *Vetus Antistius*, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to *Rome* the tributes of *Asia*, was in his course to touch at *Carystus*, a city of *Eubæa*; he went thither to meet him, and easily persuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treasure. *Brutus* on his birth-day made a splendid entertainment for the quæstor, at which while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of *Brutus*, and liberty of *Rome*, *Brutus*, calling for a larger bowl, and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud this verse, which was spoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of his death:

Fate and Apollo against me conspire.

Plutarch pretends, that *Brutus* quoted this verse on a sudden, without any premeditation, or any preceding circumstance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as *Madam Dacier* well observes. According to her, *Brutus* spoke this verse in the person of *Cæsar*, signifying thereby, that in putting *Cæsar* to death, he had only lent an helping hand to fate and *Apollo*, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his destiny. Some historians, quoted by *Plutarch*, tell us, that the word *Brutus* gave his men at the battle of *Philippi* was *Apollo*; whence they conclude, that the line quoted on this occasion was a presage of that overthrow (3).

(3) *Plut. in Bruto.*

of *Thessaly*, which we have often mentioned in the history of *Greece*, and there seized a prodigious quantity of arms, which ^{Seizes on} had been formerly amassed in that city by *Cæsar* for his *Parthian* ^{the maga-} expedition, and were now designed for *Antony*. *Macedon* was ^{zines of} then governed by *Hortensius*, the son of the famous orator, who ^{arms at} was *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence. As he was a sincere friend to *Deme-* his country, he declared, without the least hesitation, for *Bru-* ^{trias.} *tus*; and before the arrival of *Gaius Antonius*, who was appointed to succeed him, and already on his march, he resigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his troops; nay, he raised new forces for him in all the countries under his ^{Is joined} jurisdiction, and appeared as sanguine in the great cause of liberty ^{by the} as *Brutus* himself. And now *Brutus*, being at the head of a ^{troops in} powerful army, and master of *Greece* and *Macedon*, all the ^{Macedon.} petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their service ^g (K).

IN the mean time news being brought, that *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, having crossed the *Adriatic*, was advancing to join *Gabienus*, or as others call him, *Vatinius*, who commanded three legions in *Dyrrbachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* resolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haste with the few troops he had then with him. His march, though through rugged places, and a deep snow, was so expeditious, that he left those, who were to bring his provisions, a great way behind. When he got near to *Dyrrbachium*, he was ^{Is taken} seized with a distemper, which the *Greeks* call *bulimia*, that is, a ^{ill.} violent hunger (L). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could supply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourse to the enemy, and advancing to the

^g CIC. l. v. ix. x. & xii. epist. famil. & Philippic. xi. PLUT. in *Bruto*. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668, & seq. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 339, & seq. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 62, & seq.

(K) Among the rest a queen of *Thrace*, by name *Polemocratia*, whose husband had been lately murdered by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and delivering up to him all her treasures, put herself and her son under his protection. *Brutus* received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and sent her to *Cyzicum* in *Asia Minor*

to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of restoring her to her kingdom.

(L) The word *bulimia* is compounded of the two *Greek* words, βούς, an ox, and λιμός, hunger, and signifies an ox-like hunger, an insatiable appetite, which proceeds from a too sharp ferment in the stomach.

Is joined
by Gabi-
nius and
his three
legions.

very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the sad state of *Brutus*, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compassion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of provisions. *Brutus*, on this occasion, won so much upon the affections of those legionaries, by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, *Gabinus* himself not excepted, whom *Cicero* commended on that score, laying aside the hatred he had formerly borne him. *Caius Antonius*, receiving intelligence of what had happened at *Dyrrhachium*, advanced with all possible expedition to *Apollonia*, and summoned all the soldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to *Brutus*, and suspecting that the garison of *Apollonia* were inclined to the same party, he abandoned that city, and hastened to *Buthrotus*, now *Butrinto*, on the *Ionian* sea. *Brutus* pursued him close, and on his march, cut in pieces three of the seven cohorts that attended him.

UPON this success, *Brutus* wrote to the senate, acquainting the conscript fathers with what he had done in *Greece* and *Macedon*. His letter was read in the senate by the consul *Pansa*, who was still in *Rome*, and a decree passed, appointing *Brutus* to govern *Macedon*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, in quality of proconsul^h. By the same decree, both he and *Cassius* were impowered to make use of the public money, and to raise what sums they pleased in the provinces subject to *Rome*. The kings and cities of the East, in alliance with the *Roman* people, were, at the same time, ordered to lend them all the assistance they couldⁱ.

IN the mean time young *Cicero*, whom *Brutus* had detached with his light-armed foot in pursuit of *Caius Antonius*, coming up with him near *Byllis*, or *Bullis*, a city of *Illyricum*, on the *Adriatic*, attacked him, and gave him a total overthrow. *Caius Antonius* fled with his troops to a neighbouring marsh, where he was surrounded by *Brutus*, without any possible means of making his escape. *Brutus* might with great ease have cut him off with all his troops; but he would not suffer his men to fall upon them, saying, that in a little time they would be all of his side; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to *Brutus*, and even delivered up to him their general: so that *Brutus* had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of

^h Cic. Philippic. x. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567. & l. iv. p. 622, 632, 633.

ⁱ Idem ibid. & VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

horse, and a great many archers and slingers, with several companies of *Macedonians*, whom he daily exercised after the *Roman* manner^k. As for *Gaius Antonius, Brutus* treated him with the utmost civility, and even suffered him to enjoy the title of proconsul, and all the badges of that dignity, though several senators, and particularly *Cicero*, solicited him by letters to rid the republic of so dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abused his good-nature, and made use of the liberty, which, through an excess of kindness, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers, and raise seditions among the soldiers, he confined him on board a ship, and there kept him close prisoner. Several soldiers, whom he had privately seduced, abandoning *Brutus*, retired to *Apollonia*; whence, repenting of the step they had taken, they sent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. *Brutus* answered, that *this was not customary among the Romans; but that it became those, who had offended, to come to their general, and beg forgiveness of their crimes*; which they did, and were received with great kindness by their humane and good-natured commander^l (M).

BRUTUS

^k PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 632, 633. ^l PLUT. in Bruto.

(M) About this time, *Brutus* received a letter from the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, in which was inclosed, it seems, the copy of one written by *Cicero* to *Octavianus*, after the battle of *Mutina*; wherein he first congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, that it was desired, and expected of him, that he would suffer those citizens to lead a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men, and the people of Rome, loved and esteemed; meaning *Brutus*, and his followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in *Octavianus* above the laws, *Brutus* highly resented it, and expressed his resentment, in the letters he wrote

to *Atticus* and *Cicero* himself. *I had rather not live, says he, writing to Cicero, than owe my life to him. I do not believe, that the Roman people have provoked the wrath of all the gods to such a degree, that Octavianus must be intreated for the safety of one private citizen, much less for that of the deliverers of the world*(4). *Cicero* had, it seems, on what occasion we know not, reproached *Caesar* with the murder of *Caesar*, and was employing all his interest in favour of *Octavianus*. This drew several letters, in very sharp terms, from *Brutus*, which are still extant among *Cicero's* epistles, and will be lasting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly

(4) Cic. ad Brutum, epist. 16.

BRUTUS being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of all *Greece, Illyricum, Macedon, and Thrace*, resolved to pass into *Asia*, and there join *Cassius*, whose progress in those eastern provinces, from the time he parted with *Brutus* in *Athens*, to the consulate of *Octavianus*, we are now to relate. We have observed above, that *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, by the interest of *Marc Antony*, obtained of the people, in spite of the senate, the government of *Syria*. This *Cassius* no sooner understood, than he left *Athens*, and sailed first into *Asia*, which province was then governed by *Trebonius*, one of the conspirators, in quality of proconsul. It had been allotted to him a few days after *Cæsar's* death, and he, upon the arrival of *Octavianus* at *Rome*, had quitted the city, and retired to his government, as is manifest from several of *Cicero's* epistles^m. *Cassius* was well received by *Trebonius*, and also by *P. Lentulus*, who had been sent with him in quality of proquæstor extraordinary, his ordinary quæstor being *L. Patiscus*. This we gather from *Cicero's* epistlesⁿ, which some writers seem not to have consulted, or to have misunderstood. These supplied *Cassius* with money; and he was soon after joined by a body of horse, which *Dolabella* had sent into *Asia*, with orders to pursue their march into *Syria*, and there wait for him. *Lentulus*, in one of his letters to *Cicero*, ascribes to himself the glory of having brought over these troops to *Cassius's* party^o.

It was no sooner known in *Asia* and *Cilicia*, that *Cassius* was raising forces, than the *Romans*, who were dispersed about those provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; so that seeing himself at the head of a considerable army, he left *Asia*, we mean *Asia* properly so called, and marched into *Syria*, with a design to seize on that province, before the arrival of *Dolabella*. He was scarce gone, when *Dolabella* landed on the *Asiatic* coast, laid waste the country, made himself master of *Tarsus*, where *Cassius* had left a garison, and murdered in a most cruel and treacherous manner the proconsul *Trebonius*, as we have related above. *Cassius*, on his arrival in *Syria*, found *Statius Murcus* and *Marcus Crispus* carrying on the siege of *Apamea* against

^m Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 10. & l. xiii. ad familiar. epist. 73. collata cum epist. 43, 45. ⁿ Vide Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14, 15. ^o Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14.

noble spirit of that brave patriot, in spite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of *Augustus*, and, since his time, the abettors of absolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character.

Q. Cæcilius

Q. Cæcilius Bassus. These two leaders immediately joined him ^{and also by} with all their forces, and *Bassus's* foldiers forced him to do the ^{Staius} same; whereupon the city being delivered up to *Cassius*, an end ^{Murcus,} was put to the siege, and the army of that general, by this new ^{Cæcilius} addition, increased to the number of eight legions (N). Both ^{Bassus, and} *Murcus* and *Crissus* heartily embraced *Cassius's* party; the for- ^{Marcus} mer was by him appointed governor of *Syria*, and also admiral ^{Crissus.} of his fleet; but *Bassus*, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire ^{P.}

CASSIUS being thus strengthened, soon made himself master ^{Makes} of all *Syria*, which he did the more easily, on account of the ^{himself} great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by ^{master of} defending it against the *Parthians*, after the overthrow of *Crassus* ^{all Syria.} at *Charrae*, as we have related at large in the history of the *Parthians*. From *Syria* he passed into *Phœnice* and *Judæa*, and secured to himself those countries ^{q.} While he lay there, he was informed, that *Allienus*, one of *Dolabella's* lieutenants, was marching through *Palæstine* with four legions, which *Cæsar* had left in *Egypt* after the *Alexandrian* war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged ^{Obliged Al-} both *Allienus* and his legions to side with him, which, with those ^{lienus,} he had before, made up the number of twelve legions. Of ^{with his} these forces he gave a particular account to *Cicero*, in a letter ^{four le-} dated the nones of *March*, from his camp at *Tarichæa* in ^{gions, to} *Galilee* ^{join him.} ^{r.} In the mean time *Dolabella*, after a long stay in *Asia*, where he burdened the cities with new taxes, and oppressed the inhabitants in a most cruel and tyrannical manner ^{s,} passed first into *Cilicia*, and thence into *Syria*, with two legions; whither his fleet, composed of vessels hired of the *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and *Cilicians*, sailed soon after under the command of *L. Figulus* ^{t.} Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he attempted to enter *Antioch*, as governor of that province; but being repulsed by

^P Dio, l. xlvii. p. 343. & Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12.

^q JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9. ^r Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12.

^s Cic. ad Brut. epist. 3, 4. & l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 15. ^t APPIAN. l. iv. p. 624.

(N) From this time he took letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the senate (6). *Cicero* (5); though *Cicero*, in his

(5) Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 11, 12. (6) *Iidem* *ibid.* epist. 7, 8, 9, 10.

the inhabitants and the garison, which *Cassius* had left there, with the loss of about an hundred of his men, he abandoned Dolabella the enterprize, and retired in the night towards *Laodicea*. During *retires to* his march, most of the troops he had raised in *Asia* abandoned *Laodicea*; him, some of them returning to *Antioch*, where they joined *Cassius's* men, and others retiring over mount *Amanus* into *Cilicia* ^u. As the inhabitants of *Laodicea* were intirely devoted to *Cæsar's* party, they received *Dolabella* with open arms, and put him in possession of their city; which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he hastened thither, leaving *Herod* governor of *Cœlesyria*, with a strong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe ^w.

UPON his arrival, he found *Dolabella* encamped under the walls of the city; nay, as we learn from a letter of *Cassius Parmensis*, and not of *Cassius Longinus*, as we conjecture, to *Cicero*, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined his camp to the town ^x. As *Laodicea* was placed on a peninsula, *Cassius*, to prevent *Dolabella* from making his escape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length cross the isthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and sepulcres. At the same time, he dispatched messengers to the *Phœnicians*, *Lycians*, and *Rhodians*, for ships, with a design to block up the harbour. But the *Sidonians* alone complied with his summons, and sent him what vessels they had ready equipped in their harbour. They were scarce arrived, when *Dolabella's* fleet, under the command of *L. Figulus*, appeared off *Laodicea*. *Cassius*, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length *Cassius's* fleet was overpowered, and five of his ships taken with all the mariners on board. But *Statius Murcus*, the admiral of *Cassius's* fleet, having got together a considerable number of ships of war in *Phœnice*, and on the coast of *Asia*, ventured two other engagements, in the first whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the second, *Dolabella's* fleet was intirely defeated. Then *Murcus* blocked up the port with his victorious fleet; so that no provisions could be conveyed into the besieged city either by sea or land, the wall, which *Cassius* had begun cross the isthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmost extremity, *Dolabella* attempted several times to sally out at the head of the garison; but was constantly driven back into the

where he
is besieged
by Cassius.

Cassius's
fleet de-
feated.

Dolabel-
la's fleet
intirely de-
feated, and
Laodicea
taken.

^u P. LENTUL. ad CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 15. ^w JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 19.

^x CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 13.

city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one *Quintius*, a chief officer of his army.

DOLABELLA, seeing the enemy in possession of the city, and fearing *Cassius* would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate *Trebonius*, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himself *The death* with the same sword. The example of *Dolabella* was followed *of Dola-* by *M. Octavius* his lieutenant, and *Q. Marcius*, another of his *bella.* chief officers. *Cassius* ordered their bodies to be decently interred, though they had refused that honour to the poor remains of *Trebonius*, which they threw into the sea, after having insulted them in the grossest manner. But *Cassius*, at the sight of *Dolabella's* head, seemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the soldiers, who served under the deceased general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic, as well as himself, *Cassius* generously forgave them, and having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries ^y (O).

AND

^y APPIAN. l. iv. p. 625, & seq. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 345, & seq. LIV. l. xii. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 752. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

(O) *Appian* tells us, that *Cassius* plundered both the temples and treasury of *Laodicea*; that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put all the nobility to the sword; so that the city was reduced to a most miserable condition (7). What *Appian* says, has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the *Roman* history, now publishing at *Paris*: for they tell us, that *the streets, in an instant, were covered with dead bodies; that the blood ran in streams; that neither temples nor palaces were spared; that those, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, were forced to pay such exorbitant sums, that death seemed less pain-*

ful to them than life (8). These reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon those who stood up in defence of their liberties. They constantly follow those authors, whose accounts are the least favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, less partial and byassed, have written on the same subject. In the present case, *Dio Cassius*, disagreeing, as he often does, with *Appian*, after having told us, that *Cassius* gave quarter and impunity to *Dolabella's* troops, adds, *Neither punished he the inhabitants of Laodicea,*

(7) *Appian*, l. iv. p. 625, 626. p. 584.

(8) *Catrou and Rouille*, tom. xvii.

The government of Syria confirmed to Cassius.

AND now *Cassius*, after the reduction of *Laodicea*, become master of all *Syria*, acquainted the conscript fathers with the success of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of those vast provinces, as they did to *Brutus* that of *Greece*, *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, requiring all the states and cities in alliance with or subject to *Rome*, to obey their orders, and assist them to the utmost of their power^z. Thus *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had fled from *Rome*, as *Plutarch* observes^a, like despicable exiles, without money or arms, without ships, soldiers, or one single city to rely on, were now masters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe, and withstand the united forces of *Octavianus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*. Thus was the *Roman* state, taken in its utmost extent, divided between two opposite parties, the *Cæsareans*, that is, those who were for introducing absolute government, and arbitrary power; and the republicans, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties, and the antient customs and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the East; and the former in the West; where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the straits of *Messana*, or the most southern borders of *Italy*. As for *Sicily*, it was held at this time by *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger son of *Pompey the Great*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of *Octavianus's* first consulate. What happened in *Italy*, and the several provinces subject to the distracted and expiring republic, from his consulate to the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

^z VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 62. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567, 568.

^a PLUT. in Bruto.

otherwise than by obliging them to pay a sum of money (9). No mention here of streams of blood, of streets covered with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes, which made death itself desirable,

(9) Dio, l. xlvii. p. 345.

C H A P. XV.

The History of Rome from the first Consulate of Octavianus, to the Death of Cassius and Brutus.

THE first step *Octavianus* took, after he had entered upon his consulate, was to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring *Dolabella*, whose death was not yet known at *Rome*, an enemy to his country^a. Soon after, his colleague *Q. Pædus*, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who *nus causes* had been any ways concerned in the death of *Cæsar*. Pursuant to this law, which passed without opposition, *L. Cornificius* took upon him to accuse *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* (A) appeared against *Cassius*. The conspirators were all summoned to take their tryals; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of *Brutus*, both the people and senate expressed their concern for so worthy a citizen, with sighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were chosen for the decision of so important a cause, *Silicius Coronas* was the only person who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which cost him his life; for though *Octavianus* thought it then adviseable to dissemble his resentment, and pretended even to be

^a APPIAN. l. iii. p. 586. DIO, l. xlv. p. 321, 322.

(A) *Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa* was, according to *Suetonius* (1), of a mean descent; but of an equestrian family, according to *Cornelius Nepos* (2). The former writer tells us, that the emperor *Caligula*, ashamed to acknowledge *Agrippa* for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but the fruit of an incestuous commerce between *Julia* the wife of *Agrippa*, and her father *Augustus*; choosing,

out of a foolish and shameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an incest, than a lawful marriage (3). *Agrippa* was brought up from his infancy with *Octavianus*, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of him in the sequel of this history. *Velleius Paterculus*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, tells us, that his uncle *Capito* joined *Agrippa* in accusing *Brutus* (4).

(1) *Suet. in Caligula.*
ibid.

(2) *Cornel. Nep. in vita Attici.*

(3) *Idem*

(4) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69.*

reconciled

reconciled to *Silicius*, yet he soon after sacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithstanding the opposition of that generous citizen, the conspirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscated ^b.

Invites
Antony
and Lepi-
dus into
Italy.

BUT as *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at the head of twenty legions, *Octavianus* rightly judged, that it would not be easy for him to destroy them without the assistance of *Antony* and *Lepidus*. He therefore dispatched trusty messengers to these two chiefs, desiring them to march with all possible expedition into *Italy*, that they might, with their united forces, fall upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and drive them out of the provinces which they had seized. Hereupon they both set out without delay, and, passing the *Alps* at the head of seventeen legions, entered *Cisalpine Gaul*. The senate, alarmed at their approach, and still strangers to the private managements between them and *Octavianus*, ordered the latter to march out against them, and make war upon them as public enemies. *Octavianus*, with great joy, embraced this opportunity of putting the last hand to the treaty, which had been begun some time since between him and his rival. But before he left *Rome*, he gave private instructions to *Quintus Pædus* his colleague and creature, to insinuate, as of his own motion, to the senate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree against *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and not drive such men to despair, especially *Antony*, who was as great a commander, and no less to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius*. This proposal was no-way agreeable to the senate; but nevertheless, as they suspected *Octavianus* to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in so nice a point. The crafty general readily consented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but to deceive the senate, told them in his letter, that his consent had been in a manner extorted, by the earnest intreaties of his soldiers. However, the conscript fathers began now plainly to see, that *Octavianus*'s design was to gain over *Antony* to his party, and to act in concert with him against the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withstand him, and therefore solemnly annulled all the decrees against *Antony* and his adherents.

The decree
against
Antony
and Lepi-
dus revo-
ked.

Antony
marches
against
Decimus
Brutus.

IN acknowledgement of this good turn, *Antony* marched immediately against *Decimus Brutus*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Mutina* with ten legions, four whereof consisted of veterans; but who were in a very bad condition, on account of the distempers and fatigues they had suffered during

^b LIV. l. cxx. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. SUET. in Nerone, c. 3. DIO, l. xlv. p. 322. PLUT. in Bruto.

the late siege; the six others were newly raised, and quite unacquainted with military discipline. So that *D. Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to oppose the united and superior forces of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, resolved to quit *Cisalpine Gaul*, and, by the way of *Aquileia*, pass into *Illyricum*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where *M. Brutus* commanded. But finding all the passes seized on that side by *Octavianus's* troops, he took his route towards the *Alps*, with a design to pass the *Rhine*, where that river divides *Transalpine Gaul* from *Germany*, and through the latter country pursue his march into *Macedon*. But the apprehension of the fatigues and dangers of so long a journey had such an effect on the minds of the new-raised troops, that they all abandoned *Brutus*, and went over to *Antony*. Their example was soon followed by the other four legions; so that *Brutus's* army was soon reduced to a few squadrons of *Gaulish* horse; and to such of these also, as betrayed any unwillingness to follow him, *Brutus* not only gave leave to return home, but generously supplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus, guarded only by three hundred horse, he marched as far as the *Rhine*, the sight of which rapid river so frightened the few *Gauls* he had with him, that they stole away one after another, except ten, who seemed determined never to forsake him. In this extremity, he laid aside all thoughts of entering *Germany*, and dressing himself after the *Gaulish* manner, as he spoke the language like a native, he resolved, in that disguise, to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, not without hopes of reaching at length *Macedon* undiscovered. But he had not gone far, before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of free-booters, who conducted him, at his request, to the lord of that district, by name *Camillus*, or, as others call him, *Camelius*, who had received a thousand favours at his hands in the dictator's life-time. But the ungrateful wretch, after having received him in a friendly manner, dispatched a messenger to *Antony*, acquainting him, that he had *Brutus* in his power, and was ready to dispose of him as he pleased. *Antony* was touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man so considerable for his birth, and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheless, as it was for the interest of his party, that he should be cut off, he wrote word to *Camillus* to dispatch him, and send him his head; which the treacherous *Gaul* did accordingly, without any regard to the sacred laws of hospitality (B). When his head was

(B) *Dio Cassius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca*, tell us, that *Brutus* behaved, on this occasion, in a manner very unbecoming a man

was brought to *Antony*, he looked on it with some concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried^c. Thus died *Decimus Junius Brutus*, a year and an half after the death of *Cæsar* (C).

ANTONY immediately acquainted *Octavianus*, that he had sacrificed *Decimus* to the manes of his father, and then advanced, with *Lepidus*, at the head of his army, to meet him. The place they chose for their private conferences, was a small island formed by the river *Rhenus*, now the *Reno*, which falls into the *Po*, after having watered the territory of *Bononia* or *Bologna* (D). Both armies advanced to the opposite banks of this

^c Dio l. xlv. p. 325.

a man of his rank and station; and that he earnestly begged for his life, even after *Helvius Blasia*, his intimate friend, and inseparable companion, had killed himself in his presence, to animate him by his example (5). *Cicero*, on the contrary, who was intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him as a man, who was never afraid, or even disturbed (6); and the authority of *Cicero* is more to be relied on than that of all the historians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, in their *Roman* history, take no notice of this passage, which would have left no room for their long descants on the cowardice of that perfidious wretch, that cruel traitor, that inhuman assassin, as they are pleased to stile *Brutus*, for conspiring against *Cæsar*, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and usurpation.

(C) He had been always honoured by the dictator with par-

ticular marks of friendship and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raised him. For he was appointed one of his second heirs, in case any of his great nephews should renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horse; governor first of *Transalpine*, and afterwards of *Cisalpine Gaul*; and named consul, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, for the year after the consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* (7). And indeed *Decimus* served him with the utmost fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, considering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare to his private interest, which the abettors of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime.

(D) *Appian* will have the triumvirs to have met in an island formed by the river *Labinius*, in the neighbourhood of *Mantua* (8). But, in the first place, the *Labi-*

(5) Dio, l. xlv. p. 325. Val. Max. l. ix. Seneca, epist. 82.
l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 21. (7) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 64.
de bell. civil. l. iv. sub init.

(6) Cic.

(8) Appian.

this river, from whence, by two bridges, a communication was opened with the island. *Lepidus* entered the first into the island, *Octavianus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*, to view whether it was safe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of those ambitious men, who, even in the midst of a reconciliation, could not help mistrusting each other. *Lepidus* having made the signal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the island from the opposite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a rising ground, whence they could be equally seen by their guards, and both armies. After they had saluted and embraced each other in a polite and friendly manner, they took their seats, the other two yielding to *Octavianus*, as consul, the most honourable place. The conference lasted three days, during which time they had the precaution to speak constantly so low, notwithstanding some warm debates, that not a single word could be heard, even by their guards, who stood but at a small distance.

At length, they agreed on the following articles: 1. That *Octavianus* should forthwith resign the consulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to *Ventidius*, one of *Antony's* lieutenants. 2. That the supreme authority should be divided among them three, and kept by them for the space of five years, under the name of triumvirs, and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth. 3. That they should cause this authority to be confirmed by the Roman people. 4. That *Antony* should have all *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine* Gaul, except *Narbonne*, which, together with both *Spains*, should be yielded to *Lepidus*; and that *Octavianus* should have for his share *Africa*, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. 5. That *Italy*, and the eastern provinces, which were possessed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, should, for a while, remain in common. 6. That *Antony* and *Octavianus* should forthwith join their forces, and make war upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, while *Lepidus*, with four legions, staid at *Rome* to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there. Thus was the empire of the world divided, as *Plutarch* observes, among these three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Besides these, several other articles were settled. As it was of the utmost

nius, or, as others call it, the *Lavinian*, is a great distance from *Mantua*, and rather in the neighbourhood of *Bononia*; and, besides, is not large enough to

form an island, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at present by the name of *Lavinio*.

importance,

importance, especially for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were to march into the East against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to secure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary should receive after the war five thousand drachmas, each centurion twenty-five thousand, and each tribune fifty thousand. To these immense, and almost incredible sums were added other rewards, yet more substantial. The triumvirs agreed to promise their soldiers settlements on their return from the East, in eighteen of the best cities of *Italy*, which should be chosen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houses and lands to the soldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injustice to be driven out of their old habitations, stripped of their lands and effects, and suffered either to perish with famine, or shift for themselves in the best manner they could. Some of these unhappy cities were even then named, to wit, *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Ariminum*, and *Vibo*.

The pro-
scription.

As the triumvirs had occasion for immense sums to carry on the war, and besides were well apprised that there were still in *Rome* great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raise disturbances in *Italy* during their abode in the East, they came to that barbarous and inhuman resolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the latest posterity; a resolution, which brings disgrace upon tyranny itself. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but those also, who were either possessed of great estates, or were thought to retain the least spark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the surest means of maintaining themselves in the peaceable possession of their usurped tyranny, and at the same time of raising the necessary sums for the support of their troops. These regulations were made without the least contest or dispute; but the list of the proscribed, when it came to be settled, occasioned warm debates, each of them intending to destroy his enemies, and save his friends. *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Cicero's* name was set down in the fatal list. *Octavianus* endeavoured to save him, and was for having *Antony* to sacrifice *Lucius Cæsar*, his uncle by the mother's side. As for *Lepidus*, some writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he insisted upon the condemnation of his own brother *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had voted the first in the senate for passing the decree, which declared him a public enemy, when he joined *Antony*. Other authors say, that he would fain have saved his brother, but that *Octavianus* and *Antony* demanded his head. However that be, the thirst of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the desire of saving their friends

friends and relations. *Octavianus* in the end sacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*; *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Octavianus*; and *Lepidus* was either allowed to murder his brother *Paulus*, or forced to abandon him to the resentment of the other two. The death of these three being agreed on, the list of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was soon drawn up, each of the three tyrants setting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The first in this list was *Paulus*, the brother of *Lepidus*; *Lucius Caesar*, *Antony's* uncle, was the second; and *Cicero* the third. After these were named *Plotius*, consul elect, and brother to *Plancus*, one of *Antony's* lieutenants; *Quintus*, who was also designed consul for the ensuing year, and whose daughter *Asinius Pollio*, a great stickler for the triumvirate, had lately married; *Thoranius*, who had been governor to *Octavianus*, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of the history. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and sworn to, by the contracting parties, the three chiefs separated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the result of their conferences to their respective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promises that were made them, heard the report with the greatest satisfaction. The same day the two armies joined, and mutually feasted and entertained each other (E). Thus was concluded the second triumvirate, the consequences whereof were most dreadful, and gave the last blow to the liberty of Rome^d.

The second
triumvir-
ate.

AND now the triumvirs, seeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the soldiery of both armies, resolved in the first place to publish the decree of proscription, and hasten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked designs. Ac-

^d APPIAN. l. iv. p. 589, 590. DIO, l. xlv. p. 325, 326. PLUT. in Cic. & Antonio. FLOR. l. iv. c. 6.

(E) The agreement being made, and the articles signed by the triumvirs, the army desired, that the friendship between *Antony* and *Octavianus* might be cemented by some alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce *Servilia*, the daughter of *Servilius Isauricus*, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room *Clodia*, the daughter of the famous *P. Clodius*, who was killed by *Milo*, and of *Fulvia*, whom *Antony* had married after the death of her first husband (9).

(9) Plut. in Antonio.

cordingly,

Rome in
the utmost
consterna-
tion.

cordingly, the fatal decree was drawn up, made public (F), and sent to *Rome*; together with the first list of the unhappy men, who were doomed to die, and at the same time some companies of soldiers dispatched thither to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The soldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proscribed persons in the streets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly massacred in their houses; some while they were supping with their friends, and some in the temples, whither, upon the first alarm, they had fled for refuge. The city was in an instant filled with horror and confusion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the list of the proscribed persons was not yet made public, every one fancied himself in that number; and hence a general terror and consternation. Some in the height of their despair resolved to involve the whole city in their destruction, and accordingly set fire to it in different quarters.

(F) It began thus: “ *M. Lepidus, M. Antonius, and Octavianus Cæsar*, chosen for the reformation of the commonwealth. If the generosity of *Julius Cæsar* had not prompted him to pardon some faithless men, and to grant them besides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deserved as little, he had not fallen by their treason, nor should we have been obliged to proceed in a manner disagreeable to us against those who have declared us enemies to our country. But the wicked designs they formed against us, the horrible treachery they shewed towards *Cæsar*, and the certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened.” Then followed a justification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which *Cæsar* had procured for the *Roman* people by his victories, on the ingratitude of those who had murdered him, and on the necessity of clearing the city of such as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: “ No man shall dare to receive, conceal, help to escape, any-way relieve those who are proscribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himself proscribed. Whosoever shall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proscribed person, shall receive, if a freeman, twenty-five thousand sesterces, and ten thousand, if a slave. The slave, who shall kill his master, shall moreover be declared a *Roman* citizen. The same rewards shall be given to such as shall discover the place, where any proscribed person lies concealed, and the name of the informer shall not be entered into any register, to the end it may never be known who he was.”

The

The darkness of the night, the fire which began to flame out in several places, the cries and groans of those who were inhumanly butchered in the streets, the running up and down of the armed soldiers, the flight of the people, the shrieks of the women, &c. filled every breast with dread and horror. Q. Pædus, the only consul then in Rome, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude, and prevent disorders, ran from street to street, causing it to be every-where published, that the number of those, who were doomed to die, was but very small, and that, as soon as it was day, he would cause their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning the list of the proscribed, containing the names of only seventeen persons, was set up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This restored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the consul Pædus, having overheated himself with running up and down the city to calm the minds of the people, and prevent disorders, died the night following^e.

DURING these alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards Rome, which they entered on three different days; Octavianus on the first, Antony on the second, and Lepidus on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort, and one legion. The first step they took after their arrival was, to get a law passed, investing them with the authority which they had usurped. It was accordingly proposed by the tribune P. Titius to the assembled tribes, who passed it the same day in the following terms: *The Roman people, They are lawfully assembled, have thought fit to appoint three persons to govern invested by the commonwealth with consular power. These are M. Antonius, a decree of M. Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus, whose authority shall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the space of five years. The decree was no sooner passed, than Octavianus, pursuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, resigned his consulship, some say to C. Carinas, others, to Ventidius (G). However that be, these two were by the triumvirs appointed consuls for the remaining* ^{The entry of the triumvirs into Rome} ^{the people with the authority which they had usurped,} part

^e APPIAN. DIO, FLOR. PLUT. *ibid.*

(G) We have given elsewhere a particular account of the rise, exploits, and character of Ventidius (1); and therefore shall only add here, that as he had been formerly a muleteer, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of such Roman magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raised to the consulate, the following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city:

(1) Vol. xi. p. 37-39.

part of the present year; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. These three tyrants, now looking upon themselves as lawful magistrates, added the night following the names of an hundred and thirty persons to those they had already proscribed; a few days after they proscribed an hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increased the number, till it amounted at last to three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights.

The sad
condition
which the
city was
in.

It is impossible to paint the horrors of this bloody proscription; by it every considerable man in *Rome*, who was disliked, or suspected by the triumvirate to disapprove their tyranny, who was rich, and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given to such as discovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their slaves and freedmen, many by their treacherous hosts and relations. Many fled to the wilderness, where they perished for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be seen but blood and slaughter; the streets were covered with dead bodies; the heads of the most illustrious senators were exposed upon the rostra, and their bodies left unburied in the streets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming *Rome* to perish at once. Many uncondemned persons perished in this confusion, some by malice or mistake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Several of the antient historians seem to take pleasure in describing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proscription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almost to a wilderness. They produce many remarkable and moving instances of the affection of wives for their husbands, and of the fidelity of slaves towards their masters; but few, very few, as they own with great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of *Oppius* may stand for many, who, like *Æneas*, carried his old and decrepit father on his shoulders to the sea-side, and escaped with him into *Sicily*. His piety was not long unrewarded; for on his return to *Rome*, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proscription, he found the people so taken with that generous action, that all the tribes

Some of
the pro-
scribed
saved by
their chil-
dren.

*Concurrere, omnes augures, aruspices;
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens:
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est (2).*

Aruspices, diviners, hither come:
This late strange prodigy portends some doom:
A muleteer is consul made at *Rome*.

}

(2) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Plin. l. vii. c. 43.*

unanimously

unanimously concurred in raising him to the ædileship; and because he wanted money to exhibit the usual sports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themselves to defray the necessary charges attending such shews, but gave proofs of the esteem they had for so dutiful a son by such contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by the triumvirs. *Caius Hosidius Geta* was likewise saved by his son, who spread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himself, and to render the fact more credible, spent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obsequies. By this means *Hosidius*, not being searched after, made his escape, but lost one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaster, the better to disguise him. As for the barbarous impiety of those children, who by a strange apostasy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried in oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing such impious monsters. Several slaves chose rather to die on the rack amidst the most exquisite torments, than discover the place where their masters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon their dead bodies.

MANY illustrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of their conjugal love in these times of calamity, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The wife of *Q. Ligarius*, seeing her husband betrayed by one of his slaves, declared to the executioners, who cut off his head, that she had concealed him, and consequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the same fate. But they not hearkening to her, she appeared before the triumvirs themselves, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned she had concealed, in spite of their decree, her husband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, she shut herself up in her own house, and there, as she was determined not long to outlive her husband, starved herself to death. *Acilius* was betrayed by one of his slaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to save his life. *Apuleius*, *Antistius*, *Antius*, *Q. Lucretius Vispallio*, *Titus Vinus*, and many others, were saved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had given themselves up for lost. *Lucius*, the uncle of *Antony*, was saved by his sister *Julia*, in whose house he had taken refuge (H). *Cæsar*

Though saved by
his sister.

(H) The ministers of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room, where he lay con-

cealed; but his sister meeting them at the door, cried out several times, *You shall never kill*

A a 2

Lucius

Though the country as well as the city swarmed with informers and assassins, yet many illustrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proscription, and to get safe, either to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, or to *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*. The latter kept constantly a great number of small vessels hovering on the coasts of *Italy*, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them with great kindness and civility (I).

As

Lucius Cæsar till you first dispatch me; me, who gave your general his life and being. The assassins, thunderstruck at these words, retired; but nevertheless *Julia* flew to the forum, where her son was sitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proscribed, and paying the assassins the promised rewards. *I have transgressed your decree*, said she to *Antony*, *and am come to inform against myself. I have taken my brother into my house, and am resolved to protect him, till you shall think fit to put us both to death.* You have behaved, replied *Antony*, like a good sister, but as a bad mother, and took no further notice of what *Julia* said; but *Lucius* was no more inquired after.

(I) The most considerable persons among those who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and persecutors, were, besides those we have already mentioned, *Valerius Messala*, *Bibulus*, *Arianus*, *Metellus*, *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, *Junius*, *Pomponius*, *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, *Arun-tius*, *Coponius*, and *Ventidius*. *Messala* and *Bibulus* were invited home by the triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any-way accessory to the death of *Cæsar*; but they chose to continue with *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and signa-lized themselves in the battle of

Philippi. *Bibulus* was afterwards raised to the first employments in the state. *Arianus* and *Me-tellus* were saved by their chil-dren, *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, and *Junius* by their slaves. *Restio* had marked one of his slaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the usual punishment inflicted on such slaves as attempted to run away from their masters. This slave, having by chance found out the place where *Restio* lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him, asking whether he could do him any service. *Restio* had afterwards treated the slave with great humanity, and done him many favours; but never-theless seeing himself now in his power, he looked upon his case as desperate, not doubting but the slave would seize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront; which the faithful and generous slave observing, addressed him thus: "Can you imagine, that the " marks, with which you for- " merly branded me, have made " a deeper impression on my " forehead, than the favours, " which you have since bestowed " upon me, have done in my " heart?" Having thus spoken, he led him to a cave, and there supported him for some time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of

As to *Cicero*, he had not the good luck to escape, but fell a sacrifice to the implacable rage of *Antony*. The great reputation

of soldiers coming that way, and approaching the cave, the faithful slave, alarmed at the danger his master was in, followed them close, and falling upon a poor peasant, killed him in their presence, and cut off his head, crying out, *I am now revenged on my master for the marks with which he has branded me*. The soldiers, seeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed *Restio*, snatched the head out of his hand, and returned with it in all haste to the triumvirs. They were no sooner gone, than the slave conveyed his master to the sea-side, where they had the good luck to find one of *Sextus Pompeius's* vessels, which transported them safe into *Sicily*. The generosity of the slaves of *Appius* and *Meneius*, or *Menenius*, was still more heroic; for they suffered themselves to be slain in their masters habits, while their masters made their escape in the disguise of slaves. *Pomponius*, finding no other means to get safe out of *Rome*, assumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his slaves in the disguise of lictors: he traveled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was sent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young *Pompey*: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and supplied both

with horses and provisions: several bands of soldiers and assassins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to stop or examine an ambassador of the triumvirs; so that he reached *Sicily* undiscovered. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, and *Aruntius*, killed with the assistance of their friends, clients and slaves, the soldiers, who were sent to murder them, and made their escape, sword in hand. *Ventidius*, not the consul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himself, and patrolling about the country with some of his friends, as in search of proscribed persons. The senator *Coponius* was saved by his wife at the expence of her virtue, *Antony* having caused his name to be struck out of the black list, in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after she had been proof for several years against the offers, caresses and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another senator being quite tired with concealing himself in caves and dens, and sculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to *Rome* in the disguise of a school-master, opened there a little school, and kept it as long as the proscription lasted, without being discovered, nobody imagining that a poor pedant could have been of such significance as to be ranked among the proscribed senators and knights (3).

(3) *Appian*. l. iv. *Vell. Patercul.* l. ii. *Dio*, l. xlvii. *Val. Max.* l. vi. c. 8. § l. ix, c. 11. *Suet.* in *Octavio*, *Macrob. Saturnal.* l. i. c. 11.

The fate
of Cicero.

Affecting
circum-
stances of
the death
of his bro-
ther.

of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the most minute circumstances attending it. He was with his brother *Quintus*, who was likewise proscribed at his country-house near *Tusculum*, when the first news were brought him of the proscription; which he no sooner heard, than he left *Tusculum* with his brother, taking his route towards *Astura* (K), or, as some call it, *Stura*, another of his country-houses, on the sea-side, between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circæum*. There they both designed to take shipping, and endeavour to join *Brutus* in *Macedon*. They traveled together, each in his litter, oppressed with sorrow, and often joining their litters on the road to condole each other. As they had, in the first alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the necessary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that *Cicero* should make what haste he could to the sea-side, and *Quintus* return home to provide necessities. Then they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. *Quintus* returned to *Rome*, and got to his house undiscovered, where he thought himself safe at least for a short time, since it had been lately searched by the ministers of the triumvirs. But as in most houses there were as many informers as domestics, his return was immediately known, and the house of course filled with soldiers and assassins, who not being able to find him out, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young *Roman* against the most exquisite torments. However, the tender youth could not help sighing now-and-then, and groaning in the height of his pain. *Quintus* was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot express, how the heart of a tender father must have been affected in hearing the sighs and groans of a son dying on the rack to save his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he presented himself to the assassins, begging them with a

(K) *Pliny* speaks of *Astura* as a river and an island (4); and *Cicero* seems to insinuate in one of his letters to *Atticus* (5), that his house was in the island. In process of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the same name of *Astura*, as we learn from *Servius* (6).

(4) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5, & 6.* (5) *Ad Attic. l. xii. epist. 19.* (6) *Servius in Æneid. vii. v. 801.*

flood of tears to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. But those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that *they must both die*, the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die the first: but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, and no-way affected with such melting scenes, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time. Though *Quintus Cicero's* life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it must be owned, was truly glorious: as for that of his son, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an instance of the most heroic affection and filial duty^f.

BUT to return to the elder brother: *Cicero*, having reached *Embarks Astura*, and by good luck found a vessel there ready to weigh ^{for Mace-} anchor, went on board with a design to pass over into *Ma-* *cedon*, and join *Brutus*. But either dreading the inconveniencies of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of *Octavianus*, whom he had all along supported with his credit and eloquence, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at *Circæum*, whence he took his route towards *Rome* by land. But after ^{Changes} he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his re- ^{his mind.} solution anew, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholy and perplexing thoughts. One while he resolved to go privately into *Octavianus's* house, and there kill himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of those furies, who were deemed the avengers of violated friendship. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehension of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, soon made him drop that resolution. Then falling into other thoughts, equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in *Octavianus's* friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics to convey him by sea to a country-house, which he had in the neighbourhood of *Caieta* (L); where he had

not

^f APPIAN. DIO, PLUT. VAL. MAX. ibid. SENECA in suasor.

(L) Near the place, where temple dedicated to *Apollo*, from he was to land, stood a little which, it is said, a flight of crows

not been long, when his domestics carried him again in a litter towards the sea-side.

*A band of
soldiers in
search of
him.*

*Is disco-
vered.*

THEY were scarce gone, when a band of soldiers under the command of *Herennius*, a centurion, and *Popilius Lænas*, a military tribune, came to the house. *Cicero* had formerly undertaken the defence of *Popilius*, when he was under a prosecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had got him absolved by those very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a most cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with *Antony*, had promised to find out *Cicero*, where-ever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his house shut, but breaking them open, and searching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the slaves in the house to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their master lay concealed. But the faithful slaves, without betraying the least fear, answered with great constancy and resolution, that they knew not where he was. At length a young man, by name *Philologus* (M), who had been slave to *Quintus*, and afterwards enfranchised by him, and instructed by *Cicero* in the liberal arts and sciences with all the tenderness of a father, discovered to the tribune, that *Cicero's* domestics were then carrying him in a litter through the close and shady walks to the sea-side. Upon this infor-

coming with great noise, made towards *Cicero's* small vessel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the sails and rigging, pecked them with an hideous noise; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, *Cicero* went ashore, and entering his house, lay down upon his bed to take some rest. The crows followed him, and fluttering about the windows of the room, where he lay, made a dreadful noise. One of them was so bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where *Cicero* was reposing with the cloaths cast over his head, pecked them off by degrees, and uncovered his face. The example

of this creature roused his indolent domestics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to save the life of a man, for whose preservation the very birds of the air seemed concerned.

(M) *Plutarch* seems to question what some authors have written of the treachery of *Philologus*; at least he tells us, that this circumstance was unknown to *Tiro*, *Cicero's* emancipated slave, who published an account of his life, which in *Plutarch's* time was in great request, but has not reached ours. *Appian* tells us, that *Cicero* was betrayed and discovered by one *Cyrillus*, who had formerly served *Clodius*, his mortal enemy.

mation

mation *Popilius* with some of his men hastened to the place, where he was to come out, while *Herennius* with the rest followed the litter through the narrow paths. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his servants to set down his litter, and, stroking, according to his custom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the assassins with great intrepidity. This constancy, which they did not expect from him, his face disfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected, and in disorder, &c. so affected the soldiers who attended *Herennius*, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and pursuant to *Antony's* directions, his right hand, with which he had written the *Philippics*. With those trophies of their cruelty, *Herennius* and *Popilius* hastened back to *Rome*, and laid them before *Antony*, while he was holding an assembly of the people for the election of new magistrates. The cruel tyrant no sooner beheld them, than he cried out in a transport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proscriptions: live, Romans, live in safety; you have nothing more to fear.* He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great satisfaction, smiling at a sight, which drew tears from all who were present. After he had satiated his cruel and revengeful temper with so dismal a spectacle, he sent, as we are told by several writers, the head of the orator to his wife *Fulvia*, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himself, and had borne an implacable hatred to *Cicero* ever since the time of her first husband *P. Clodius*, who was slain by *Milo*.

THAT fury, after having insulted the poor remains of her enemy with the most injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and, drawing out the tongue of the deceased, which had uttered many bitter invectives against both her husbands, pierced it several times with a golden bodkin, which she wore in her hair. When *Fulvia* had satiated her impotent rage, *Antony* ordered both the head and the hand to be set up on the rostra, where *Rome* could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had so often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence & (N). Thus fell the greatest orator *Italy*, or any other

³ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 66. SENECA in suasor. orat. 7. PLUT. in Cic. DIO, l. xlvii. APPIAN. l. iv. TACIT. dialog. de orat.

(N) We have followed *Plutarch's* account; but other writers tell us, that *Cicero's* slaves and domestics, seeing *Popilius* and *Herennius*

His character.

other country ever, bred; a man, who, as *Cæsar* the dictator used to say, had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman learning, than those of the Roman empire. In his consulate, which was truly glorious, he discovered with wonderful sagacity the most secret plots of the seditious *Catiline*, defeated his best concerted measures, and saved, we may say, *Rome* from utter destruction; whence he was deservedly honoured with the glorious title of *the father of his country*. The *Roman* people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; for he was quoting on all occasions, in and out of season, the *nones of December*, as *M. Brutus* observed in one of his letters to *Atticus*. He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him so far as to make him sacrifice his private interest to the public welfare (O). But after all, the intrepidity

Herennius pursuing their master, put themselves in a posture of defence, and seemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that *Cicero* would not allow them to use any violence, saying, *Let us obey the decrees of destiny, and avoid shedding more blood than it has pleased the gods to require*. Having thus spoken to his domestics, he encouraged *Popilius* to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, *Draw near, veteran*, said he, *and shew us what you can do*. At these words the tribune came close to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head (7).

(O) This *Brutus*, who sincerely loved him, but knew his foible, insinuates in several letters to their common friend *Pomponius Atticus*. "We are too much
" afraid (says he in one of his
" epistles) of death, banishment,
" and poverty. These things

" appear to *Cicero* as great evils,
" who, provided he be allowed
" what he desires, provided he
" be respected and praised, reckons an honourable slavery as
" nothing, if honour is compatible with so great infamy."
And elsewhere; "I have no
" great opinion of those fine
" arts, of which *Cicero* is so great
" a master; for what use do we
" see him make of all he has
" written concerning the liberty
" of his country, true honour,
" death, and banishment? &c."
Plutarch tells us, that though *Brutus* and his followers, both loved and trusted *Cicero*, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their design to him, because they were determined to admit into the conspiracy such only as were bold, brave, and despisers of death, whereas *Cicero* was by nature a coward, and besides become so wary and over-

(7) *Appian*, l. iv. & *Val. Max.*

pidity with which he offered himself to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorousness, pusillanimity, and irresolution, which he betrayed in most occurrences of his life. He died on the seventh of the ides of *December*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. *Antony* himself made some sort of reparation to his memory; for instead of rewarding the perfidious *Philologus*, who betrayed his master and benefactor, he delivered him up to *Pomponia*, the widow of *Quintus Cicero*, and sister of *Pomponius Atticus*, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and desire of revenge, with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, obliged the miserable captive to cut off his own flesh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her presence. But *Tiro*, *Cicero's* freedman, has not so much as mentioned the treachery of *Philologus*, as we have observed above out of *Plutarch*. *Octavianus*, who shamefully sacrificed *Cicero* to his most cruel and bitter enemy, declared several years after the esteem he had for him: for visiting one day his daughter's son, and finding him with a book of *Cicero's* in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown; which *Octavianus* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book standing, gave it him again, saying, *This, my child, was a learned man, and a lover of his country*^b.

The cruelty of Pomponia towards the slave who betrayed him.

WHILE the proscription was still raging, and *Rome* in the utmost consternation in seeing herself daily deprived of some of her best citizens, *Lepidus* took it into his head to triumph, *Lepidus's* on account of some inconsiderable advantages he had formerly triumph. gained over the revolted *Spaniards*. The decree, empowering him to enjoy this honour, was issued by himself with the consent and approbation of his two colleagues, and began thus: *To all those who shall honour our triumph with sacrifices, feastings, and other demonstrations of joy, health and good fortune; but to others misery and proscription!* This decree drew greater crouds to his triumph than had ever been seen on the like occasion: he was attended by all the nobility of *Rome*, who strove to outvie

^b PLUT. in Cic.

cautious by old age, that he edge of their forwardness and would not have made one step resolution in an affair that re- without the greatest security, quired all the dispatch imagin- which would have blunted the able (8).

(8) *Plut. in Bruto.*

each

each other in offering sacrifices for the safety of *Lepidus* and his colleagues, and in feasting their friends, and the friends of the triumvirs. *L. Munatius Plancus* was likewise decreed a triumph for something, we know not what, he had done in *Gaul*¹ (P).

The cruelty
and avarice
of the
triumvirs.

The Ro-
man wo-
men taxed.

They apply
in a body
to the tri-
umvirs.

AND now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of so many illustrious citizens, began to think of raising the necessary sums for the carrying on of the war against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. In order to this they published daily new lists of proscribed persons, containing the names of the richest citizens in *Rome*, whom they caused, under several pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then seized on their estates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and succession. They burdened the people with most grievous taxes, seized all the gold and silver, whether in plate or specie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immense sums, belonging both to strangers and citizens of *Rome*, which had been deposited in the hands of the *Vestal* virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the sum of two hundred thousand talents, which they judged necessary to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters, relations, or any-way allied to such persons as they had proscribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though most of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourse in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go all in a body, and plead their cause at the tribunal of those magistrates, while they were administering justice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their way through the croud, and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed

¹ Vide GRUTER. inscript. p. 297. & APPIAN. l. iv. p. 607.

(P) As it was customary for the soldiers to sing, during the triumphal procession, satirical verses on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occasion; *De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules*. The Latin word *Germani* signifies equally brothers, and the inhabitants of Germany; so that the verses might be understood as importing, either that the designed consuls triumphed over the Germans, or over their brothers; for they had both procured the proscription of their brothers, or at least consented to it (9).

(2) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 67.

at such an unusual sight, ordered their guards to disperse them; but this occasioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at length permitted to speak; and the person the suppliant chose for this purpose was *Hortensia*, the daughter of the celebrated orator *Hortensius* (Q). The triumvirs, provoked

(Q) She addressed the triumvirs thus: “The unhappy women you see here imploring your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this place, had they not first made use of all other means, which their natural modesty could suggest to them. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto observed with all strictness, yet the loss of our fathers, children, brothers and husbands, may sufficiently excuse us, especially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our further misfortunes. You pretend that they had offended and provoked you; but what injury have the women done, that they must be impoverished? If they are as blameable as the men, why do you not proscribe them too? Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we corrupted your soldiers, raised troops against you, or opposed you in the pursuit of those honours and offices which you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor is it our ambition, which has drawn the present misfortune on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for us. Why should we contribute to a war, wherein we have no manner of interest? It is true indeed; that in the *Carthaginian* war our mothers assisted the republic, which was at that time reduced to the utmost distress: but neither their houses, their lands, nor their moveables, were sold for that service; some rings and a few jewels furnished the supply: it was not constraint and violence that forced it from them: what they contributed was intirely owing to their own good-will, and generous disposition. What danger at present threatens the city? If the *Gauls* or *Parthians* were encamped on the banks of the *Tiber* or the *Anio*, you should find us no less zealous in the defence of our common country, than our mothers were before us. But we ought not, and will not, be any way concerned in civil wars. Neither *Marius*, nor *Cæsar*, nor *Pompey*, ever thought of obliging us to take part in the domestic troubles which their ambition raised; nay, not *Sylla* himself, who first set up tyranny in *Rome*: and yet you assume the glorious title of reformers of the state, a title, which will turn to your eternal ignominy, if, without the least regard to the laws of equity,

Many of
them ex-
empted
from pay-
ing the
tax.

voked at the boldness of her speech, and fearing it might occasion some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away such troublesome suppliants; but the people crying out against such violence; they adjourned the affair to the next day, when to appease the multitude, who had openly espoused the cause of the women, they reduced their number from one thousand four hundred to four hundred; but at the same time taxed above an hundred thousand men, as well strangers as citizens, without exempting the priests themselves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their estates, and a whole year's revenue. In the levying of this tax, the soldiers committed such unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the consuls to watch them; and punish the offenders with the utmost severity. But the cowardly magistrate, fearing to disgust the legionaries, winked at the disorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only against a few slaves, whom he caused to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exercised, in the disguise of soldiers, on some of the most illustrious citizens ^k.

The pro-
scription
at an end.

AND now the triumvirs, having caused about three hundred senators, and two thousand knights to be inhumanly massacred, and raised by a thousand extortions the necessary sums for their eastern expedition, assembled at last the few senators they had left alive, and entering the senate-house, declared, that the proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured the conscript fathers, that for the future he at least should give them no occasion of complaint (R).

AFTER

^k DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.*

“ equity, you persist in your
“ wicked resolution of plunder-
“ ing those of their estates and
“ fortunes, who have given you
“ no just cause of offence.”

(R) But *Octavianus* openly declared, That he still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing the guilty. And indeed *Suetonius* tells us, that though he was at first unwilling to sign the fatal decree, which doomed so many

citizens to die, yet he was the most cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it (1). Some of the antient, and most of the modern writers, endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon *Antony*; nay, they extol him for one of the most mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever swayed a sceptre. But we meet with too many in-

(1) *Suet. in Octavio.*

stances

AFTER the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpressible joy *The trium-* both of the senate and people, that the proscription was at an *virs ap-* end, they appointed, of their own authority, without so much *point con-* as assembling the people, the consuls for the ensuing year. *suls, præ-* These were *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the triumvir, and *Lucius Mu-* *tors, &c.* *natius Plancus*. After this, as *Antony* and *Octavianus* were *for several* wholly intent on their grand expedition into the East against *years.* *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they named, in concert with *Lepidus*, consuls, prætors and ædiles for several ensuing years, choosing for these great offices such persons as they all approved of, and could safely rely on. This precaution seemed necessary, to prevent the people from raising to these dignities, during their absence, men of seditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus settled matters in the city, *Antony* and *Octavianus* first divided both the money and troops, and then set out, the former for *Brundisium*, and the latter for *Rhegium*, where the fleets appointed to transport them into the *Levant* were ready to take the forces on board, and put to sea with the first favourable wind. But before we relate the great events, which determined the fate of the unhappy republic, we must give a succinct account of what passed in the East, from the

stances in history, which evidently shew, that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We shall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his short consulate, and reserve the rest for their proper places. The prætor *Quintus Gellius* had on all occasions assisted him to the utmost of his power, and employed all his interest in his behalf, when he first stood for the consulate. *Octavianus* therefore no sooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of *Africa*, with the title of proconsul: but soon after, taking it into his head, that the prætor designed to murder him, he caused him to be seized by a band of soldiers in his seat of justice, and

to be hurried away, without further inquiry, to the rack, like the meanest slave. He confessed nothing, nor indeed had any such thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to *Cæsar* and *Octavianus*. But neither could his great quality, and high station, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle consul condemned him to die; but first caused the venerable magistrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleasure of digging out his eyes with his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, less cruel than himself, to dispatch him (2).

(2) *Suet. in Octavio.*

taking of *Laodicea* by *Cassius*, to the arrival of *Antony* and *Octavianus* in *Macedon*.

Cassius resolves to invade Egypt; but is recalled by Brutus.

Is touched with compassion on the miserable condition of the Tarsenses.

CASSIUS, having by the reduction of *Laodicea*, made himself master of all *Syria*, resolved in the next place to invade *Egypt*; for *Cleopatra* had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet: but, as he was on his march, he was recalled by *Brutus*, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in *Italy*, and assembling forces with a design to pass over into *Macedon* (S). As *Cassius* had a great esteem and veneration for *Brutus*, he dropt his enterprize upon *Egypt*; and, committing the government of *Syria* to his brother's son with one legion, he set out with all the rest to meet him. On his march he detached a body of horse into *Cappadocia*, with orders to put king *Ariobarzanes* to death, upon an information that he had conspired against him, and kept up a private correspondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great sums raised on his subjects, who were looked upon by *Cassius* as disaffected to the republican party. As he passed by *Tarsus*, being touched with compassion on the miserable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the rest of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for siding with *Dolabella*, and refusing to supply with provisions the troops which *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conspirators, was leading into *Syria*. This conduct of the *Tarsenses*, after they had entered into an alliance with *Cassius*, and even presented him with a crown of gold, so provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raising of which sum, they first sold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both sexes, and at last their women and old men. As the money accruing from these

(S) " It is not (said he in one
" of his letters) to gain an em-
" pire for ourselves, but to re-
" lieve our country, that we
" have assembled such powerful
" armies. We ought not so
" much to think of gaining
" glory by new conquests, as
" of destroying those who
" have enslaved *Rome*. Let

" us remember what we have
" undertaken, and persevere in
" our first intentions. It is high
" time for us to turn our
" thoughts upon *Italy*, which
" now groans under the oppres-
" sion of tyrants. Let us make
" what haste we can thither, and
" endeavour to relieve our fel-
" low-citizens."

sales did not amount to the sum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at last forced to sell some of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy persons, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on themselves; which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he forgave them the rest of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From *Tarsus* he pursued his march into *Asia*, to join *Brutus*¹.

THAT general, seeing himself master of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, had resolved to pass over into *Asia* with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news were brought him, that *Caius Antonius*, whom he had taken prisoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmost civility, had raised a sedition among the troops that were left in *Macedon*. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put *Caius* under close confinement in the city of *Apollonia*, pursued his march, and passed over into *Asia*, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and among the rest by *Deiotarus*, king or tetrarch of *Galatia*, though he had refused to send any succours to *Cassius*. While *Brutus* was in *Asia*, *Caius Antonius*, having found means, even in his confinement, to corrupt many of his soldiers, attempted to make his escape; but the plot being discovered, *Antonius* was more closely confined, and the guilty soldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they seemed determined to stand it out, and rather undergo any hardships, than submit to the will of their officers. Hereupon *Caius Clodius*, to whose custody *Brutus* had committed the seditious prisoner, fearing he might raise new disturbances, and at length make his escape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by *Brutus*'s orders, is uncertain (T).

Caius Antonius put to death.

BRUTUS, fearing the death of *Antonius* might occasion disturbances in *Macedon*, left *Asia*, and hastened back thither. On his arrival, he put himself at the head of a legion, and

¹ PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 625. & l. v. p. 675. Dio, l. xlvii.

(T) Thus *Dio Cassius* (3). *Antonius*; and adds, that, on But *Plutarch* tells us, that *Brutus* this account, *Antony*, having afterwards taken *Hortensius* in the *Cicero*'s death, than he sent orders to *Hortensius* to kill *Caius* his brother's tomb.

(3) *Dio*, l. xlvii. p. 340, 341. & l. xlix.

marched against the mutineers, whom he soon forced to sue
The great for mercy. As *Brutus* was a man of an extraordinary mild
clemency of nature, great magnanimity, and insensible of the passions of
Brutus. anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himself to put
 any of the seditious legionaries to death, respecting, as *Appian*
 observes, the character of a *Roman* citizen, even in an enemy.
 His officers pressed him to punish at least a small number of
 the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices.
 The good-natured general seemed to yield to their importu-
 nity; and, having ordered a gally to be got ready, caused the
 ringleaders of the late tumult to be put on board of it, as if
 he intended to have them thrown into the sea, and drowned;
 but, in the mean time, he gave private orders to the com-
 mander of the gally to convey them to some place of safety,
 and there leave them^m.

Brutus and Cas-
sius meet
at Smyr-
na.

BRUTUS, having thus quieted all disturbances in *Macedon*,
 hastened back into *Asia* (U), and advanced in all haste to *Smyrna*,
 where he had appointed to meet *Cassius*, who accordingly came
 after him. As they had not seen one another since they parted
 at *Pireæus*, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedon*, we
 may easily imagine how great their joy was at their first meet-
 ing. They had been intimate friends long before the death of
Cæsar, were nearly related, *Cassius* having married *Julia* the
 sister of *Brutus*, and looked upon themselves as the only pro-
 tectors of their oppressed country. Their joy was doubled,
 when they compared their present circumstances with the
 despicable condition they were both in when they left *Italy*.
Cassius shewed all possible respect for *Brutus*, having a great
 opinion of his virtue, honesty and integrity. On the other
 hand, *Brutus*, considering *Cassius* as the elder man, and of a
 more weakly constitution than himself, desired, that their
 conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies
 encamped separately. When they came to deliberate about
 the proper measures to be taken, with relation to the great
 war with which they were threatened, *Brutus* was for trans-
 porting all their forces over into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, and

^m DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.*

(U) It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither,
 that he coined a new piece of money, which was for some time
 current in all the eastern coun-tries. On one side was the head
 of *Brutus*, and on the reverse a *pileus* or cap, the badge of li-
 berty, between two poniards, with this legend, *Eid. Mar.* to
 revive the remembrance of the *ides of March*, which was the
 last day of *Cæsar's* life, and usurped empire.

there

there making head against the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberless troops in one of those countries; but *Cassius* was of opinion, that they should first reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, that they might not leave two such formidable maritim powers, unsubdued, behind them; for both these nations had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours underhand to the triumvirs. As for the numberless forces of the enemy, *Their great number*, said *Cassius*, *renders them less formidable: they will find a powerful enemy to contend with in Greece, Macedon, or Thessaly; famine. Where will they find provisions for so great a multitude? Let us therefore turn our arms against their friends the Lycians and Rhodians, and, in the mean time, leave them to fight with want and famine* ⁿ.

BRUTUS readily came into the opinion of *Cassius*, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct, after the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians*. ^{Resolutions taken at their interview} It was therefore agreed, that, before they passed farther westward, *Brutus* should march against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* sail with his fleet against the *Rhodians*; but as *Brutus* had spent great sums in equipping a fleet, he desired *Cassius* to share with him the immense treasure he had amassed in *Asia*. This demand was taken ill by the friends of *Cassius*, who endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with the just request of *Brutus*, saying, That it was not reasonable the money which he had saved with so much parsimony, or got with so much envy, should be disposed of to enrich *Brutus's* soldiers, and to make him popular. But *Cassius*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, generously gave him a third part of the great treasure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, *Cassius* marching against the *Rhodians*, and *Brutus* against the *Lycians* ^p.

As the city of *Rhodes* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and had a powerful fleet at sea, *Cassius*, before he attempted to make a descent on the island, took care to exercise his mariners at *Mindus*, a maritim city of *Caria*. Thither the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over *De-*

The Rhodians send an embassy to Cassius.

ⁿ APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 626. LIV. l. cxxii. ^o Vide vol. xi. p. 33, 34. ^p PLUT. in *Bruto*. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 626. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 346.

metrius king of *Macedon*, over *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, and many others, and representing, that their nation was not easily to be conquered; that he might, in so dangerous an attempt, lose, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at sea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, &c. As they were going on, *Cassius* interrupted them: Since you have so great an opinion of your own valour, said he, I will soon give you an opportunity of exerting it. You have sent succours to *Dolabella*; and unless you assist me in the like manner, neither the numerous fleet you have at sea, nor the dread of your naval forces, shall deter me from invading your island, and laying siege to your proud capital. This answer terrified the wiser citizens, who were for complying with *Cassius's* demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, opposed all their measures; and two orators, *Alexander* and *Mnaseas*, by magnifying the strength of the nation, the number of their ships, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all proposals of an accommodation; nay, the people, in an assembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magistrates, appointed *Alexander* commander in chief of the land-forces, and *Mnaseas* of the fleet; who immediately began to make the necessary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the *Romans*, sent a second embassy to *Cassius*, employing for that purpose *Archelaus*, who had formerly taught him the *Greek* tongue in *Rhodes*, and for whom the *Roman* had, on all occasions, shewed great respect and veneration. *Archelaus* put him in mind of their antient friendship, of the alliance that was still subsisting between the republic of *Rhodes*, and that of *Rome*, and of the education he had received in that city. *Cassius* answered, That if *Archelaus* had consented to the hostilities of his countrymen against him, he had, by that means, renounced his friendship, and effaced all former obligations; but, if he had advised them to embrace his interest, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them, for the contempt they had shewn for him. As to their alliance with *Rome*, he said, that, in virtue of that treaty with the republic, they were obliged to assist him against those who were using their utmost efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power in its room; that he demanded succours of them, as prætor and proconsul appointed by the senate, and the most honest part of the *Roman* people; and that, if they refused to acknowledge him in that character, or

*They refuse
to submit.*

*Cassius's
speech to
the Rho-
dian en-
voy.*

would

would not send him the succours he demanded, in the name of the senate and *Roman* people, he could not look upon them otherwise than as enemies to *Rome*, and would treat them as such. *Archelaus*, finding *Cassius* inflexible, and the reasons he alleged for making war upon the *Rhodians* unanswerable, took his leave and returned to *Rhodes*; where he found *Alexander* and *Mnaseas* ready to put to sea with a fleet of thirty-three ships of war, and a great number of smaller vessels. These two commanders no sooner heard the *Roman* general's final answer, than they weighed anchor, and went in quest of the enemy's fleet, which they met off *Cnidos*, where they had formerly defeated the navy of *Mithridates the Great*.

THIS they looked upon as a good omen, and therefore immediately attacked the *Roman* fleet, which was commanded by *Statius Murcus*, with incredible bravery and resolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the *Rhodian* mariners, and the nimbleness of their ships; but at length the *Rhodians* were put to flight, after having lost ^{The Rho-} a great number of soldiers, as well as mariners, and five of ^{dians} their best ships, three whereof were taken, and two sunk. ^{overcome} After this engagement, *Cassius*, who beheld it from a neigh- ^{in a sea-} bouring mountain, marched his army to *Loryma*, a maritime ^{fight.} city of *Caria*, situated over-against the island of *Rhodes*, and there, without loss of time, put his forces on board a great number of transports, which he had assembled beforehand, and ordered them to land in the island, and fortify themselves there, while he, with a fleet of eighty ships of war, invested the city of *Rhodes* by sea, in hopes of striking terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodshed, to submit, and comply with his demands. With this view, he continued some days inactive before the place; but was greatly surprised to see the enemy's fleet unexpectedly sail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this second ^{The Rho-} engagement, the *Rhodians* were defeated anew, with the loss ^{dians de-} of two gallies, and forced to take shelter under the walls of ^{feated a-} their city, which was immediately invested, both by sea and ^{new, and} land, and, after a short but most vigorous resistance, forced to ^{their town} surrender at discretion ^{taken.} (W).

¶ APPIAN. l. iv. p. 627—632. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 346.

(W) *Appian* tells us, that some *Cassius*, after he ha solemnly of the rich citizens, to save their promised not to destr it. estates, betrayed the city to

Cassius
treats the
Rhodians
with severe-
rity.

Cleopa-
tra's fleet
dispersed
by a storm.

THE inhabitants, seeing him master of the place, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their king and master. But *Cassius*, abhorring those titles, *I am neither your king nor master*, said he, *but the destroyer of a tyrant, who would have been your king and master*. He then caused a tribunal to be raised in the market-place, and seating himself on it, with a spear planted before him, as it was customary among the *Roman* generals, when they had taken a city by storm, he first forbade his soldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houses, or offer any sort of violence to the inhabitants. He then summoned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been most sanguine for war, and pronounced sentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty-five more, who had made their escape, to perpetual banishment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and silver, whether belonging to the temples, to the public, or to private persons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening those with death, who should conceal any part of their wealth, and promising rewards to such as should discover it, to wit, a tenth to persons of a free condition, and liberty to slaves. At first, some concealed their treasures, not thinking he would proceed with so much rigour; but, when they saw three or four of the richest citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way part of their wealth, they desired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before *Cassius*, who by that means raised, at the expence of private persons, the sum of eight thousand talents. *Cassius*, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of *Rhodes*, returned to the continent, leaving *Lucius Varus* with a strong garison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which, at his departure, he laid on those refractory islanders. On the continent he was informed, that *Cleopatra* had left *Egypt*, and was sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Upon this intelligence, he sent *Statius Murcus* with sixty ships of war, and a legion on board, to cruise off the coast of *Peloponnesus*, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of *Tænarus*, in hopes of meeting there with *Cleopatra's* fleet; but the queen's navy was dispersed by a violent storm, and most of her ships dashed to pieces on the coast of *Africa*; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aside for the present, all thoughts of sending any succours to the triumvirs. *Cassius*, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin *Brutus*, obliging all the provinces of *Asia*,

as he passed through them, to pay, without the least abatement, ten years taxes^r.

WHILE *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Rhodians*, *Brutus* was making war in *Lycia*, agreeable to the scheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hostilities, he sent to the *Lycians*, to demand a supply of men and money; but one *Maukrates*, a popular man among them, persuaded them not to comply with *Brutus's* request, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, posted several bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent *Brutus* from entering the country. But the Roman general detached a party of horse against them; which, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed six hundred of them, drove the rest from their posts, and opened a passage into the country for the whole army^s (X). *Brutus*, after this first skirmish, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himself master of all their cities and villages, except *Xanthus* (Y) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a design to stand a siege. *Brutus*, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and great magnanimity, being unwilling to shed the blood of those unhappy men, set all the prisoners he had taken free, without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the *Lycians*, despising his humanity and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; so that *Brutus* was forced, to his great grief, to lay siege to the place, which, he foresaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people.

XANTHUS was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia*; its walls were of an extraordinary height and thickness, and surrounded with a ditch fifty feet deep, and broad in proportion. *The memorable siege of Xanthus.*

^r APPIAN. & DIO, *ibid.* & VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 70.

^s PLUT. in *Bruto*.

(X) *Dio* tells us, that the *Lycians*, who were a brave and warlike people, met *Brutus* on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the *Romans*, who made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage (4).

(Y) *Xanthus* was, according to *Strabo* (5), the metropolis of all *Lycia*. The river, which watered it, is said, by *Stephanus*, to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder *Xanthus*, who was, according to some, an *Egyptian*, according to others, a native of *Crete*.

(4) *Dio*, l. xlviii. p. 347.

(5) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 981.

portion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great distance, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged *Brutus* to send parties a great way off, to fetch the necessary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but, notwithstanding the many difficulties which he had to struggle with, and which he did not himself expect to surmount in many months, as *Appian* tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: so great was the eagerness and ardor of the soldiery, animated by the example of their general, who shared with them all the toils and dangers of so difficult an undertaking. The besieged made a most vigorous defence, and behaved in their sallies with several unparalleled bravery; but were always beaten with great loss; *Brutus* keeping the half of his army, night and day, under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the *Xanthians* began to think of making their escape; and accordingly some of them threw themselves into the river, which ran through the city, hoping to save themselves by swimming and diving under water; but they were taken in nets, let down for that purpose, with little bells fastened to them, to give present notice, when any of the unfortunate persons were intangled in them; but the greater part, despairing to hold out any longer, resolved to make a general sally, and forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. *Brutus*, suspecting their design, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the *Xanthians* supposing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, sallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulsed, with great slaughter, by the *Romans*, who lay in wait for them. The next day, about noon, they made another sally, set fire to the engines of the aggressors, and retired in great haste within their walls.

Two thousand *Romans*, entering the city, are shut up there.

THE *Romans* pursued them close, and entered the city, to the number of two thousand, with the besieged; but the portcullis falling, either by a stratagem of the enemy, or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the *Romans* were crushed to pieces, and others shut in, without any possible means of retiring, or receiving the least assistance from their friends. In this desperate condition they resolved at least to sell their lives dear; and, with this view, marched in good order through showers of darts, which were discharged upon them from all parts, to a temple dedicated to *Sarpedon* king of *Lycia*, who was supposed to have been killed in the *Trojan* war. There they fortified themselves, and sustained a siege in the

very

very heart of the city. In the mean time, *Brutus* and his men exerted their utmost efforts to relieve their fellow-soldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the *Xanthians* defending it with a bravery and resolution, which surprised the *Romans* themselves. As they could neither move nor break down the portcullis, which was trellised with iron bars, they endeavoured to scale the walls, using for that purpose not scaling-ladders (for the besieged had burnt them, together with the wooden towers, when they first sallied out), but long ropes, to which they fastened iron hooks. These they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the besieged, by pushing the aggressors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their swords, rendered this attempt likewise unsuccessful.

WHILE *Brutus* was under the utmost concern for his men, who were, to the number of two thousand, shut up in the city, a company of *Oenoandes* (Z), who served under him, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians*, climbing up a steep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themselves from thence into the city; and, opening a postern to some *Romans* who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, and let in the rest of the *Roman* army. But in the mean time some sparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceness, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houses, the flame was soon spread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. *Brutus*, fearing the whole city might be destroyed, ordered his soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the *Xanthians*, seized with a kind of frenzy, which *Plutarch* calls a violent desire of dying, strove to drive away the soldiers who came to their assistance; nay, they themselves, gathering together reeds, wood, and other combustible matter, spread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. *Brutus*, seeing the flame blaze out in a most frightful manner, and extremely de-

(Z) *Oenoanda*, or, as others write it, *Oeneanda*, was, according to *Pliny* and *Stephanus*, situated on the confines of *Cabalicia*, a small province of *Lycia*. It was still in being in the sixth century of the christian æra, and is mentioned in the *notitia* of the empire of *Constantinople*, commonly ascribed to the grammarian *Hierocles*. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians* their neighbours, and therefore readily joined *Brutus* against them.

firous

firous of having an opportunity to shew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with such bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horseback, and riding round the walls, stretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would spare their own lives, and save their town. But his intreaties were not regarded; the *Xanthians* were immoveably determined not to outlive the loss of their liberty, and therefore repulsed, with showers of arrows, the *Romans*, whom the good-natured general sent to their assistance.

*Instances
of the fury
and despair
of the
Xanthi-
ans.*

SOME of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their slaves, before the soldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran, like wild beasts, on the enemy's swords, or threw themselves headlong from the top of the walls. Some children were seen offering their throats, or opening their breasts to their fathers swords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given (A). When the city was almost wholly reduced to ashes, a woman was found, who had hanged herself, with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. When this was related to *Brutus*, he burst into tears, and declining to see so fragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any soldier who should save a *Xanthian*; but, with all his care and good-nature, he could only preserve one hundred and fifty, and those much against their wills^t (B).

FROM *Xanthus* *Brutus* led his army against *Patara* (C), another

^t PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 633—635.

(A) How great is the power of education! The *Xanthians* had inspired their children from their very infancy, with the most heroic sentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to slavery and subjection, often relating to them how their forefathers had suffered themselves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than submit either to *Harpagus*, Cyrus's lieutenant, or to *Alexander* of *Macedon*, the famous conqueror of *Asia*; for

they had, in the *Persian* and *Macedonian* wars, set fire to their city after the same manner, and destroyed themselves.

(B) *Appian* tells us, that only some slaves were saved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted husbands to kill them; and adds, that *Brutus* found means to preserve some of the temples from so general a conflagration (6).

(C) *Patara* stood on a peninsula, which *Stephanus* calls the

(6) *Appian*. l. iv. p. 633---635.

Lycian

another city of *Lycia*; but, being desirous to save the place, Brutus endeavours and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them as he had done the *Xanthians*. With the deputies, he sent the few prisoners he had taken at *Xanthus*, hoping that they, by giving the *Patarenses* an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpose; the inhabitants seemed determined to stand a siege, and undergo any miseries, rather than submit. This gave Brutus great uneasiness; he studied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the same frenzy, which had driven the *Xanthians* to destruction, might seize them. Notwithstanding the answer they sent him, which was, That they chose rather to die like brave men, than purchase their lives at the expence of their liberty and reputation; the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the rest of that day to reflect more seriously on their present circumstances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obstinacy, he set at liberty such of the *Xanthian* captives as were any-way allied to them, sending them into the city, as a present from him to their relations; but the *Patarenses* still continued inflexible. Brutus therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had recourse to severity, and causing the *Xanthian* captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be sold to the best bidder, under the very walls of *Patara*; but, as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of those unfortunate people had been sold, he set the rest at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to slavery, who had fought so valiantly in defence of their liberty.

WHILE he was under the greatest concern imaginable for the *Patarenses*, whose obstinacy rendered all the measures abortive, which his good-nature could suggest for their preservation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their stubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in scouring the country, happened to meet some of the chief women of *Patara*, whom they took prisoners, and

Lycian Chersonesus. Livy (7) honours this city with the title of *caput gentis*, the metropolis of the nation. In our history of *Lycia*, we have given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of *Apollo*, who was supposed to reside six months at *Patara*, and as many at *Delos* (8).

(7) Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 15.

(8) Vide Servium in *Æneid*. iv. ver. 143.

carried to *Brutus*, who immediately dismissed them all without ransom. These returning into the city, and there extolling the politeness, justice, and temperance of *Brutus*, prevailed upon their husbands and relations, who were all leading men, to submit to so good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. *Brutus* treated them with great humanity, pardoning even those who had been, to the very last, for standing a siege (D).

AND now *Brutus*, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all *Lycia*, left that country, and entered *Ionian*, where he found the famous rhetorician *Theodotus*, who had the most contributed to the death of *Pompey the Great*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*. This cruel wretch had fled out of *Egypt* on the arrival of *Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, and ever since that time sculked about in *Asia*, wandering from town to town, hated and ab-

(D) *Plutarch* tells us, that the Roman general exacted only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation; a very inconsiderable sum, if compared with that of eight thousand talents, which *Cassius* extorted from the *Rhodians*. *Appian* writes, that *Brutus*, after the example of *Cassius*, ordered the *Patarenses*, on pain of death, to bring him all their gold and silver, promising rewards to such as should discover any hidden treasures. Upon this, a slave, belonging to a rich citizen, informed against his master, and discovered to a centurion, who was sent for that purpose, the place where he had buried the greatest part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately seized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before *Brutus*. The mother of the accused followed them, declaring with many tears,

that she had hid the treasure without her son's knowledge, and consequently ought to be punished. On the other hand, the slave stood to his first information, maintaining, that his master, and not his mother, had transgressed the edict. *Brutus* heard both parties with great patience; and, being in the end convinced, that the accusation of the slave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his master, he commended the tenderness and generosity of the mother, restored the whole sum to the son, and condemned the slave to be crucified. This judgment, which was immediately published all over *Lycia*, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them (9).

(9) *Dio*, l. xlvii. p. 347. *Appian*, l. iv. p. 635, 636.

horred by all men. *Brutus* no sooner heard he was in *Ionia*, than he caused him to be seized, and sacrificed to the manes ^{Theodo-} of the illustrious *Roman*, who, by his advice, had been in-^{tus put to} humanly murdered, as he himself had the impudence to boast ^{death by}. This memorable act of justice was greatly applauded by every *Brutus's* honest *Roman*, and all the princes of *Asia*, who had a great ve-^{order.} *neration* for the memory of *Pompey*. From *Ionia* *Brutus* marched into *Lydia*, and stopping at *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country, waited there for *Cassius*, who, after the reduction of *Rhodes*, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city. As *Cassius* drew near, *Brutus* ^{Brutus} went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and ^{and} *Cassius* armies, was exceeding great on this occasion. The soldiery ^{meet at} expressed their satisfaction in seeing each other again with joyful ^{Sardis.} acclamations, and saluted both generals with the title of *imperator*. As several jealousies of each other, and complaints, had passed between the two generals, as soon as the usual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private ^{A private} apartment, with a design to settle all differences between ^{dispute be-} them, before they entered upon any other business. What ^{tween the} was the subject of their debate, we know not; but they dis-^{two gene-} puted with great warmth, reproaching and accusing each other ^{rals.} with hard words, and at last bursting out into tears. Their friends, who stood without, hearing them so loud and angry, began to be afraid, lest their quarrel should be attended with dangerous consequences; but yet they durst not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, *M. Favonius*, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himself more upon a sort of *Cynical* liberty of speaking what he pleased, than upon the dignity of a senator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the subject of the dispute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verse, which *Homer* puts in the mouth of *Nestor*: *Be rul'd; for I am elder than you both.* This made *Cassius* laugh; but *Brutus*, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended *Cynic*, thrust him out, calling him a *dog*, in allusion to his sect, and a *counterfeit philosopher*. This, however, put an end to the dispute; *Cassius* provided a supper that night, and *Brutus* invited his friends to it. As they were sitting down, *Favonius* came in, and took the most honourable place, though *Brutus*, calling out aloud, told him, That he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company; and

Plut. in Pomp. & Bruto.

the

the entertainment was seasoned both with mirth and learned discourses^w.

Brutus's
equity.

THE next day *Brutus*, upon the accusation of the inhabitants of *Sardis*, publicly condemned and branded with infamy *Lucius Pella*, who had been formerly censor, and often employed by *Brutus* himself in offices of trust, for having embezzled the public money. This sentence offended *Cassius*, who but a few days before had absolved in public two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, tho' accused of the same crime, contenting himself only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his sentiments on this head from *Brutus*, whom he accused in a friendly manner of too much rigour and severity, when gentleness and favour were more necessary, and would prove of greater service to their cause. In answer to this, *Brutus* put him in mind of the ides of *March*, the day on which they had killed *Cæsar*, who himself neither vexed nor oppressed mankind, but was the support of those who did. He desired him to consider, that if justice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of *Cæsar's* friends, than to give impunity to their own; for then, said he, we could have been accused of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injustice of others, we make ourselves liable to the same accusation, and share with them in the guilt. From this we may perceive, as *Plutarch* observes, what was the rule of all *Brutus's* actions^x.

Antony
and Octa-
vianus
pass over
into Ma-
cedon.

AND now the two republican generals, being masters of all the eastern provinces, from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*, after several consultations, resolved to march from *Sardis* to *Abydus*, and crossing the *Hellespont*, advance into *Macedon* against *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who, notwithstanding the opposition they had met with from *Staius Murcus*, *Cassius's* admiral, had transported their troops, without the loss of one single ship or man, to *Dyrrhachium*. From thence they detached *Decidius Saxa*, and *Caius Norbanus*, with eight legions, to seize on the streights leading from *Thrace* into *Macedon*, in order to prevent *Brutus* and *Cassius* from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the necessary provisions for the support of their two armies. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, upon the first intelligence of these motions, left *Sardis*, and marched in all haste to *Abydus*, where they had appointed the *Lycian* fleet to meet them, and transport their forces out of *Asia* into *Europe*. It

^w PLUT. in Bruto.

^x Idem ibid.

was on this march that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a ghost *Brutus sees*
or spectre in his tent. *a ghost.*

THIS memorable story is thus related by *Plutarch*^y, *Florus*^z, and *Appian*^a: *Brutus*, being used to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching; and allowed but a very small portion of time for sleep. *Plutarch* tells us, that he never slept in the day-time, as was customary among the *Romans*, and in the night then only when he had dispatched his affairs, and when every one else being gone to rest, he had nobody left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, he, very careful and solicitous about the event of it, used to lie down for a short while just after supper, and spend the rest of the night, either in dispatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes used to wait on him for their orders. According to this custom, he was one night, before he passed out of *Asia*, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, there being a general silence all over the camp, especially about his tent. As he was musing with himself, and very thoughtful, he heard, on a sudden, an unusual noise at the door of his tent, which at the same time flew open. *Brutus*, casting his eye towards the place whence the noise came, saw a terrible and strange figure of an huge and frightful body coming towards him without speaking; but he undauntedly addressed the spectre, asking it, *What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what business dost thou come to us?* I am, said the ghost, thy evil genius, *Brutus*; thou shalt see me again near *Philippi*. *Brutus*, without betraying the least fear, answered boldly, *Well, I will see thee there*: upon which the apparition vanished. *Brutus* immediately called his servants, who all told him, That they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the rest of the night, and as soon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Cassius*, who, as he had been *Cassius* sabbred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, ascribed to *him* the vision wholly to the weakness of his senses, and the force of imagination, which easily moves and varies them into all sorts of manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of the *Epicurean* dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the same manner as they would be moved by outward objects. But that there is any such thing as spirits or demons, said he, let us never believe it; much less that spirits can have human shape, or voice, or any power over us; tho' I could earnestly wish it were so, that we might not only rely on

^y PLUT. in Bruto. ^z FLOR. l. iv. c. 7. ^a APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665.

the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but likewise on the assistance of those immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred as ours is (E). This discourse satisfied Brutus, who was not under the least apprehension for himself, but very solicitous about the fate of his friends and country.

(E) As Cassius had been bred up in the principles of the Epicurean philosophy, and had often disputed with Brutus concerning matters of this nature, he spoke to him thus, as Plutarch informs us: "It is the opinion of our sect, O Brutus, that all we feel or see is not real and true; but that our senses, being apt to receive all sorts of impressions, are very treacherous; and the imagination, which is more quick and subtle, moves and varies them into all manner of ideas, which have no real existence in nature, as readily as we imprint any form upon wax; so that it is easy for the soul of man, which has in itself both that which forms, and that which is formed, to vary it into what shapes it pleases. This is evident, from the sudden changes of our dreams, in which the imagination, upon very slight principles, represents to us all sorts of passions of the soul, and appearances of things; for it is the nature of the mind to be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our imagination and thought. But, besides all this, in our case, the body; being tired and worn out with continual labours and cares, naturally works upon the mind, and keeps it in suspense and trouble; but that

"there should be any such thing as demons or spirits, or, if there were, that they should have human shape or voice, or power that can reach us, is altogether improbable; tho', I confess, I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely on our arms only, our horses, and our navy; but might be likewise confident of the assistance of the gods in this our most sacred and honourable attempt (1)."

It is true, as Cassius observed, that our imagination, when heated, may impose upon us false objects, which we see with the same certainty as if they were real; but to say, that there are no such beings as spirits, who can appear to us, speak to us, and foretell future events, is carrying this principle too far. Cassius, after insinuating that the notion of spirits is false and groundless, makes it appear, that it were to be wished there were such spirits; for, in that case, they would not come to foretell to them unfortunate, but happy events; an effectual way of removing Brutus's apprehensions; for, by this way of reasoning, be there spirits, or be there not, the phantom which Brutus imagined he saw was false, and a mere illusion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

(1) Plut. in Bruto.

BOTH generals pursued their march to *Abydus*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, took their route through *Thrace*, with a design to dislodge *Saxa* and *Norbanus*, who had seized the passes between that country and *Macedon* (F). Upon their arrival in *Thrace*, they were joined by *Rhaseupolis*, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thousand horse, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There *Brutus* and *Cassius* thought it adviseable, before they attempted to force the passes which were guarded by so numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a solemn sacrifice for the success of their arms, and put their soldiers in mind of the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies passed in review before the two generals, and were found to consist of eighty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, counting *Romans* and auxiliaries. In the next place a sacrifice was offered with the utmost solemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpose, having on their right-hand the *Roman* senators and magistrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes, who had joined them. *Cassius*, who was the elder man, took upon him to speak; and, after having enlarged on the justice of their cause, on the unheard-of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in *Italy*, on the miserable condition to which *Rome* was reduced, &c. he concluded with acquainting them, that *Brutus* and he had agreed to give immediately two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier, five thousand to each centurion, and double that sum to each tribune. This caused an universal joy in the army; nothing was heard but shouts of joy, and loud acclamations, the soldiers and officers striving to outdo each other in protestations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the interest of their leaders, which, they said, was the same with that of their country. The money was immediately distributed, and, besides, considerable presents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; so that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of *Oricum*, which was bounded towards *Macedon* by the streights we have mentioned above. *Norbanus*, who was encamped there, upon the first notice of the enemy's march, dispatched an ex-

(F) *Plutarch* tells us, that, on their march, two eagles flew to them, and, lighting upon the two foremost ensigns, continually at-

tended the army, and were fed by the soldiers, till they came to *Philippi*, where, the day before the battle, they disappeared.

press to *Decidius*, who guarded the coast of the *Melaic* gulf, intreating him to make what haste he could to join him. The two bodies, thus united, posted themselves so advantageously in the narrow passes, that it seemed impossible to dislodge them.

They get
beyond the
streights of
Symbolon
possessed by
the enemy;

who a-
bandon
that post.

Antony
arrives
with his
troops in
the plains
of Philip-
pi.

HEREUPON *Brutus*, being greatly at a loss what to do, advised with *Rhascupolis*, who, as he was by birth a *Thracian*, and well acquainted with that country, told him, that there was another passage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in less than three days, and, besides, would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river *Arpeffus*, which was but one day's march from the city of *Philippi*, by ways unknown even to the wild beasts. The soldiers took courage; provided themselves with water; and, trusting intirely to the conduct of *Rhascupolis*, set out on their march, *Bibulus*, son-in-law to *Brutus*, marching with the *Thracian* prince in the van, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* bringing up the rear. The hardships they underwent on their route can hardly be expressed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon *Rhascupolis*, suspecting him of treachery, when their scouts, discovering the river, signified their joy to the harassed troops with loud shouts, which were answered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of *Norbanus* and *Saxa*, who thereupon abandoned their post, and retired in all haste to *Amphipolis*, for fear of being surrounded. At the same time they dispatched an express to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, acquainting them, that the enemy had passed the streights, and were advancing towards the frontiers of *Macedon*. Hereupon *Antony*, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of *Amphipolis* on the *Strymon*, which the triumvirs designed to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of *Dyrrbachium*, and, by long marches, reached *Amphipolis*. His arrival was so sudden, and his march so expeditious, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not believe he was come, till they saw his vanguard advancing into the plains of *Philippi* (G). In this plain, at a small distance from the city,

(G) This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epistle which *St. Paul* afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly speaking, to *Thrace*; but is placed, by most geographers, in *Macedon*, pursuant to the division which obtained ever since the time of *Phi-*

lip the father of *Alexander*, who, having reduced the country lying between the *Strymon*, the antient boundary of *Macedon*, and the *Nessus* or *Nestus*, added it to his hereditary kingdom: whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of *Macedon*, and is called in the *Acts* the first city of part of *Macedon*,

city, was a rising ground; and there *Brutus* intrenched him-
 self, while *Cassius* took possession of a post equally advanta-
 geous about three miles from *Brutus's* camp, and nearer the
 sea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to
 the other, and built a strong wall, which covered the interval
 between the intrenchments; so that they could not have
 wished for a more advantageous situation, having the plains of
Philippi before them, the *Strymon* and a marsh on their left,
 the streights of *Topiris* on their right, and behind them the sea,
 by which means they could be easily supplied with all manner
 of provisions from *Asia* and *Sicily*, which island was in the
 hands of young *Pompey*.

ANTONY was informed at *Amphipolis* of the advantageous
 situation of the enemy; but nevertheless, having left in that
 city one legion, under the command of *Pinarius*, he ad-
 vanced boldly into the plain, and encamped in sight of the
 republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the
 arrival of *Octavianus*, who came up ten days after, having
 been detained at *Dyrrhachium* by a fit of sickness, which seized
 him the same day he landed there. And now the two most
 powerful armies *Rome* had ever raised being in sight of each
 other, the world stood with dread and terror, expecting the
 success of a general action, which, they foresaw, would soon
 ensue, and decide the fate of the *Roman* empire. The army
 of *Brutus* and *Cassius* consisted of nineteen legions, and twenty
 thousand horse, and that of the triumvirs of the same number
 of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thousand horse;
 so that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the
 troops of *Brutus* far excelled those of the triumvirs in the rich-
 ness of their apparel and arms, which were for the most part
 adorned with gold and silver; for tho' *Brutus* in other things
 had accustomed his soldiers to use all frugality and moderation,
 yet he thought, that the riches which they carried about them

PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 480.

Macedon, that is, of that part beyond the *Strymon*, which was added to antient *Macedon* (4). The city of *Philippi*, so called from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who fortified it against the incursions of the *Thracians*, was situated on a rising ground, which abounded with springs, and had on the north several hills co-
 vered with woods; on the south a marsh, which reached to the *Ægean* sea; on the east the streights we have mentioned above, which some writers call the streights of *Topiris*, others the streights of *Symbolon*; and, on the west, a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*.

(4) *Acts*, c. xvi. ver. 12.

in their hands, and on their bodies, would inspire them with courage, and make them more bold in action to preserve their arms, which were in a manner their estates (H).

The trium-
virs begin
to be
streighten-
ed for
want of
provisions.

ANTONY lay encamped opposite to *Cassius*, and *Brutus* to *Octavianus*. The latter did nothing worth relating; but *Antony* was continually harassing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very soon to be streightened for want of provisions, having only *Macedon* and *Thrace* open to them, since *Pompey*, *Murcus*, and *Abenobarbus*, had, with their several navies, cut off all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. But, on the other hand, *Brutus* and *Cassius* received daily supplies from *Asia* and *Sicily*, and had amassed great store of necessaries in the neighbouring city of *Neapolis*, and in the island of *Thasus*, whence they were conveyed, without the least danger, to their respective camps. *Antony* indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the sea, by opening a passage thro' the marsh which lay between them and the shore; and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his design; but *Cassius* no sooner saw, to his great surprize, castles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than, setting all hands to work, he drew a line cross the marsh from his camp quite to the sea; and, fortifying it with towers and castles at proper distances, maintained, in spite of *Antony's* utmost efforts, a free and open communication with the sea, and the cities on the coast. In the mean time *Thrace* and *Macedon* being quite exhausted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more streightened for want of necessaries, with which those countries could no longer supply them. This made *Antony* extremely desirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the sad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worse, carefully avoided.

Brutus in-
clined to
fight, con-
trary to the

HAD they continued in this resolution, the triumvirs must either have marched back to *Dyrrhachium*, and from thence returned to *Italy*, or attempted to force the strong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but *Brutus* soon changed his mind, and, in a council of war, which consisted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement, that so he might either restore *Rome* to

(H) This was likewise the sentiment of *Cæsar* (5), and *Sertorius* (6), though *Mitbridates*, and

other great commanders, have been of a different opinion.

(5) *Suet. in Cæsar, c. 67.*

(6) *Plut. in Sertorio*

her former liberty, or else deliver from their misery so many *opinion of* nations, who were harassed with the expences, troubles, and *Cassius.* dangers, of the war. *Cassius*, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, enlarged on the bad posture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of provisions, on the extremities to which they must be soon reduced. *Brutus* yielded to his reasons, and both generals kept close in their intrenchments, despising the bravadoes of *Antony*, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but in the mean time the undiscerning soldiery began to complain, and ascribe to cowardice the prudent measures of their generals; nay, they deserted in troops to the enemy, which, together with the advantages the light-horse of the republican generals had gained in several skirmishes, inclined *Brutus* again to venture an engagement.

Cassius still opposed it (I); but most of the officers, fearing a general desertion, changed their opinions to that of *Brutus*; so that a general engagement was agreed to by a great *A general* majority, to which *Cassius* himself yielded at last, after hav- *engage-* ing solemnly declared, that he was still of a contrary opinion. *ment a-* Besides *Cassius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, by name *Atellius*, *greed to by* was still for putting off the engagement, and spinning out the *most of the* war, till the next winter. *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage* *officers.* *he promised himself from such a delay. If I gain nothing else,* answered *Atellius*, *yet I shall live so much the longer.* This answer offended *Cassius*, and all the officers who were present; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. *Brutus* that night invited his friends to an

(I) Some writers say he was deterred from fighting by the following omens: At the time of lustration, one of *Cassius*'s officers presenting him with a garland which he was to wear at the sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward. Some time before, at a certain solemn procession, the person who carried, according to custom, a golden image of *Victory* before *Cassius*, stumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp; and several swarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were seen in a place

within the trenches, which the soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the camp, to remove the superstition which began to prevail among the soldiery (7). These pretended prodigies, which a man of common sense would now despise, are said to have terrified and confounded *Cassius* himself, in spite of his *Epicurean* philosophy; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the insufficiency of philosophy, as to the strengthening our minds against the least terrors and apprehensions.

(7) *Plut. in Bruto.*

entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful, and full of hope, diverting his guests with learned discourses till he went to rest. *Cassius* supped privately with a few of his most intimate friends, and, during the repast, appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his temper and custom (K).

What passed in the interview between Brutus and Cassius before the battle.

THE next morning by break of day a scarlet coat of armour, among the *Romans* the signal of battle, was exposed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themselves in a readiness to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle space between the two camps. *Cassius*, desirous to know what *Brutus* intended to do, in case fortune should prove their enemy, addressed him, at their first meeting, thus: *The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now overcome our enemies, and pass the rest of our days together in repose and prosperity! but, since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult for us to see one another again, if the success of the battle should not answer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to save yourself by flight, or to die?* *Brutus* answered, *When*

(K) *Valerius Messala*, a young nobleman of great wit and learning, who supped with him, tells us, that, as *Cassius* rose from the table, he took him by the hand; and, pressing it close, in token of his good-will and affection, *Bear witness for me, Messala*, said he to him in *Greek*, *that I am forced, in the same manner as Pompey the Great was before me, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of one battle: yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken bad measures.* These, *Messala* says, were the last words *Cassius* spoke, before he withdrew (8). *Plutarch* tells us, That, in taking his leave, he invited him to sup with him the next night, being his birth-day. The ambiguous manner in which the *Greek* writer expresses himself, leaves it a doubt whether *Cassius* invited *Messala*, or *Messala* *Cas-*

sius; whether it was the birth-day of *Cassius*, or of *Messala*. *Madam Dacier* has made choice of the latter construction; for *Cassius*, says she, pensive and gloomy as he was, must have been but little disposed to make an invitation for the next night. It must therefore have been *Messala*, who did it on account of his birth-day, as the custom was among friends on the like occasion. But this learned lady seems here to have forgotten what she must have read in *Appian*, who tells us in express terms, that *Cassius* was killed on the very day he was born (9); so that it was the birth-day of *Cassius*, and not of *Messala*. Neither was *Cassius* so gloomy and pensive as *Madam Dacier* imagines; he was only grieved to see himself obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himself sure of victory without running any risques.

(8) *Fl. et. en Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 652, 653.* (9) *Appian. l. iv. p. 655.*

I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in affairs, I condemned Cato for laying violent hands on himself, thinking it irreligious in itself, and unworthy of a man, to quit the post in which Providence has placed him, and not to take and bear patiently whatever the gods are pleased to send him. But my present situation has made me alter my opinion; so that, if Providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved to make no farther attempts, nor preparations for war, but to die contented with my fortune; for I sacrificed my life to the service of my country on the ides of March, in recompence for which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour². At these words Cassius smiled; and, tenderly embracing him, With these noble sentiments, said he, let us advance boldly against the enemy; for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do. After this, they consulted with their friends about the order of battle. Brutus desired of Cassius, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, though it was thought a post more fit for Cassius, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, Cassius placed Messala in the same wing, at the head of his best legions, ordering him to assist and support Brutus (L).

THE two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. Antony commanded the right wing, and Octavianus the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his physician, by name Artorius, had the preceding night (M). *Brutus,* *Octavianus retires before the battle.*

² PLUTARCH. in Bruto. APPIAN. lib. iv. p. 653. 655. DIO, l. xlvii.

(L) While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, Brutus retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend Atticus, telling him, *That his affairs were in the best state he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of Rome, or die, and be himself free from slavery.* In the same letter he blamed the conduct of Antony, who, when he might have

been ranked among the Bruti, the Cassii, and the Cato's, had joined Octavianus; adding, that, if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would soon fall out, and quarrel with one another (1); which happened accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

(M) He dreamt, that he saw a vision, which directed Octavianus to be removed out of the camp. The vision was imme-

(1) Plut. in Bruto.

Brutus's
men charge
without
orders.

Defeat the
enemy's
left wing,
and seize
their camp.

tus, before he began the charge, sent to all the commanders tickets, with the parole, or word of battle, which, according to some, was *Liberty*, according to others, *Apollo*; and rode through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers to behave with their usual bravery. They were so animated by his speech, that few of them had patience to stay for the word of command to charge; but, before it could be given, rushed with loud shouts upon the enemy. This caused a great confusion in the army, the legions being scattered and separated from one another. *Messala*, at the head of his legions, instead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compass about; and, having put some of the ranks in *Octavianus's* rear in disorder, and killed a small number of his men, fell upon his camp, and, entering it sword in hand, made a dreadful havock of those he found there, and cut off, among the rest, two thousand *Lacedæmonians*, who were newly come to the assistance of *Octavianus*. He himself had but just before been conveyed away, on the persuasion of *Artorius*, as we have related above; but the soldiers pierced the litter, in which he used to be carried on account of his indisposition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was spread, and for some time believed, that he was slain. In the mean time *Brutus*, charging the enemy in front, easily put them to flight, as they were in great consternation for the loss of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the spot, and pursued the fugitives with dreadful slaughter, the plain being, to a great distance, strewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing intirely defeated by the brave *Brutus*, who, as *Octavianus* was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worst of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by some of his soldiers, who, presenting themselves to him, told him, that they had killed *Octavianus*, shewed him their swords all bloody, and described his age and person^a. *Brutus* took a great many of the enemy's ensigns, and three eagles.

BRUTUS, by engaging too far in the pursuit, left the wing, which *Cassius* commanded, naked, and separated from the rest

^a PLUT. in Bruto. FLOR. lib. iv. c. 7. VEL. PATERC. lib. ii. c. 70.

diately obeyed, and he conveyed away very seasonably. This *Octavianus* himself tells us in his memoirs quoted by *Plutarch*, which *Dio* seems not to have consulted, since he writes, that

Octavianus was in the action, but, like a sick person, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former indisposition.

of the army. Hereupon *Antony*, who well knew how to take *The left* advantage of this oversight, charged the enemy in front, and *wing, com-* at the same time detached some legions, with orders to cross *manded by* the marsh, and fall upon their flank, which was left open and *Cassius,* unguarded. The first shock was terrible: *Antony*, according *defeated,* to some writers, retired into the marsh, to avoid the fury of *and his* it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give *camp* ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with an un- *taken.* paralleled bravery and resolution. *Antony's* men, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, could make no impression upon *Cassius's* front; but in the mean time the detached legions, having opened a passage through the marsh, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. The runaways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men pursued them, and, finding it ill guarded, easily made themselves masters of it. This occasioned so general a consternation in the rest of the army, who were still maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that first the cavalry, and afterwards the foot, began to make their escape, and fly towards the sea. *Cassius* on this occasion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned several times to the charge, at the head of his guards, and the few men he could rally; and, snatching an ensign out of the hand of the standard-bearer, who fled, carried it himself; but, being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band, or guards, he was forced to retire, with a small number of attendants, to a rising ground near the city of *Philippi* ^b.

In the mean time *Brutus*, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of *Octavianus's* camp, when, casting his eyes upon that of *Cassius*, he was surprised, that he could not spy any tents standing there, not even the general's, which used to appear, at a great distance, above the rest. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and discerning sight, acquainted him, that they distinguished a great many arms shining about his tent, and silver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to those who had been left to guard the camp. On the other side, there did not appear so many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of so many legions. However, *Brutus*, su- *Brutus* specting *Cassius's* misfortune, left a sufficient guard in the ene- *marches to* my's camp, called back his troops from the pursuit, and *the assist-* marched with all possible expedition to the relief of his col- *ance of* league, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, *Cassius.*

^b PLUT. in Bruto.

discovered nothing, as he was short-sighted, except the destruction of his camp, and even that in a confused manner; but those who were with him, acquainted him, that they saw a great body of horse moving towards him. As *Cassius* knew nothing of the victory and march of *Brutus*, he took them to be a party of the enemy sent in pursuit of him. However, he ordered out *Titinius*, one of his most intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As soon as *Brutus's* horse saw him, those who were his more familiar acquaintance, shouting for joy, and, alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him, while the rest, who knew him to be one of *Cassius's* chief favourites, rode round him, as it were in triumph, asking him, *What news of his general?*

*Cassius's
death.*

CASSIUS, observing this, and believing the horsemen, who dismounted to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him prisoner, cried out, *Alas! to preserve the remains of a miserable life, I have exposed my best friend to be taken by the enemy before my face.* Having thus spoken, he retired into a tent with *Pindarus*, one of his freedmen, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*. We have no good account of what passed there; but *Cassius's* head was found lying severed from his body, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards: whence some suspected he had killed his master without his command^c (N). A few minutes after *Cassius's* death, his attendants perceived who the horsemen were, and saw *Titinius*, crowned with garlands in token of *Brutus's* victory, making what haste he could towards them with the cavalry; but their joy was soon turned into the deepest melancholy and affliction. *Titinius* especially was inconsolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate mistake and death of his general. He burst into tears, and, crying out, *My long stay has been the occasion of his death*, he drew his sword, and killed himself upon the body of his friend. *Brutus*, upon the first advice of the defeat of *Cassius*, flew to his assistance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then, shedding

*Brutus's
concern
for, and
elogium up-
on, Cassius.*

^c PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 655. VELL. PATERC. l. vii. c. 70. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 354. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8.

(N) *Livy* (2), and *Plutarch* (3), in the life of *Cæsar*, tell us, that *Cassius* dispatched himself with the same dagger with which he had killed *Cæsar*; but all other historians, nay, *Plutarch* himself, in the lives of *Brutus* and *Antony*, agree in the circumstances of his death, which we have related.

(2) *Liv.* l. cxxiv.

(3) *Plut.* in *Cæs.* prope finem.

many tears over his body, he called him *the last of the Romans*, meaning thereby, that *Rome* would never produce another man equal to him. He caused his body to be privately conveyed to the island of *Thasus*, lest the celebrating of his funeral within the camp might dishearten the troops, and occasion some disorder. He then assembled the soldiers of the deceased general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the losses they had sustained, promised to each man two thousand drachmas.

CASSIUS was generally esteemed one of the best commanders of his age, and had given signal proofs of an extraordinary *His character*, courage, and consummate knowledge of the military art, in *Crassus's* unhappy expedition against the *Parthians*. The good opinion which *Brutus* entertained of his honesty and virtue, and the elogium with which he honoured him after his death, are a sufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections with which the mercenary flatterers of the *Cæsars* have endeavoured to blacken his reputation, and asperse his memory. It was indeed commonly said, as *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus hated the tyrannical power, and Cassius only the tyrant*, on account of some private grudge (O); but that writer, though

(O) *Cassius* pretended to have received many injuries from *Cæsar*. Among the rest, he complained of his having taken some lions from him; for, when *Cassius* was designed for ædile, he had caused many lions to be taken and conducted to *Megara*, in order to make use of them in the shews, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But *Cæsar*, finding them in *Megara*, when that city was taken by *Fufius Calenus*, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of *Pompey*, seized them for himself. This, some writers say, was what chiefly stirred up *Cassius* against *Cæsar*; but *Plutarch* clears him from this imputation, as we have observed in the text. *Cassius* bore a private grudge to *Cæsar* on another account. He and *Brutus* stood both for the *prætura urbana*, or

the prætorship of the city; and *Cæsar* is said to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretensions, with a view to foment some small differences that had arisen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before *Cæsar*, *Brutus* had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppose to the many gallant actions which *Cassius* had performed in his youth against the *Parthians*. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, said, in deliberating about the matter among his friends; *Cassius indeed pleads with most justice; but Brutus must have the first prætorship*. Accordingly the prætorship of the city was given to *Brutus*, and another to *Cassius*; but the gaining of this did not so much oblige him as he was incensed

though no friend to *Cassius* (P), clears him from this charge ; and tells us, that, from his infancy, he bore an irreconcilable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us a remarkable instance (Q).

The two
armies re-
turn to
their for-
mer posts.

BRUTUS, now the sole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviseable to withdraw his troops from the camp of *Octavianus*, which he had taken. *Antony*, likewise, when informed of the total overthrow of his colleague, abandoned *Cassius's* camp, which he did not think himself in a condition to defend against the victorious troops of *Brutus* ; so that both armies returned to their former posts. *Brutus*

censured for the loss of the other (4). *Cassius*, who was of an harsh and passionate temper, was, no doubt, fired against *Cæsar* on account of these private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in some degree to the resolution he afterwards took ; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as *Plutarch* himself owns, his natural rancour and hatred against the whole race of tyrants (5).

(P) *Plutarch* was highly prejudiced against *Cassius*, as must evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruses his works. This prejudice was probably owing to the severity with which the republican general used the *Rhodians*, a Greek nation. *Cassius*, having taken *Rhodes*, says *Plutarch*, behaved himself there with great cruelty. But, with his leave, we cannot look upon the punishment of fifty mutineers as an instance of cruelty. As he took the city by storm, he might, after the example of other Roman generals, put all the inhabitants, whom he found in arms, to the sword ; but he contented himself with punishing fifty of the ring-leaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to

him by right of war ; but, as *Plutarch* was a Greek, the love of his country has, on several occasions, got the better of his philosophy ; a proof, that no man, however philosophical, can boast an intire exemption from prejudices.

(Q) When he was but a boy, and went to the same school with *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he rose up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations of *Faustus* complained of this affront to *Pompey*, who thereupon summoned the two boys to appear before him ; but young *Cassius* was so far from yielding to the remonstrances of *Pompey*, or giving any satisfaction to *Faustus*, that he threatened to strike him again, even in *Pompey's* presence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was somewhat inclined to covetousness, naturally passionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults ? *Cassius* in the main meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, have saved his country from utter ruin.

(4) *Plut. in Bruto.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

was under the utmost concern for the loss of *Cassius*, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand, the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of *Cassius*, were quite out of heart, having lost above sixteen thousand of their best legionaries; whereas, on the enemy's side, there were not slain eight thousand men, reckoning even the sutlers and servants of the army. Besides, provisions were become very scarce in their camp, without any possible means of receiving new supplies, either by sea or land. These melancholy reflections had almost reduced them to despair, when a servant of *Cassius*, by name *Demetrius*, coming in the evening to *Antony*, gave him an account of the tragical end of *Cassius*; and, at the same time, delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his master's dead dody, and his sword still bloody. *Antony*, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his colleague; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring *Brutus* to a battle, before his men recovered themselves from the terror and consternation, which, they were well apprised, the defeat and death of *Cassius* must have occasioned; but *Brutus*, having his own camp filled with prisoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of *Cassius* in great disorder, the soldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a secret envy and indignation against those who had conquered, kept close in his intrenchments, and despised the enemy's bravadoes^d.

Antony and Octavianus, upon the news of the death of Cassius, endeavour in vain to draw Brutus to a second battle.

In the mean time, provisions growing daily more scarce in the enemy's camp, *Antony* and *Octavianus*, finding they could not bring *Brutus* to a battle, were greatly at a loss what measures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet, which they expected hourly from *Italy*, having on board great store of provisions, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of *Mars*, a prætorian cohort, and a considerable body of cavalry; but, while they were comforting themselves with the hopes of the speedy arrival of this powerful supply, news were brought them, that their fleet, under the command of *Cneius Domitius Calvinus*, had been intirely defeated, and most of their ships, with the soldiers on board, either sunk, or taken, by *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Lucius Statius Murcus*, the two admirals of the adverse party. Some of their ships, indeed, found means to save themselves among the rocks of the *Adriatic* sea; but, being there blocked up by the enemy, both the soldiers and mariners, after having consumed all their provisions, were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of their ships, which they boiled with the

The triumvirs fleet destroyed by Brutus's admirals.

^d PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 656. DIO, p. 355.

pitch and greafe they had prepared for the careening of their vessels. This victory was gained by the admirals of the republic the same day in which the battle of *Philippi* was fought; and the news of so great an overthrow, which soon reached the triumvirs, so disheartened them, that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite desperate, being not only streightened for want of necessaries, but without any prospect, or possible means, of procuring new supplies.

The bad situation of the triumvirs affairs.

BESIDES, as they were encamped in a low ground, surrounded with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as it usually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, distempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand, *Brutus* had sufficient provisions to support his army for a long time, was very advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and inaccessible to the enemy; and, as he was absolute master of the sea, he could receive whatever he stood in need of, from *Asia*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. The triumvirs, finding themselves in this desperate condition, left nothing unattempted, which could provoke *Brutus's* men, and make them mutiny against their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after day, and marched in battle-array up to the very gates of the enemy's camp; but *Brutus*, who knew that their boldness and courage proceeded from despair, kept within his intrenchments, not doubting but he should soon see them moulder away, and, by a shameful flight, abandon both *Greece* and *Macedon* to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means bring *Brutus* to a battle, detached two legions to take possession of a rising ground, which, though close to *Cassius's* camp, *Brutus* had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About six hundred paces from thence, towards the sea, they posted ten legions, and two more at a small distance from them, with a design to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets.

ON the other hand, *Brutus* caused several works to be carried on from his camp quite to the shore, and by that means kept, in spite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the sea; but, as several skirmishes happened between the soldiers of the opposite parties, who covered their workmen, in which *Brutus's* men had all the advantage, they were so elated with this success, that they began to mutiny, and, assembling in crouds, ask their general, *What cowardice he had lately observed in them, that they must be thus, tiny, and like prisoners, kept within their intrenchments, and not suffered demand to to make use of their arms, and exert that courage, which had but*

but a few days before proved so fatal to the enemy, who now be led out insulted them. Brutus endeavoured to satisfy them, and re-against the strain their unseasonable ardor, by representing to them the enemy. desperate posture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy situation of their own; but all to no purpose: though the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmost extremity, and a considerable body of German troops, to avoid starving in their camp, had deserted, and given the mutineers a full account of the miseries, which the want of provisions occasioned in the enemy's army; yet, by an unaccountable obstinacy and perverseness, they still persisted in demanding to be led out against the enemy, whom they desired to conquer, not by famine, but valour; nay, because the prudent general refused to comply with their request, several Romans, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy (R).

THIS desertion gave Brutus great concern, which was increased by the disorders that happened daily in Cassius's camp, whose soldiers, become headstrong and intractable since the death of their general, refused to obey the officer whom Brutus had put in his room. In these circumstances Brutus Brutus yielded at last to the importunity of his soldiers, and resolved yields to to put an end to his own cares, and those of the Roman world, the importunity of by a general and decisive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the the sol- late advantage gained by his fleet: but of that important diery. victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after; that is, till the very evening before the fight^c (S), when it was too

^c PLUT. in Bruto.

(R) Among the latter were Amyntas, commander in chief of the Galatians sent by the old king Deiotarus, and Rhascupolis, who had proved so serviceable to Brutus and Cassius on their march thro' Thrace. Some writers, indeed, say, that Rhascupolis did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded.

(S) This some writers ascribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers; but Plutarch, to Providence; which, as the state of Rome, says he, now necessarily required a monarchy, prevented Brutus from receiving notice of his good suc-

cess, that it might remove the only man who was able to resist the person whom destiny had appointed to be the sole governor of the Roman state. For the empire, says Madam Dacier, was no longer able to support itself. It was necessary for it to come under the dominion of a single person. So long as there were so many competitors on foot, so many pretenders, either to the empire, or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhaustible source of civil war and dissension; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than Brutus. Brutus therefore

Brutus
puts the
captive
slaves to
death, and
sets most of
the free-
men at li-
berty.

too late for *Brutus* to alter his measures (T). And now *Brutus*, determined to put the whole to the issue of a general action, found himself obliged to use violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, though necessary, may seem not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken, in the late battle, a great number of prisoners, partly slaves, and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well spare. As *Antony* therefore, and *Octavianus*, had ordered all their prisoners, without distinction, to be inhumanly massacred, *Brutus*, having reason to suspect, that the slaves he had taken were tampering with his soldiers, commanded them all to be slain (U).

BRUTUS,

fore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, strongly proves the truth of *Plato's* sentiment, who maintains, that, of all governments, monarchy is the most perfect; but then the monarch must govern according to law. So far we agree with *Madam Dacier*. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to restrain him? Is mankind to depend for security and happiness upon uncertain inclinations? This surely is wide of the opinion of so wise a philosopher as *Plato*; who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean, by monarchy, a power without controul.

(T) One *Caius Clodius*, a deserter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice of the loss of their fleet; and, for that reason, were in such haste to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay, *Brutus* would not so much as admit him to his presence; taking it for granted, that he had invented

the news to please him, and bring himself into favour.

(U) Though they deserved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet the flatterers of the *Cæsars* have, with great partiality and injustice, made long descants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen, and *Roman* citizens. Of these he openly dismissed great numbers, telling them, *That, with the enemy, they were captives and slaves; but, with him, freemen and citizens of Rome.* Others he concealed himself, and helped to escape privately; perceiving, that some of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their destruction. Among the captives were one *Volumnius* a mimic, and *Sacculio* a buffoon; who, by their unseasonable jests, of which *Brutus* took no manner of notice, provoked some of the chief officers of his army. These brought them before their general, and accused them of not being able, even in their present situation, to refrain from their abusive jests, and scurrilous language. *Brutus*, having his mind taken

BRUTUS, having got rid of most of his prisoners, assembled Brutus his soldiers the day before the battle; and, in order to rouse ^{promises} their courage, promised them the pillage of *Thessalonica* and ^{his soldiers} *Lacedæmon*, two cities which had sided with the trium- ^{the spoil of} virs (W). Having thus encouraged his men, and made the ^{two Greek} necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, he ^{cities.}

taken up with other affairs, returned no answer to the accusation; but *Messala Corvinus* was of opinion, that they should be whipt publicly upon a scaffold, and, after that ignominious punishment, be sent back naked to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which, he thought, would reflect no small dishonour on those two generals, who were not ashamed to choose such scoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this some, who were present, laughed; but *Publius Casca*, who gave the first wound to *Cæsar*, with a serious air, said, "It does not become us to be thus merry after the loss of *Cassius*. And, as for you, O Brutus, you will shew what respect you bear to the memory of your fellow-commander, by punishing or pardoning those, who cannot forbear scoffing, and speaking abusively of him." Why then, *Casca*, replied *Brutus*, do you tell me of this, and do not yourself do what you think proper?" This answer was taken for his consent to the death of those unhappy men, who were accordingly carried away, and slain (6).

(W) This, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, is the only inexcusable fault which *Brutus* was ever guilty of: for, if in the end *Antony* and *Octavianus*, says that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their

soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their soldiers in possession of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only design and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of *Brutus*, on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable; especially after the death of *Cassius*, who was generally accused of putting *Brutus* upon several actions not intirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But, after all, *Plutarch* entertained so great an opinion of *Brutus's* virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himself to believe, that he made this promise of his own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers; according to whose advice he both did and said many things contrary to the bent of his own inclination; especially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Cassius's* soldiers into better order, who were become bold and insolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had suffered themselves to be shamefully overcome (7).

(6) *Plut. in Bruto.*(7) *Idem ibid.*

The spectre appears again to Brutus. retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at *Philippi*, is said to have appeared to him again in the same shape as it had done before, but to have vanished in an instant, without one single word being uttered on either side (X).

BRUTUS, without taking the least notice of this, or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm resolution of restoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He chose his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a small distance from his camp, that he might have a safe retreat in case of any misfortune. Then riding thro' the ranks, *Fellow-soldiers*, said he, *you have desired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have gained a complete victory by continuing inactive within your intrenchments; but this kind of victory you despised, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchasing glory at the expence of your blood. It is, therefore, now incumbent upon you to summon all that boldness, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your first victory, and to answer the trust which I have reposed in your valour. Whether Rome is to enjoy an uninterrupted happiness and liberty, or be condemned to eternal slavery, and endless calamities, this day will decide. As for Antony and Octavianus, they could scarce believe their own eyes, when they first observed a coat of arms, the usual signal of battle, exposed on Brutus's tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected resolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famished lions, as Appian expresses it, against their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promised to each soldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them, at the same time, in most lively colours, the inexpressible miseries and calamities, which they must unavoidably endure, if overcome. You have but two things to choose, said they, to conquer, or perish by the most miserable of all deaths, famine.*

HAVING thus spoken, they ordered their men to advance with a slow pace against the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in presence of each other, *Brutus* had the mortification to see a brave knight,

(X) But *Publius Volumnius*, a several other prodigies, which he man given to the study of philosophy, who was then in *Brutus's* camp, and wrote an account of this apparition (8).

(8) *Plut. in Brut. & Cæs. prope finem. Appian. l. iv. p. 668.*

by name *Cumulatus*, whom he highly esteemed for his valour, abandon his post, and, riding close by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon *Brutus*, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, caused the signal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by *Octavianus*, with such intrepidity, vigour, and resolution, that all gave way before him. As *Octavianus*'s cavalry was put into the utmost disorder at the very first onset, *Brutus*'s horse broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a most dreadful havock of the legionaries. But, while the brave *Brutus* was thus signalizing himself in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of *Cassius*, men no-way equal to that charge, was hard pressed by *Antony*. *Cassius*'s cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were posted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be compassed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but, as this weakened them, they were, at the first onset, broken and disordered by the close battalions of *Antony*. The plain was, in an instant, covered with the runaways, scattered up and down; some of them making towards the camp, others flying to the sea-side; but most of them repairing to the right wing, to take shelter among the victorious troops of *Brutus*. *Antony* did not pursue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly against *Brutus*, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury.

THAT brave commander performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from an expert general, and valiant soldier; giving proofs, in the greatest danger, of a courage and conduct, which well deserved to be crowned with victory: but *Cassius*'s troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crowding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, wherever they came, despair and confusion, turned the scale in favour of the enemy, after *Brutus* had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparalleled bravery, against all the forces of their united armies. His lines were at length broken, and put into disorder, notwithstanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted several times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, *Cassius*'s men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the rest of the army. *Brutus* stood his ground with the few men he could rally; but, being surrounded on all sides, and overpowered by the numerous forces of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, he was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his most inveterate enemies. And on this occasion it was, that most of *Brutus*'s best officers were killed in endeavouring to save their

general, who, with their assistance, breaking through the enemy's battalions that surrounded them, withdrew, when abandoned by his men, from the field of battle.

The contrivance of Lucilius to save Brutus.

AMONG the few, who attended him, was one *Lucilius Lucinus*, an intimate friend of his, who, observing a body of *Thracian* horse, under the command of *Rhascus*, the brother of *Rhascupolis*, taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but making directly towards *Brutus*, resolved to stop them, and save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting *Brutus* with his design, he halted till the *Thracians* came up, and surrounded him. Then he cried out, that he was *Brutus*; and, begging quarter, desired they would carry him to *Antony*; pretending, that he feared *Octavianus*, but durst trust him. The *Thracians*, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully happy, immediately detached some of their own body to acquaint *Antony* with their good fortune; and, in the mean time, giving over the pursuit, returned to the field of battle with their prisoner. The report being spread, in an instant, all over the army, that *Brutus* was taken, and that the *Thracians* were bringing him alive to *Antony*, both soldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to see him. Some pitied his misfortune; others accused him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, for suffering himself, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for *Antony*, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loss, in what manner he should receive, and how he should treat, his illustrious captive: but he was soon delivered from his uneasiness; for, as the *Thracians* drew near, he knew the prisoner, who had passed himself upon the *Thracians* for *Brutus*; and now, addressing the triumvir with a generous confidence, *Be assured*, *Antony*, said he, *that no enemy either has, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive. Forbid it, ye gods, that fortune should ever prevail so much above virtue! But let him be found dead or alive, he will certainly be found in such a state as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myself up to save him, and am now ready to suffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding, or expecting, any quarter.*

Antony's generosity.

ANTONY, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generosity of *Lucilius*, turned to the *Thracians*, now sensible of, and enraged at their disappointment, and addressed them thus: *I perceive, my fellow-soldiers, that you are concerned, and full of resentment, for having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius; but be assured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you sought for; you were in search of an enemy, and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loss how I should*

should have used Brutus, if you had brought him to me alive; but of this I am sure, that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius our friend, than our enemy. Having thus spoken, he embraced Lucilius, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of Lucilius, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the interest of his friend and benefactor^f. After this, both Antony and Octavianus marched with their victorious legions in pursuit of the enemy's broken and dispersed forces, making a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and strewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of Brutus's officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly, nor give ground; but died, sword in hand, in the posts assigned them. Among these were Marcus, the son of the great Cato: L. Cassius, nephew to the deceased general; C. Flavius, one of Brutus's best friends; Marcus, the son of Lucullus, who conquered Mithridates the Great; Demetrius, Apollonides, and several other commanders of great distinction. Young Cato distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner; for, after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned several times to the charge with the few forces he could rally; overthrew all who opposed him; and, declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at last upon an heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he sacrificed to the manes of his father, and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very surprising in a man of young Cato's character; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time, led an idle, indolent, and debauched life; but the glory he acquired by his death has recommended him to posterity as a worthy son of so great a father^g.

As for Brutus, the contrivance of Lucilius gave him an opportunity of passing a little brook encompassed with rocks, and shaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he stopped in an hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a small number of his friends and officers. There, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which Volumnius, who attended him, forgot; but remembered the other, which was the following out of the *Medea* of Euripides;

Punish, great Jove, the author of these ills!

By which it was thought he meant Antony, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of Actium, he was

^f PLUT. in Bruto.

^g PLUT. ibid. & in Catone.

reduced to the necessity of laying violent hands on himself. Afterwards *Brutus* named severally all his friends, who had been slain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep sigh, especially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labeo*, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other master of his workmen. In the mean time one of his followers, who was very thirsty, and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, ran to the brook, and brought him some water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noise being heard from the other side of the rivulet, *Volumnius*, taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus*'s armour-bearer, with him, went out to discover what had occasioned it. They both returned soon after; but, finding no water, asked that was become of it? *It is all drunk*, replied *Brutus* smiling; *but you shall have some more fetched immediately*. But he, who had brought the first water, being sent again, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerously wounded. *Brutus*, understanding by this that he was invested, exhorted those who were with him to make some attempt to get to their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not lost many of his men, and that those who had escaped, had taken refuge there. *Statilius* undertook to pass through the enemy, and go by himself to the camp, promising, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and return immediately. *Statilius* got safe to the camp, and held up the torch; which gave *Brutus* some hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of *Statilius*, saying *If Statilius be alive, he will come back*; but he was slain, on his return, by the enemy.

At length *Brutus*, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whispered something in the ear of one of his domestics, by name *Clytus*, who returned him no answer, but burst into tears. Hereupon *Brutus*, taking aside *Dardanus* his armour-bearer, had some discourse with him in private, and afterwards addressed himself to *Volumnius* in Greek; conjuring him, by their common studies, and antient friendship, to draw his sword, and put an end to his life. *Volumnius*, and, after him, several others, answered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert *Brutus* from the thoughts of laying violent hands on himself, starting up, *There is no staying here any longer*, said he; *we must all fly*. Yes, answered *Brutus*, *we must fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands*. Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a chearful countenance, *That it was an infinite satisfaction to him to find, that none of his friends had proved false to him; that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for*

His last
words to
his friends.

his country's sake; that, as for himself, he thought he was much more happy than those who had conquered, not only in regard of what was past, but even in his present condition, since he should enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve (Y). Having thus spoken, he besought his friends to provide for their own safety, telling them, That he hoped Antony and Octavianus, satisfied with his death, would pursue their revenge no farther. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among these was an *Epirote*, by name *Strato*, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance, when they studied rhetoric together. To him *Brutus* had recourse, conjuring him, by their antient friendship, to give him the last proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office, which the others had declined. As *Strato* could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, *Brutus* called one of his slaves; and then the faithful *Epirote*, crying out, *Forbid, ye gods, it should ever be said, that Brutus died by the hand of a slave for want of a friend*, covered his eyes with his left arm, and presented the point of his sword to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it with such violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediatelyⁿ (Z).

The death
of Brutus.
Year of
the flood
2313.
Bef. Chr.
35.
Of Rome
713.

ⁿ PLUT. in Bruto. LIV. l. cxxiv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(Y) Some writers tell us, that when *Brutus* in the morning saw no way of escaping, he cried out, "O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a solid good; but thou art only a mere notion, a vain, empty name, or, at best, a slave of fortune (9)." But *Volumnius*, who was present, and from whose memoirs *Plutarch* copied the particulars of his death, which we have related, makes no mention of such a speech, no way suitable to the character of *Brutus*.

(Z) Some historians relate the

circumstances of his death otherwise; and tell us, that, taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran himself through, without the assistance of his faithful friend *Strato*. But all authors agree in this, that *Messala*, having some time after made his peace with *Cæsar* *Octavianus*, presented *Strato* to him, saying with tears in his eyes, *This, O Cæsar, is the man who paid the last friendly office to my beloved Brutus.*

(9) Flor. l. iv. c. 7. Dio. l. xlvii. sub finem. Vide Plut. de superst. init.

His character.

THUS fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age (A) ; and with him fell the liberty of *Rome*, and of the *Roman* people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could discern no fault (B) ; in whom the virtues of humanity were eminent ; in whom a constant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (C) formed the principal and most

(A) *Brutus* died, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age ; but to the authority of *Velleius* we prefer that of *Cicero*, who tells us, that *Brutus* was born ten years after *Hortensius* appeared first at the bar ; and that celebrated orator made his first public essay of eloquence in the consulate of *Lucius Crassus* and *Quintus Scævola*, in the year of *Rome* 658. so that *Brutus* was born in the year of the city 668. and consequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711. in the forty-third year of his age (1).

(B) Those who were most his enemies, says *Plutarch* (2), on account of his conspiracy against *Cæsar*, if in that whole affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer it wholly to *Brutus*, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of *Cassius*, *Brutus*'s most intimate and familiar friend ; but not at all like him in honesty and virtue. Upon which words madam *Dacier* comments thus : It appears from this passage, that, even in the days of *Plutarch*, there were some remaining, who hated the memory of *Brutus*, for the share he had in the murder of *Cæsar* ; and I am of opinion, that the same hatred continues, and will do so to the end of the world. Among slaves, she ought to have

added, and persons brought up in slavish principles, who are taught to look upon the disarming of a tyrant, and the saving of their country from havock and oppression, as an heinous crime ; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, loved and revered by all, who have any spark of zeal for the welfare of their country, and the good of mankind.

(C) The public good was, as *Plutarch* observes, the only end and standard, which he proposed for his hatred and friendship. This of an enemy made him a friend to *Pompey*, and of a friend made him an enemy to *Cæsar*. When *Cæsar* and *Pompey* took up arms against each other, it was generally believed, that he would have taken *Cæsar*'s side ; for his father not long before had been put to death by *Pompey* : but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public to his private resentment, and, judging *Pompey*'s to be the better cause, took part with him, tho' formerly he used not so much as to salute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But afterwards, looking upon him as the general of his country, he listed himself under his command, and set sail to *Sicily*, in quality

(1) *Cic. in Bruto.*

(2) *Plut. in Bruto.*

most distinguishable part of his character, and the uninterrupted business of his life, ever in view, ever pursued, from the inherent equity of his mind; for he was, as his historian well observes, by nature exactly framed for virtue (D),
without

of lieutenant to *Sestius*, whom *Pompey* had appointed governor of that island; but, finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were encamped near one another, and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he hastened into *Macedon*, to share in the danger. *Pompey* was so surprised at his arrival, and at the same time so pleased, that, rising from his tribunal, in the sight of all his guards, he saluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefest men of his party. Thus *Brutus* followed the party even of his father's murderer, because he thought it more just than that of *Cæsar*, and considered *Pompey* as the head of the state, of which *Cæsar* was the declared enemy. The same consideration of the public good, which reconciled him to *Pompey*, estranged him from *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to sacrifice his highest obligations, as well as his greatest injuries, to the welfare of his country?

(D) "*Brutus* (says the author of his life), for the sake of his virtue, was esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by all good men, and hated by none, no, not even by his enemies; for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, insensible of

" the passions of anger, pleasure,
" or covetousness; steady and
" inflexible in his opinion, and
" zealous for whatever he thought
" just and honest. That which
" gained him the greatest credit
" and reputation among the people,
" was their inviolable opinion of his
" uprightness and integrity in all his
" undertakings; whereas no man ever
" imagined, that *Pompey*, even
" *Pompey the Great* himself, if
" he had overcome *Cæsar*, would
" have submitted his power to
" the laws, but would have retained
" the sovereign authority in his own
" hands, under the specious name of
" consul or dictator, or some other mild
" and more popular title, with which
" he would have soothed the people.
" As for *Cassius*, a man inclined to
" passion, and carried often by his
" covetous humour beyond the bounds
" of justice, they well knew, that
" he endured all these hardships
" rather to obtain dominion to
" himself, than liberty to the people.
" As to the former disturbers of the
" peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a
" *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is manifest,
" that they, having set their country
" as a stake for him who should win,
" did almost own, in express terms,
" that they fought for empire. But
" even the enemies of *Brutus* cannot
" lay this accusation to his charge;
" nay, many have heard *Antony* himself
" say, That *Brutus* was the only
" man who conspired against
" *Cæsar*,

without one breach of that never to be omitted distinction of *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpose, to illustrate this transcendent rectitude of his mind, by instancing his refusal, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero*, and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the fairest cause, when, after the death of *Cæsar*, he addressed himself to the *Roman* people. It cannot be supposed, that *Brutus*, who had long been famed for eloquence (E), could be ignorant of speaking to the pas-

sions

“ *Cæsar*, out of a sense of the
 “ glory of the action ; but that
 “ all the rest rose up against the
 “ man, and not the tyrant, from
 “ their own private malice and
 “ envy (3).” In this passage *Plutarch* does justice to *Brutus*’s virtue ; but at the same time betrays his prejudice against *Cassius*, the motives of which we have assigned elsewhere (4). What an high opinion *Cicero* had of *Brutus*’s virtue, the orator sufficiently declares in the following words : *Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero ; idque, etiamsi mihi cum illo nihil fuisset, facerem propter ejus singularem incredibilemque virtutem.* “ I will certainly never be wanting to my dear *Brutus* ; and that I would do, even tho’ I had had no manner of concern with him, for the sake of his unparalleled and extraordinary virtue.”

(E) *Plutarch* tells us in his life, that in *Latin* he was a good speaker, and had, by constant exercise, attained a sufficient excellence in making public orations, and pleading causes ; but that in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the sententious and short *Laconic* way of speaking ; especially in his epistles, a col-

lection of which has been published by *Aldus* in *Greek*, and by *Ranutius Florentius* in *Latin*. *Plutarch* instances three of them, the first whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the *Pergamenses*, or inhabitants of *Pergamus*, thus : “ I hear you have given *Dolabella* money : if you gave it willingly, you must own you have injured me ; if unwillingly, shew it by giving willingly to me.” The second, inscribed in the *Greek* copy to the *Bitbynians*, in the *Latin* to the *Galatians*, and in *Plutarch* to the *Samians*, is couched in the following terms : “ Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow : what do you think will be the end ?” The third was to the *Rhodians*, thus : “ The *Xanthians*, suspecting my kindness, have made their country their grave of despair. The *Patarenses*, who have submitted to me, have lost nothing of their former liberty. It is in your power to choose the opinion of the *Patarenses*, or the fortune of the *Xanthians* (5).” This epistle is likewise exhibited by *Velleius Paterculus*, but in a more diffused stile (6). The speech which

(3) *Plut. in Bruto.*

(4) *Vid. supra, p. 396, not. (P).*

(5) *Plut. ibid.*

(6) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 70.*

Brutus

sions of men, an art too successfully made use of by *Antony* on the same occasion. Such then was the integrity of *Brutus's* mind,

Brutus made before *Cæsar* at *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in behalf of *Deiotarus* king of *Gallia*, is commended by *Cicero* (7), and the author of the dialogue on the *Latin* orators, which is commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*. Tho' the king was charged with crimes of an high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of *Brutus* was so prevalent, that he preserved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he spoke on this occasion, gave rise to that memorable saying of *Cæsar* concerning him, as *Cicero* relates it in the first letter of his fourth book to *Atticus*; *De quo quidem ille, ad quem divertit, Cæsarem solitum dicere, Magni refert hic quid velit; sed quicquid volt, valde volt: idque cum animadvertisse, cum pro Deiotaro Nicæ diceret, valde eum vehementer & libere dicere.* "My host informed me, that *Cæsar* was wont to say, What *Brutus* has a mind to, is a matter of great import; but whatever he desires, he desires with earnestness: and that he remarked, that, when he spoke in behalf of *Deiotarus* at *Nice*, he spoke with energy and freedom." And truly the natural firmness of his mind, as his historian observes (8), when once set on work by the motives of right reason, and the principles of honesty, which way soever it turned itself, moved with great vigour

and impetuosity, and generally effected its designs.

Brutus was, as we have observed above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the concise and grave stile (9), he judged *Cicero's* eloquence to want strength (1); and *Cicero*, on the other hand, thought his stile negligent and unconnected (2). *Brutus's* stile had another fault; it was often crouded with verses. *Versus hi fere excidunt*, says *Quintilian*, *quos Brutus ipso componendi ductus studio sæpissime fecit* (3). "Those verses easily drop, which *Brutus* very frequently made, being induced thereto by the mere desire of composing." *Cicero* acknowledges, that *Brutus* very freely found fault with his taste in point of stile (4); but nevertheless that orator was highly pleased with the harangue which *Brutus* made on the death of *Cæsar*: *Est autem oratio*, says he, speaking of this piece after he had perused it with great attention, *scripta elegantissime, sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra* (5). "But the oration is most elegantly written both in stile and diction; so that nothing can surpass it."

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philosopher. Of all the sects of the *Greek* philosophers, there was not one of which he had not been an hearer, and in which he had not made some proficiency; but he chiefly esteemed the *Pla-*

(7) *Cic. in oratore.*

(8) *Plut. ibi.*

(9) *Quintil. l. xii. c. 10.*

(1) *Vide dialog. de causis corr. eloq.*

(2) *Auctor de causis corr. eloq.*

(3) *Quintil. l. ix. c. 4.*

(4) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 20.*

(5) *Idem*

ibid. l. xv. epist. 1.

mind, that he could not stoop to employ any indecent means even in the pursuit of virtue. The death of *Cæsar* was undoubtedly justifiable under the government which then prevailed in *Rome* (F), notwithstanding all the dirt that has been thrown

tonists, and applied himself wholly to the study of the antient academy (6). He was likewise well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote several books; to wit, one *de officiis*, cited by *Charisius* and *Priscian*, without all doubt the same which *Seneca* calls *περὶ καθήκοντος* (7); another *de virtute*, mentioned by *Cicero* (8) and *Seneca* (9); and a third *de patientia*, quoted by *Diomedes*. He abridged the *Roman* history of *Fannius* (1), and that of *Antipater* (2); but whether he finished the abridgment of *Polybius's* history, which he had undertaken, we know not; for *Plutarch* (3) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of *Pharsalia*, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, *Brutus* spent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewise composed a panegyric on *Cato*, which *Cæsar* did not think extraordinary well penned (4).

(F) By the laws of *Rome*, the dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of *Cæsar*, was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reason that can be alleged against killing *Cæsar*, is, that the state was irretrievable,

and an usurper become a necessary evil. This argument *Seneca* urges against the enterprize of *Brutus*, and his followers (5). But *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the senate, that is, the greatest and wisest men in *Rome*, judged otherwise; and who was better qualified to judge? Nay, liberty was for some time actually restored: that it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties, and to the treachery of *Octavianus*, who, after he was emperor, thought it possible to resettle the old free state, and proposed once or twice to resign. *Drusus*, his wife's son, was of the same opinion, and declared his resolution to effect it. *Cæsar* himself might, by his dictatorial power, have suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her first principles. This would have been true glory, the only right use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it; but, instead of this, he continued more and more to corrupt the people, and trample upon the most sacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jest to him; he treated the very name with contempt; *nihil esse rempublicam; appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie* (6); "that the commonwealth was nothing, a mere

(6) *Plut. in Bruto, de finibus* i.

l. xii. epist. 5.

(4) *Cic. ad Attic.*

(7) *Seneca, epist.* 95.

(9) *Senec. consol. ad Helviam*, c. 9.

(2) *Idem ibid.* l. xiii. epist. 8.

(5) *Senec. de benefic.* l. ii. c. 26.

(8) *Cic. Tuseul.* i. 3.

(1) *Cic. ad Attic.*

(3) *Plut. ubi supra.*

(6) *Suet. in Cæs.*

thrown at this transaction by the mean and groveling abettors of arbitrary power. We may see what the *Romans*, and *Tully*, the least adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a passage in one of his letters to his friend *Atticus*, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he says, *But, notwithstanding the cloud that hangs over us, I console myself in the ides of March. Our heroes have done every thing within their power, and with a resolution, by which they have acquired immortal glory.* Nor was the putting the destroyer of their constitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the *Roman* history (G). And, as to the method they

“ name, without body and substance.” He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning his usurped power; he had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his will; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, spreto patria more*; nay, he would have his very words to go for laws, *debere homines pro legibus habere quæ dicat* (7). He was therefore lawfully slain, tho’ not by the forms of law, which his usurped power had rendered impossible. *Abusus dominatione, & jure casus existimaretur*, says *Suetonius* (8).

(G) Nor in *Brutus’s* family; for his mother *Servilia* was of the family of *Servilius Ahala*, who slew *Spurius Manlius*, as we have related elsewhere, for stirring the people up to a rebellion, and aspiring at the sovereign power. The famous dictator *Quintus Cincinnatus*, whose general of the horse he was, commended the zeal of *Servilius*, and approved of the action (9). Whether *Brutus* was descended from the celebrated *Junius Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin the Proud*, is

uncertain. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* maintains, not out of any prejudice to *Brutus*, that he was not descended from him. This, says he, is the opinion of those historians, who have examined the affairs of the *Romans* with the greatest exactness (1). *Dio* positively affirms, that none of the race of *Junius Brutus* was left after the execution of his two sons (2). On the other hand, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Junius Brutus* had a great many children by a sister of the *Vitellii* (3); and adds, upon the authority of the philosopher *Posidonius*, that two indeed of *Brutus’s* sons, who had attained to man’s estate, were, by their father’s order, put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*. The same philosopher writes, that in his time there were several famous persons of the family of *M. Brutus*, and of his own acquaintance, who very much resembled the statue of *Junius Brutus* (4). *Cicero* likewise in his *Philippics* speaks of our *Brutus* as descended from *L. Brutus*: “ *L. Brutus*

(7) *Suet. in Cæs.*(8) *Idem ibid.*(9) *Plut. in Bruto, & Liv. l. iv.*(1) *Dion. Hal. l. v. in Bruto.*(2) *Dio, l. xlv.*(3) *Plut. in Valerio.*(4) *Plut.*

they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action ; for who more proper to compass such an event, than a number of senators distinguished by their attachment to liberty ? or what place could be more justly fixed on for the tyrant of *Rome* to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he possessed in violation of the laws of his country ? We often see the love of one's country the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by passion, acrimony of temper, vanity, resentment, a lust of power, or any other inducement : nor were all those, who joined in that glorious cause, altogether free from such suspicions ; for an uniform, steady, constant attachment to the public good was to be met with in *Brutus* alone. Men generally differ from themselves as much as from one another ; *Brutus* was always the same. If we have dwelt too long in considering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character, and his inviolable attachment to the public cause, may plead our excuse. We are not only indebted to history for the enlargement of our minds, but likewise for the improvement of our moral virtues ; and to an *Englishman* the foremost of the rank is the pursuit of liberty. Who then more properly can become the object of our contemplation, than *Brutus*, the genius of liberty ?

The generosity of Antony.

LET us now return to the plains of *Philippi*. *Antony*, being informed the next day of the death of *Brutus*, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle of a great value over it, and

“ was the man (says he) who
 “ both himself freed the com-
 “ monwealth from the sovereign-
 “ ty of kings, and has now,
 “ almost five hundred years after,
 “ propagated descendents framed
 “ for the like virtue, and the
 “ like atchievement (5).” And
 elsewhere (6) ; “ If leaders were
 “ wanting to free our country,
 “ I would stir up the *Brutus*’s,
 “ who both daily behold the
 “ image of *L. Brutus*, and one
 “ of them that of *Abala* also.
 “ Should these men therefore,
 “ descended from such ancestors,
 “ ask counsel of strangers, rather
 “ than of their own family, abroad

“ rather than at home ?” But,
 after all, *Cicero*, who speaks here
 as an orator, and not as an histo-
 rian, is not a proper evidence to
 invalidate the testimony of *Dio-
 nysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Dio*.
 An orator little cares whether
 such facts be certain or not ; it is
 enough for him, if the facts he
 relates be believed by the greater
 part of the people. Nothing can
 be with any certainty determined
 on this head ; but, all things well
 considered, we are inclined to
 prefer the authority of *Dio*, and
 of *Dionysius*, a most accurate
 writer, to that of *Cicero* and
Plutarch.

(5) *Cic. Philip. i.*

(6) *Idem, Philip. ii.*

charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illustrious deceased. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. *Octavianus*, who *Cowardly* had not greatness of soul enough for such generous humanity, *spite of* could not forbear shewing a cowardly spite to the dead body *Octavianus* of *Brutus*, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He caused the head of that excellent person to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to *Rome*, and there lay it ignominiously at the feet of *Cæsar's* statue ⁱ; but, in the passage from *Dyrrhachium*, a violent storm arising, it was, probably out of superstition, thrown into the sea ^k. The rest of the body was burnt by *Antony's* order, and the ashes conveyed in an urn to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* mother (H).

THE death of *Brutus* was no sooner known in his camp, *Many of* than those who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen *Brutus's* thousand men, submitted upon honourable terms to the two *men sub-* victorious generals. Others fled into the island of *Thasus*, *mit to the* and from thence escaped into *Asia*. *Antony* and *Octavianus* *conquer-* found in *Brutus's* camp great store of arms and provisions, *ors.* and immense sums of money, which enabled them to satisfy immediately some of their veterans, whom they disbanded soon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to usurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs established, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was still held by *Sextus*, the son

ⁱ PLUT. in Anton. & Brut. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668. SUET. in Octavio, c. 13. ^k DIO, l. xlvii. p. 356.

(H) As for *Porcia* his wife, have a great deal of reason to *Valerius Maximus*, and *Nicolaus* look upon this account as fabulous, since *Plutarch* assures us (7), the *Peripatetic* philosopher, tell us, that, being resolved not to outlive her husband, but so narrowly watched by her friends, that she could neither make use of poison, or a dagger, she snatched some burning coals out of the fire, and, shutting them close in her mouth, stifled herself, and expired in the arms of the women who watched her. But we

have a great deal of reason to look upon this account as fabulous, since *Plutarch* assures us (7), that, in his time, was still extant a letter of *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of *Porcia*, and complained of them for suffering her to die of melancholy; so that the history of the live coals, which has been the subject of a fine epigram (8), is no better than a fable.

(7) Plut. in Brut.

(8) Vide Marti l. i. epig. 43.

of *Pompey the Great*; but the opposition they met with from him was not very considerable, as we shall see in the following chapter.

C H A P. XVI.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Brutus and Cassius, to the perfect Settling of the Empire by Octavianus.

Several
illustrious
citizens
slain by
the trium-
virs, or
lay violent
hands on
them-
selves.

Cruelty of
Octavia-
nus.

THE first days after the battle were spent by the triumvirs in punishing such of their enemies as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Antony*, after having reproached *Hortensius* with the death of his brother *Caius*, of whom we have spoken above, caused him to be slain on his tomb. He likewise put *Varro*, an illustrious senator, to death, who had on all occasions betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and scandalous life, which, he said, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia*, who was afterwards married to *Augustus*, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himself in his tent. *Quintilius Varus*, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be exposed to the insults of a merciless enemy. *Octavianus*, on this occasion, betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*, which some endeavour to excuse, by ascribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but to the long and tedious indisposition, which had soured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he shewed as much cruelty and insolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it (A).

THE

(A) We have seen above what cowardly spite he shewed to the body of the deceased enemy, which *Antony* treated with great respect and tenderness. The mean soul of *Octavianus* was not capable of such generous humanity: he insulted every illustrious captive with bitter words, and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earnestly beg-

ged as a particular favour, that he would suffer his body to be buried after his death, he answered, *that the ravens would soon regulate that matter*. When a father implored mercy for his son, and the son for the father, he commanded, with an excess of cruelty hardly to be met with in the history of the most barbarous nations, the father and son to fight for their lives: this barbarous

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illustrious citizens, who, on that fatal day, fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper measures for the establishing of their authority, and the utter suppression of those, who stood up in defence of their antient laws and liberties. For *Pompey* was still in possession of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus's* admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coasts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* sea. *Cassius Parmensis* (B), one of the conspirators, having been left in

The republican party still powerful.

Asia,

barbarous fight he beheld, beheld unconcerned the son to stab his father, and then himself for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and son to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himself voluntarily up to execution to save his son, who, disdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, stabbed himself in the presence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining prisoners reason, when they were brought before *Antony*, and him loaded with chains, to salute the former with the honourable title of *imperator*, and the latter with bitter invectives, curses, and reproaches? Among these was the famous *M. Favonius*, who, with the sword at his throat, reproached the merciless *Octavianus* with all the freedom of a *Cynic* philosopher (1). *M. Favonius* had been always very intimate with *Brutus*, but nevertheless by him left out of the conspiracy for the following reason. As *Brutus* was discoursing one day with him, and *Statilius*, who was by sect an *Epicurean*, and proposing some questions to be disputed, with a design to discover their senti-

ments, *Favonius* declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Though he had no share in the death of *Cæsar*, nor approved of the action, yet he joined *Brutus*, served him with the utmost fidelity to the last, and died with a constancy worthy of a *Roman* senator and philosopher (2).

(B) *Cassius Parmensis* was one of the conspirators; but, some time after the battle of *Philippi*, he joined *Antony*, and served under him at the battle of *Actium*. Upon his defeat he retired to *Athens*, where he was murdered by *Octavianus's* order. He was a native of *Parma*, and thence called *Parmensis*. As that city stood within the bounds of antient *Hetruria*, which extended, as *Cluverius* shews, to the banks of the *Po*, no wonder that *Horace* calls him an *Hetruscan* (3). He was, in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great versifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left such a vast heap of writings behind him, that *Horace* intimates, that they served for materials for his funeral pile.

(1) Vid. Suet. in *Julio*, & *Dion. l. xlvii.*
i. sermon. satir. x. ver. 61.

(2) *Plut. in Bruto.*

(3) *Horat.*

Asia, by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with a considerable fleet, and a competent number of forces, to keep the eastern provinces in awe, upon the news of *Brutus's* overthrow and death, re-inforced his fleet with thirty *Rhodian* ships, which he manned with *Romans*; and, being joined by *Clodius*, governor of *Rhodes*, at the head of three thousand men, by *Lepidus*, governor of *Crete*, with the garison which *Brutus* had left there, by *Clodius*, *Torulus*, young *Cicero*, and many other persons of distinction, who had fled into *Asia*, he gave no small umbrage to the triumvirs.

Measures
taken by
the trium-
virs to
suppress it.

IN a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that *Antony* should march into the East, and settle those provinces, and that *Octavianus* should lead the old troops into *Italy*, put them there in possession of the lands which had been promised them, and force young *Pompey* out of a retreat, which served for an asylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted, they disbanded all their veterans, except eight thousand, after having satisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in *Brutus's* camp. Of the remaining forces *Octavianus* took with him into *Italy* four legions, and four thousand horse; *Antony* keeping with him six legions, and ten thousand horse. It was also agreed, that *Octavianus* should yield two of his legions to his colleague, and receive two others in their stead belonging to *Antony*, which had been left in *Italy* under the command of *Calenus*, one of *Antony's* lieutenants^a. Though

^a APPIAN. p. 672, 673. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 358.

— *Hetrusci* —

*Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
Ambustum propriis* — (4).

Thus by the stile we *Tuscan Cassius* know,
Whose swelling lines like rapid rivers flow;
Whose chests and books pil'd up, 'tis said by fame,
Together mounted with their lord in flame.

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was assassinated, is said to have found a tragedy among his papers, intituled *Thyestes*, which he published as his own. It is at least certain, that *Quintilius*, having put him to death, seized all his writings, among which were several tragedies, he having a particular talent at that sort of composition. The verses upon *Orpheus*, which *Achilles Tatius* published under his name, are, by the best judges, thought to be of a later date.

(4) Horat. i. sermon. satir. x. ver. 61 — 64.

the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were by this time reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vast sums to pay five thousand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principal motive of *Antony's* expedition into *Asia*, whither he carried with him for his guard four thousand veterans, besides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, tho' the time of their service was expired, to attend him in quality of volunteers, the like number remaining with *Octavianus* in the same quality and post ^b.

AND now the two conquerors parted, *Octavianus* taking *Antony* his route towards *Dyrrhachium*, in order to return to *Italy*, and *Octavianus* marching into *Greece* with a design to pass over from thence into *Asia*. *Octavianus* arrived in a few days march at *Dyrrhachium*, where we shall leave him for a while to follow *Antony* in his memorable, but to him fatal, expedition into the East. After so remarkable a victory, which was entirely owing to him (for *Octavianus* was not present in the first engagement, and in the second was driven out of the field by the brave *Brutus*), he must needs visit *Greece*, as being the country where flattery was managed with most delicacy. There, laying aside all majesty, he took pleasure in assisting, like a private citizen, at the disputes of the philosophers in the schools and academies of *Athens*, in seeing the public sports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the *Greeks*. As he was fond of being stiled the Lover of *Greece*, but, above all, the Lover of *Athens*, he administered justice there with a great deal of equity, and made very considerable presents to the city, though he was himself in great want of money, his military chest being almost drained by the vast sums he and his colleague had distributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left *Attica*, he caused an exact survey to be made of the temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he designed to repair it; but he dropped that project on his arrival in *Asia*, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving *Lucius Censorinus*, one of his lieutenants, to govern *Greece* in his absence.

IN *Asia* all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivaled one another, who should make him the most magnificent present, or appear most charming in his eyes. This croud of

^b APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. l. cxxv. VELL. PATERCUL. I. ii. c. 74. PLUT. in *Anton.* DIO, p. 357, 358.

sovereigns, who daily attended his levee, and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleased him so much as the reception he met with at *Ephesus*. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they used to wear when they solemnized the feasts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys dressed like *satyrs* and *fauns*. Nothing was to be seen throughout the town but spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys, while they stiled *Antony* in their songs, *Bacchus the Gracious*, and *the Gentle*; and so indeed he was to some, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all those of *Brutus's* party, who surrendered themselves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conspirators, and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he stripped several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the estates of men yet living, and in perfect health, making *Antony*, to whom they alone had access, believe they were dead (C).

His behaviour towards the Asiatics.

His speech to the deputies of the Asiatic cities.

BUT, as the chief business, which had brought him into *Asia*, was the raising of the necessary sums for the satisfying of the victorious legions, he summoned the deputies of all the subjects and allies of *Rome* in those parts to meet at *Ephesus*; and there, after having reproached them with assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius*, notwithstanding the kindness *Cæsar* had shewn them, he acquainted them with the great promises he and his colleague had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thousand men, and upwards; and then concluded thus: You may judge of the sums we want from the number of our soldiers, and the promises we have made them. This has obliged my colleague to go into Italy, where he has taken upon him to reward them with lands and houses, from which he will be obliged to drive out the antient proprietors. But, as for you, I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances, or drive you from your temples, and sepulchres of your forefathers. As you would needs run the fortune of our enemies in war; now that the gods have been pleased to grant the victory, not according to your wishes, but their own justice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes, and inflict upon you some exemplary punishment. But, as the laws of humanity will not always allow the punish-

(C) Thus one of his cooks, his reward the fine house of a wealthy citizen of *Magnesia*.
his taste, begged and obtained as

ments to be proportionable to the crimes, instead of other penalties, we shall content ourselves with a sum of money, the same you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but, as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only punishment we intend to inflict upon you, which we should very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very pressing. At these words the deputies threw themselves at *Antony's* feet, remonstrating with tears in their eyes, that their assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not be laid to their charge as a crime, since they had been forced to it by such cruel usage, as made them rather objects of pity than punishment; and that, as to the sums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raise them, since *Brutus* and *Cassius* had stripped them not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As *Antony* continued inflexible, *Hybreas*, an orator and agent for some of the *Asiatic* cities, rising up, Since you are determined, said he, to double our taxes, pray take care, that our summers and autumns be doubled too; otherwise we shall never be able to satisfy your demands. This liberty of speech did not displease *Antony* (C).

(C) The same *Hybreas* some time after told *Antony*, when he required more money; "Asia has already furnished two hundred thousand talents for your service: if the money did not come to your hands, call those to an account, who levied it; but if it did, and you have already spent that sum, we are all undone." These words, says *Plutarch*, touched *Antony* to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature easily imposed upon, but because he reposed too great confidence in the integrity of those he employed. He was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of apprehension; but, as soon as he was made sensible

of his faults, he was much troubled, and ready to ask pardon of those he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handsomely railled, as he was pleased to railly others. This freedom had, as *Plutarch* observes, its inconvenience; for he imagined, that those friends, who used so much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any business, of consequence, not perceiving that these subtle parasites disguised their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any difficulty, they contrived matters so as not to seem to yield to him out of complaisance, but because his understanding was superior to theirs (5).

(5) *Plut. in Anton.*

The Asia-
tics loaded
with
heavy
taxes.
His gene-
rosity.

THE deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two ^c: so that all the princes, kings, and free states of *Asia*, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their subjects for the payment of this sum, which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which *Cassius* had loaded them, almost to a state of beggary ^d. After this, *Antony* took a progress through the provinces of *Asia*, giving every-where extraordinary demonstrations of generosity and good-nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Cassius*, and several others of the adverse party, who, upon the fame of his clemency, flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to those who had had any hand in the death of *Cæsar*. The *Xanthians* he freed from all tribute, and persuaded them to rebuild their city. To the *Rhodians*, whom *Cassius* had treated with great severity, he gave the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Naxos*, and *Myndus*. The inhabitants of *Tarsus* and *Laodicea* he likewise exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the *Athenians*, to whom he granted the islands of *Ægina*, *Teos*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peparethus* ^e: so that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thousand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of *Asia*, properly so called, of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Palæstine* (D).

He summons Cleopatra to give an account of her conduct.

ANTONY, arriving in *Cilicia*, dispatched from thence *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to summon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war. For, though she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiss, considering what she owed to the memory of *Cæsar* (E). As *Dellius* was well acquainted with

^c PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. v. p. 673, 674. ^d APPIAN. ibid. ^e Idem ibid. p. 675.

(D) As he wanted ready money to pay his soldiers, while the tax was raising, he sent all his horse to *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* to take the plunder of that rich city, instead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the design, removed, before their arrival, their families and effects to the other side

of the *Euphrates*; so that the triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the *Palmyrenians* came back to their habitations; but, being exasperated by this cruel usage, put themselves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which gave occasion to the second *Parthian* war (6).

(E) *Dellius*, who was sent on

(6) Appian. l. v. p. 673, 674.

this

with *Antony's* temper, after a short conversation with the queen, he easily judged with what sentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, address, and sprightly conversation, would inspire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in person into *Cilicia*, assuring her, that *Antony*, who was a brave and amorous soldier, would receive her with all the respect due to persons of her high station, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of *Dellius*; but she had a still greater dependence on her own beauty, and yet a greater on her extraordinary endowments. Never indeed had beauty been signalized by more illustrious conquests: she had captivated the heart of *Julius Cæsar*, of *Pompey's* eldest son, and formerly of *Antony* himself, when he served under *Gabinus*, governor of *Syria*; and this when she was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas she was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But *Her* what above all inspired her with certain confidence of re-*charms*, kindling the flame in *Antony's* heart, were, as we have hinted, her fine endowments, her learning, and the quickness of her wit; for, though there were some at *Rome* who rivaled her in beauty, none could be compared to her in the agreeableness of her conversation, and in a certain natural grace and sweetness, which appeared in every thing she said or did, and made a deep impression on all who heard her. In short, the charms of her conversation were irresistible, and the very tone of her voice so harmonious, that no instrument was capable of

this message, was a famous historian, and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles, being one of those who have always a base compliance to the inclinations of their masters. He wrote in *Greek* an account of *Antony's* unsuccessful expedition against the *Parthians*, in which he attended him, and had a chief command. He was one of *Horace's* most intimate friends, who addressed to him the third ode of his second book, containing the soundest principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy. *Messala*

Corvinus used to call him *desultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, the *vaulter of the civil wars*. For he left *Dolabella* to side with *Cassius*, then quitted *Cassius* to join *Antony*, and at last abandoned *Antony* to take part with *Octavianus*. During his stay at the court of *Egypt* the fair queen captivated his heart, and is said not to have been displeased with the addresses of a man of his fine genius. In the time of *Seneca* several letters of his to that queen were handed about written with too much familiarity (7).

(7) Vid. *Senec. l. i. de clementia, c. 10. & M. Senec. suaf. i. Scralo, l. xi. & Lips. ad 1. annal. Tacit.*

a greater variety of sounds, and of equally soothing the ear of the hearers. Besides, she expressed herself with so much ease, and in so many different languages, that she was looked upon by all as a prodigy (F). The confidence she placed in these extraordinary accomplishments encouraged her more than the words of *Dellius*, or her own beauty, to appear before *Antony*.

She arrives at
Tarsus in
Cilicia;
and captivates
Antony.

SHE made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vast sums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the *Egyptian* kings. Many were the letters she received from *Antony*, hastening her coming; but she seemed to make no account of his orders. At length she set out, and, arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, she embarked on a small gally, and appeared before *Antony* at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, in the fantastical manner which we have described at length in our history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. The triumvir was so taken with the charms of her person, the quickness of her wit, and the agreeableness of her conversation, that from the first day he conceived a passion for her, which occasioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the same man, but wholly taken up with the thoughts of the beautiful *Cleopatra*; he neglected all other business, and followed her into *Egypt*, spending there the whole ensuing winter with her in a most scandalous conversation, well suited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character^f.

Octavianus greatly
indisposed.

WHILE *Antony* was thus wallowing in pleasures with his beloved *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, his colleague was wholly taken up in settling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promised lands among the veterans. Having embarked his troops at *Dyr-rhachium*, he crossed the *Adriatic* gulf without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at *Brundisium*; where he was taken so ill, that his physicians gave him over, and the news of his death were immediately spread all over *Italy*,

^f PLUT. APPIAN. DIO, *ibid*.

(F) The most barbarous nations heard her with astonishment, answer their ambassadors without an interpreter. She understood, besides many others, the *Æthiopian*, the *Troglodyte*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, *Syrian*, *Median*, and *Parthian* tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, considering that most of the kings, her predecessors, had not been able to learn the *Egyptian* tongue, and several of them had forgot the *Macedonian*, their original language (8).

(8) *Plut. in Antor. Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. Appian. l. v. p. 673. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371.*

and

and differently received, according to the different inclinations of the people. Most of the senators looked upon this report as one of his usual tricks to discover their intentions, and real sentiments; and therefore, by a decree of the senate, prayers and sacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which soon followed by the favour of his native air, and the vigour of his youth. As soon as he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey, he set out for *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, especially by the populace. Some time before his arrival the fasces had been transferred from *Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus* to *L. Antonius*, the brother of the triumvir, and *P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus*; but *Fulvia*, *Antony's* wife, a woman of a manly spirit, and an unbounded ambition, had gained the ascendant over the new consuls, and governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. This *Octavianus* could not bear; and hence the mutual jealousies and distrusts between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of *Italy*.

*Jealousies
at Rome
between
him and
Fulvia.*

OCTAVIANUS met with many almost insurmountable difficulties in the distribution of the promised lands. As the public treasury was quite exhausted, he could not content the soldiery without giving up to them the several towns, which he had promised them by way of reward after the victory; and this he was well apprised would provoke the people. Most of the inhabitants of those unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*: vast numbers of women with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence moved even the triumvirs friends to compassion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people on this occasion talked with a great deal of freedom and boldness: *This war*, said they, *has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who, since they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, and not satisfy their soldiers at the expence of so many distressed families.* *Octavianus* heard, and patiently bore, these complaints, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself. Unwilling to give occasion to fresh disturbances, he borrowed what money he could; but, finding he could not raise the sufficient sums to satisfy his soldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, pursuant to his first design, allotted them the lands for their inheritance, which he had promised in the beginning of the war (G).

*Great
complaints
against
the trium-
virs.*

OCTA-

(G) *Cremona*, a city greatly attached to the interest of *Brutus*, suffered most in this iniquitous distribution; and *Mantua*, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable

Octavianus meets
with great
difficulties
in the distribution
of the
lands.

OCTAVIANUS himself was exposed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the soldiery and people being equally exasperated against him. Few of the veterans were satisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; *Antony's* soldiers taxed *Octavianus* with partiality, as if he assigned the best lands to his own men, and the worst to them. *Fulvia* did not fail to improve these discontents; and, being seconded by the consul *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, whom she easily gained over to her interest, she left nothing unattempted to fire both the soldiers and people against one, who, she well saw, was ingrossing all the power to himself (H).

OCTAVIANUS,

governable soldiery, had more than her share in these misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have perished on this occasion by the hand of a centurion named *Arrius*, who pursued him with his drawn sword, for daring to dispute with him the possession of his small estate on the banks of the *Min-cius*; and would have deprived the world of the greatest poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily escaped the fury of the enraged centurion, by swimming cross the river. This very adventure seems to have most of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents being known to *Mæcenat* and *Asinius Pollio*, he obtained by their interest the restitution of his farm, which is the subject of that excellent eclogue, the first of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

(H) And indeed she was attended therein with good success, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private soldier having taken place among the knights at a public shew, *Octavianus* ordered an officer to

drive him from thence; hereupon a report being spread by the triumvir's enemies, that the soldier had been assassinated by his order, as soon as the sports were over, they all crowded round him, demanding with threatenings to see their comrade. *Octavianus* caused him immediately to be sought for, and brought before them: when the soldier declared, that he had not received the least hurt or ill usage, the mutinous troops were not easily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incensed against him for depriving them of so specious a pretence to murder their general. The other accident shows still more plainly to what a degree *Fulvia* and *Lucius* had estranged the minds of the soldiery from their general. He had appointed a day for his soldiers to meet in the field of *Mars*, in order to proceed to the distribution of the lands. The legionaries assembled accordingly at the time agreed on; but, *Octavianus* not coming so soon as they expected, they began to mutiny, and speak of their general with great disrespect; upon which *Nonius*, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for
the

OCTAVIANUS, no longer able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of *Fulvia*, divorced her daughter *Clodia*, ^{He di-} after having solemnly declared upon oath, that, for him, she ^{vorces} was still a virgin. This was touching the proud *Fulvia* in the ^{Clodia the} most sensible part: she resolved thenceforth to keep no mea- ^{daughter} sures with *Octavianus*, and accordingly began openly to encou- ^{of Fulvia.} rage the veterans, who had served under her husband, to take ^{Fulvia en-} arms against his ungrateful colleague, who, though he had no- ^{deavours} way contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the ad- ^{to stir up} vantage of it, with a view to ingross the whole power to him- ^{the sol-} self, and exclude *Antony*, to whose valour the victory was in- ^{diery and} tirely owing, from any share in the administration. She ap- ^{people a-} peared in all the assemblies of the people, with the children she ^{gainst Oc-} had by *Antony*; and there made bitter complaints of the cruel ^{tavianus,} usage she pretended they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderness of a father, to have protected them against the insults of their enemies. *Lucius* her brother-in-law joined her, giving out every-where, that *Octavianus* had nothing else in view but to enslave *Italy*, deprive his colleagues of all power, and make both the senate and people of *Rome* subser-

the indecency of their carriage. But the insolent soldiery first rail-
lied the zealous officer as a mer-
cenary sycophant, and then in-
sulted him in a most outrageous
manner; insomuch that he was
forced to save himself by flight
from their fury, and throw him-
self, finding no other means to
escape, into the *Tiber*, where he
was drowned. The mutineers
drew the body out of the river,
and exposed it on the way which
led to the field of *Mars*, that *Oc-*
tavianus might see it, and learn
what might be his own fate, if he
provoked their resentment. *Oc-*
tavianus, though acquainted with
this disorder, went, contrary to
the advice of his friends, to the
field of *Mars*; and, only turning
away his eyes from the dead body
as he passed by it, appeared in the
midst of the assembly with an af-
fected calmness and tranquillity.
He artfully pretended to believe,
that *Nonnius* had been killed in a
quarrel by some private enemy;

and, after having exhorted his
soldiers not to carry their resent-
ment another time to such extre-
mities, without taking any further
notice of such a notorious breach
of the military laws, he proceeded
to the distribution of the lands,
extending his liberality even to
those who had lost their lives in
the battle of *Philippi*, on whose
wives and children he bestowed
that portion which would have
fallen to their lot. This false and
iniquitous generosity (for he gave
nothing of his own, but only
what he had with the utmost in-
justice taken from the lawful
owners) had so good an effect on
the minds of the undiscerning
multitude, that they demanded
the authors of *Nonnius's* death
might be brought to condign pu-
nishment. The crafty general
answered, that they would be suf-
ficiently punished by the re-
proaches of their own conscience,
and the remorse which ever at-
tends wicked actions (9).

(9) *Appian. Dio, ibid.*

The republic
rent
anew into
two fac-
tions.

vient to his will. He pretended to act by the directions of, and in concert with, his brother, whose chief and main concern, he said, was, to preserve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious *Octavianus*. This disagreement between the young triumvir on one side, and *Lucius* and *Fulvia* on the other, gave rise to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties. The veterans, who had served under *Antony*, and such of the *Italians* as had been driven from their antient inheritances, sided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*. The friends of the late dictator, and those legionaries who were satisfied with the lands fallen to their share, took part with *Octavianus*: so that all *Italy* was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of *Rome*, where horrible disorders, and cruel murders, were daily committed by the insolent populace, and ungovernable soldiery of the two opposite factions. To complete the misfortunes of *Rome* and *Italy*, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever since the beginning of the civil war, the seas being beset with the enemy's fleets, and *Sextus Pompeius* holding *Sicily*, whence the continent, and especially the capital, was supplied with corn. In this distress *Octavianus* would fain have made up matters with *Fulvia* in an amicable manner; but she would hearken only to the dictates of her own resentment, and the insinuations of *Manius*, her husband's agent, who assured her, that nothing but a war could force *Antony* from the arms of *Cleopatra*, and bring him into *Italy*.

Fulvia re-
tires from
Rome, and
forms a
camp at
Præneste.

FULVIA followed the pernicious advice of *Manius*, and, abandoning *Rome*, retired to *Præneste*, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her sex, she appeared with an helmet on her head, and a sword by her side, assembled some legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. *Octavianus*, fearing young *Pompey* might take advantage of the misunderstanding between him and *Fulvia*, sent a deputation to the camp of *Præneste*, exhorting the female general, and her brother-in-law, who, though consul, served in a manner as her subaltern, to lay aside all animosities, and act in concert against their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the senatorial order, and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on *Lucius* to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable *Fulvia*, and by *Manius*, whom *Antony* had appointed to manage his affairs in *Rome* during his absence. He in a studied speech accused *Octavianus* of unfair dealing with respect to *Antony*, as if he designed to ingross the whole power of the triumvirate to himself, and reduce his colleague to the state of a private man, though

though the victory they had gained in the plains of *Philippi* was intirely owing to his valour 8.

OCTAVIANUS, upon the report of his deputies, finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewise *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. In the mean time several manifestos and declarations were published by the opposite parties, and some very sharp letters passed between *Lucius* and *Octavianus*. The latter, seeing many of the veterans take part with his enemies, dispatched an exprefs to *Salvidienus*, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in *Spain*, ordering him to hasten into *Italy* with the six legions under his command. *Salvidienus*, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repassed the *Alps*, and advanced with incredible expedition into *Cisalpine Gaul*, to join *Octavianus*, who had left the capital, and was assembling his forces in that province. *Caius Asinius Pollio*, and *Publius Ventidius*, two of *Lucius's* lieutenants, who were encamped at the foot of the *Alps*, followed *Salvidienus*, harassing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great streights. At the same time *Lucius*, having assembled a considerable body of troops, advanced to meet *Salvidienus*, and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means *Octavianus's* lieutenant must inevitably have been cut off with all his men, had not *Vipsanius Agrippa*, with a choice body of veterans, come seasonably to his relief, and, posting himself between him and *Lucius*, attacked the city of *Sutrium*. As the inhabitants of that place had signalized their attachment to the interest of *Lucius*, he flew to their assistance; which gave *Salvidienus* an opportunity of joining *Agrippa*, and seizing with him, after he had taken *Sutrium* by assault, all the passes and defiles leading to the two camps of *Pollio* and *Ventidius*.

LUCIUS, after having attempted in vain to open himself a way sword in hand, resolved to retire into the city of *Perusia*, and wait there, as in a place of safety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, following him close, invested the place before he had time to reflect on the danger to which he exposed himself and his troops. *Octavianus* was no sooner informed of the bad situation of *Lucius*, than he flew to *Perusia*, and, in concert with his two lieutenants, carried on the siege with great vigour; but, as he found it impossible to take by assault so strong a place, garisoned by a whole army, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and, with this view, surrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty-six furlongs in compass.

8 APPIAN. *ibid.* DIO. l. xlviii. p. 359, 360. VELL. PAT. l. ii. c. 74. SUET. in OCTAV. c. 62.

Salvidienus, one of Octavianus's lieutenants, rescued out of danger by Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius besieged in Perusia.

From his camp he drew lines quite to the *Tiber*, which he strengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal distances, that is, about sixty feet from one another. These towers he filled with archers, slingers, and all sorts of engines, to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. *Lucius*, on his side, was continually harassing the workmen, and the legions that covered them, with brisk sallies, in which his men, who were for the most part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of these sallies *Octavianus* himself narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time *Fulvia* detached, from her camp at *Præneste*, *L. Munatius Plancus*, with a numerous body of chosen troops, ordering him to join *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and, with their united forces, oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raise the siege. *Plancus*, in spite of *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, whom *Octavianus* detached against him, joined *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and, together with them, advanced as far as *Fulginium*, within an hundred and sixty furlongs of *Perusia*. *Lucius* was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to signify to him by fires in the night, and other signals. He did not in the least doubt but they would exert their utmost endeavours, and make some great push for his relief.

*Lucius's
generals
despair of
relieving
him.*

AND such indeed was their design : but *Plancus*, after having viewed the advantageous situation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place, without exposing their troops, for which they were responsible to *Antony*, to the greatest dangers. His opinion prevailed ; and, as none of them approved of *Lucius's* conduct, who had thus rashly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general, and his troops, in the utmost despair. As the besieged were already reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, they made a desperate sally ; but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparalleled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. *Lucius*, being determined to hold out to the last, took an inventory of all the provisions in the place, which he daily measured out sparingly to the soldiers, and inhabitants of free condition ; but allowed none to the slaves, and servants of the army, though he kept them at the same time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, lest they should acquaint the enemy with the miserable condition to which the garrison was reduced. This was sentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a most cruel death ; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in history ! Those unhappy persons, reduced to this desperate condition, wandered about the works in quest of herbs, grass, and roots, some of them even feeding upon their own ordure, and the flesh of their dead companions.

The cruelty of Lucius towards the slaves.

AT

At length the soldiers themselves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of *Lucius* to make a general sally, choosing rather to die like brave men, sword in hand, than to live under the miseries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own valour; and that, in their present circumstances, they must either conquer, or die. They resolved, therefore, to make a desperate push, and sally out by break of day, to avoid the disorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having first provided a great number of spades, hooks, scaling-ladders, and all sorts of necessary tools, to break down the wall with which *Octavianus* had inclosed the city, as soon as day began to appear, they rushed out like famished tigers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an instant, plucked up the palisades, and began to undermine the wall, while the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpose, and filled with archers and dartmen, discharged showers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. *Octavianus's* soldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggressors, their machines playing incessantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. But, though many of them fell, the rest, not so much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazing resolution, and, climbing up the wall, in spite of all opposition, drove the enemy from their posts. *Their gallant behaviour.*

THE dispute continued many hours with an obstinacy and fury hardly to be expressed; and *Lucius's* men, though they fought with all the disadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but, *Octavianus's* troops being far more numerous, and constantly relieved with fresh supplies, the besieged, weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite spent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. These gallant men, though stunned with their fall, still strove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and gestures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length *Lucius*, surprised at such extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only served to destroy them, commanded a retreat to be sounded. Hereupon *Octavianus's* men gave loud shouts of joy, striking, according to the custom of the *Romans*, when they had gained a victory, their swords against their bucklers. This those brave men looked upon as an insult; and therefore, getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new

new fury : and it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without tears, that *Lucius* prevailed upon them to retreat. *Octavianus* that night doubled his guards, and disposed several bodies of troops on the ramparts in such manner, that they could easily relieve each other in case of a sudden attack, which he apprehended ^h.

Lucius resolves to capitulate.

LUCIUS, finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity, without any hopes of relief, resolved at length to capitulate, and by that means save the lives of so many brave men. Accordingly he dispatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with *Octavianus* in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this answer to their proposals ; that he willingly pardoned all those who had served under *Antony* against the murderers of his father ; but, as for the others, he insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. Thus he spoke to the deputies in common ; but afterwards, taking *Furnius*, one of them, aside, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who, out of hatred to him, had been the occasion of all these disorders. Upon the report of the deputies, many illustrious *Romans*, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of *Octavianus*, with whose cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted *Lucius* to insist on the safety of all, and not to surrender upon any other terms.

Goes in person to treat with Octavianus.

LUCIUS, touched with compassion for so many brave men, whom he well knew *Octavianus*, if it were left to him, would sacrifice to his revenge, resolved to go out in person, and, putting himself into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. *Octavianus* received him with great marks of esteem and affection, and promised, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they surrendered without further resistance, and put him in possession of the city. *Lucius*, depending on *Octavianus*'s promise, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general ; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of *Perusia*, who had shewn an inviolable attachment to *Lucius*, he ordered those, who composed the senate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains ; and sentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement, and the promise he had made. Some of those unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy ; but they had all one and the same answer,

^h APPIAN. DIO, *ibid.*

Moriendum est, You must die. Accordingly they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders, carried in chains to an altar raised to *Julius Cæsar*, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the ides of *March*, the anniversary of his death. With them were sacrificed *Caius Flavius*, *Clodius Bithynicus*, and *Canutius*, three illustrious senators of *Rome*, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city itself he delivered up to the lust and plunder of his soldiers; but one *Cestius*, surnamed *Macedonicus* from his having served a long time in *Macedon*, not caring to outlive the ruin of his country, and the miseries of his fellow-citizens, by setting fire to his own house, occasioned the total destruction of that antient and once powerful city. For, a high wind arising, the flames spread from house to house, and burnt with such violence, that in a very short time the whole city was laid in ashes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the war of *Perusia* (I). The bar-
barous cru-
elty of Oc-
tavianus
to the
inhabit-
ants of
Perusia.

Perusia re-
duced to
ashes.

The end of
the war of
Perusia.

AND now the other officers who had served under *Lucius*, being driven with their forces out of *Italy*, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, at the head of a few veterans, and a great number of slaves, *Claudius*

(I) As for *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Plancus*, and the other commanders of *Antony*, though they had still thirteen legions, and fifteen hundred horse, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritim cities, waiting there for succours from *Antony*; but *Octavianus* pursuing them, *Asinius Pollio* went on board the fleet commanded by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Brutus's* admiral, carrying with him seven legions. *Plancus*, being pursued close by *Agrippa*, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join *Fulvia* at *Præneste*. The legions went over to *Agrippa*; but *Plancus*, together with *Fulvia*, fled from *Præneste* to *Puteoli*, and from thence to *Brundisium*, where they both embarked, and passed over into *Macedon*. The other commanders made their escape into *Sicily*, where they were

kindly received by *Sextus Pompeius*, who, had he not been of a slothful and indolent temper, might have improved these divisions to his advantage, and with great ease made himself master of all *Italy*. For *Statius Murcus*, falling out with *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions, and twenty-four ships, carrying with him immense sums, which he had extorted from the maritim cities of *Asia*. Besides, he had received a strong reinforcement from *Cephalenia*, consisting of veterans, who had escaped from the battle of *Philippi*. But the indolent *Pompey*, though in condition to invade *Italy*, and crush the party of the triumvirs there, contented himself with ravaging the coasts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general (1).

(1) *Appian. p. 672, & seq. Vell. Patencul. lib. ii. c. 72—77. Dio, l. xlviii. p. 362—368.*

Nero
maintains
the party
of Lucius
in Campa-
nia.
Is aban-
doned by
his troops.

whom he had drawn together by promising them their liberty, undertook to maintain the interest, and support the ruined party, of *Lucius* in the neighbourhood of *Naples* (K). But his raw and undisciplined troops being frightened at the approach of *Octavianus's* victorious army, they immediately dispersed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. *Tiberius*, thus deserted by his forces, fled in disguise with his wife *Livia*, and his son *Tiberius*, not yet two years old, to the sea-side, hoping he should find there some vessel to convey him over to *Sicily* (L). As for *Tiberius* and *Livia*, *Octavianus* pursued them close; but they, after having escaped a thousand dangers, attended only by one domestic, found a small boat, which conveyed them over into *Sicily* (M). *Tiberius's* troops being dispersed, and he fled,

(K) *Tiberius* was descended from one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*, and had been honoured with great employments by *Julius Cæsar*, who had a particular esteem for him. He had been his quæstor, and commanded his fleet in the war of *Alexandria*, when he distinguished himself on many occasions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor, and raised to the high station of pontifex maximus. But, notwithstanding all the favours he had received at *Cæsar's* hands, after his death, he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conspirators, but exhorted the consuls to reward them as the deliverers of their country, and the avengers of their oppressed liberty. He had, by a timely flight, avoided the fury of the proscription; and, siding with *Lucius* at the beginning of this war, had shut himself up with him in the city of *Perusia*, whence he found means to make his escape into *Campania*, where he raised the army we mentioned above.

(L) *Livia* was the daughter of

Livius Drusus Claudianus, who was killed in the battle of *Philippi* fighting for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Livius* was descended from the *Claudian* family, whence he had the name of *Claudianus*; but his branch had been long since adopted into the *Livian* family. The only person of distinction, who followed *Tiberius* and *Livia* in their flight, was *Gaius Velleius*, the grandfather of the famous historian *Velleius Paterculus*, who had served with great reputation in the armies of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. But, his great age and infirmities not suffering him to attend them over into *Sicily*, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the merciless *Octavianus*, he put an end to his life with his own sword.

(M) And here we cannot help reflecting, with *Velleius Paterculus*, on the strange turns of fortune; which ought to teach us, that, as to future events, our fears are often as groundless as our hopes. *Livia* was flying from an enemy, whose affections she was one day to gain, and maintain to the hour of

fled, *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feasts were celebrated for several days together; and it was enacted, by a decree of the senate and people, that, *whenever any general should for the future merit a triumph, Octavianus should have a share in his honour*¹.

WHILE *Cæsar Octavianus* was making war in *Italy* with *Lucius*, and settling his affairs there with all the skill and address of an able politician, *Antony* was passing his time ingloriously at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of those pleasures and diversions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the relish of them by the charms of novelty (N). But, in the mean time, all *Syria* and *Pa-*

Year of
the flood

2314.

Bef. Chr.

34.

Of Rome

714.

¹ APPIAN. DIO, VELL. PATERC. *ibid.*

of his death; and the infant she carried in her arms was to succeed *Octavianus*, and, after him, rule the *Roman* empire with an absolute sway.

(N) The poets have not given to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia* a greater ascendant over *Hercules*, than history gives to the fair *Egyptian* queen over *Antony*. Like a second *Hercules*, from a rough soldier, and formidable conqueror, he became the slave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing-stock not of *Egypt* only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the *Roman* name. Out of complaisance to his admired idol, he exchanged the *Roman* for the *Greek* dress, piquing himself upon appearing among the effeminate *Asiatics*, who composed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aside all other business, he was solely intent on pleasing and diverting *Cleopatra*, who never left him night or day: she played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and, when he thought fit to exercise the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diversion than their improvement, she was always by him. Nothing was

talked of at court but feasts, shews, revels, &c. Mirth, jollity, and pleasures, had banished all business, all serious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the *inimitable life*. They treated one another by turns, on which occasion their expences were beyond all measure. *Plutarch* gives us two instances of *Antony's* extravagance, which he learnt of his grandfather *Lamprias*, who had them from one *Philotas* a physician of *Amphissa*. *Philotas*, being acquainted with one of *Antony's* cooks, was invited by him to see what sumptuous preparations he was making for supper. Coming into the kitchen, he was surprised at the prodigious variety of the most scarce and expensive things; but nothing struck him so much as the sight of eight wild boars roasting intire: "Surely (said he) you have a great number of guests." But, the cook laughing at his simplicity, "There are not above twelve guests (replied he); but every dish must be served up just roasted to a turn, and, if any thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is spoiled: for (added he) may-

F f 2

" be

Palæstine being grievously oppressed with the taxes that were imposed upon them, the *Aradians* killed those who were sent to

“ be *Antony* will sup just now,
 “ may-be not this hour, may-be
 “ not these two hours, because
 “ he may perhaps have a mind
 “ to spend some time in drinking
 “ or talking; so that not one,
 “ but many suppers must be had
 “ in readiness, it not being easy
 “ to guess at his hour.” The
 same *Philotas* related, that, being
 afterwards in the service of *Antony*’s
 eldest son by *Fulvia*, and
 admitted, with other domestics of
 a better rank, to his table, when
 the young man did not dine with
 his father, it happened, that another
 physician, full of argument
 and noise, disturbed and tired the
 company with the impertinence
 of his talk. *Philotas*, no longer
 able to bear the empiric, put this
 sophistical syllogism to him:
 “ There is some kind of fever,
 “ wherein cold water is good;
 “ every one who has a fever,
 “ has some kind of fever; there-
 “ fore cold water is good for all
 “ those who have fevers.” This
 sophism quite silenced the quack;
 at which young *Antony* was so
 pleased, that, addressing himself
 to *Philotas*, and pointing to a
 side-board covered with rich plate,
 “ *Philotas* (said he), all that is
 “ yours.” *Philotas* thanked him
 for his good-will, but could not
 conceive, that the young man
 had a power of disposing of things
 to that value. He therefore
 went home, without so much as
 thinking of the present. But he
 was very much surprised, when,
 soon after his departure, he saw
 all the plate brought home to
 his house by slaves, followed by
 an officer of young *Antony*, who

desired him to put his mark upon
 them. *Philotas* excused himself,
 fearing to accept from a young
 man a present of so great a value.
 But the officer who brought it,
 “ What ails the man (said he)?
 “ don’t you know, that he, who
 “ makes you this present, is *Antony*’s
 “ son, who could very
 “ well spare it, were it all gold?
 “ But, if you will be advised by
 “ me, I would counsel you to
 “ accept of the value in money;
 “ for, among the plate, there
 “ may be some pieces of anti-
 “ quity, or the work of some
 “ famous master, for which *Antony*
 “ may have a particular
 “ esteem.”

But to return to *Cleopatra*; she was daily contriving new diversions for *Antony*’s entertainment; and the most inconsiderable trifles, when managed by her, received such an air as made them agreeable diversions. They often rambled about the streets in the night hand-in-hand, *Cleopatra* dressed like an ordinary woman, and *Antony* like a slave; and in that disguise entering the public houses, mixed with the mob. *Cleopatra* took great delight in these expeditions, as they gave her room to display her wit and humour in retorting the coarse raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which she did with an unparalleled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and sometimes with blows. This kind of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen, and a Roman magistrate, a general, and a conqueror, who was at this time forty and upwards, seemed very

to gather them ; and thereupon joining the *Palmyrenians*, and several petty princes of *Syria*, called in the *Parthians*, which put the whole country into the utmost confusion. For the *Parthians*, on this invitation, passing the *Euphrates* under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's son, and *Labienus* a Roman thians general (O), overcame in a pitched battle *Saxa*, Antony's over-run lieutenant in *Syria*, and forced him to take refuge in *Cilicia*. *Syria*, and After this victory, the two generals divided their army : *Labienus*, with one part of it, pursued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he slew him, defeated his army, over-ran all *Asia Minor*, and, forcing Antony's lieutenants to make their escape into the islands, brought all places under him as far as the *Hellepont*, and the *Ægean* sea. At the same time *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice* as far as *Tyre*, which city alone held out against him, the remains of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him^k. An account of these successes was brought to Antony at *Alexandria*, and at the same time news of the ill state of his affairs in *Italy*, and of the unsuccessful war which his brother *Lucius* had waged there with *Octavianus*. Hereupon recovering, as it were, from a drunken fit, he resolved

^k DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.* & in *Parthicis*. FLOR. lib. iv. c. 9. Epit. LIV. l. cxxvii. PLUT. in Anton. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xiv. c. 23.

very strange to the grave and better sort of people ; but the populace were highly pleased with their frolicks ; saying of Antony, that they had great obligations to him, for shewing them his comical countenance, and reserving his tragical one for the Romans. Of Antony's other follies, especially of the pleasant adventure that happened to him while he was angling with *Cleopatra*, we have spoken in our history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*.

(O) This *Labienus* was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his most intimate friends ; but afterwards, going

over to *Pompey*, he became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda* (2). His son, pursuing the same interest, was sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, in quality of ambassador to the *Parthian* king, to solicit his assistance for that war ; and was at the *Parthian* court when the battle happened ; by the ill success of which being discouraged from returning, he continued in that country ; and, having prevailed with king *Orodes* to undertake this war, he was sent with *Pacorus*, the king's son, to command under him (3).

(2) *Cæsar. comment.* & *Plut. in Cæs.* l. iv. c. 9. *Vel. Pat.* l. ii. c. 78.

(3) *Dio*, l. xlvii. p. 371. *Flor.*

Antony
resolves to
return to
Italy.

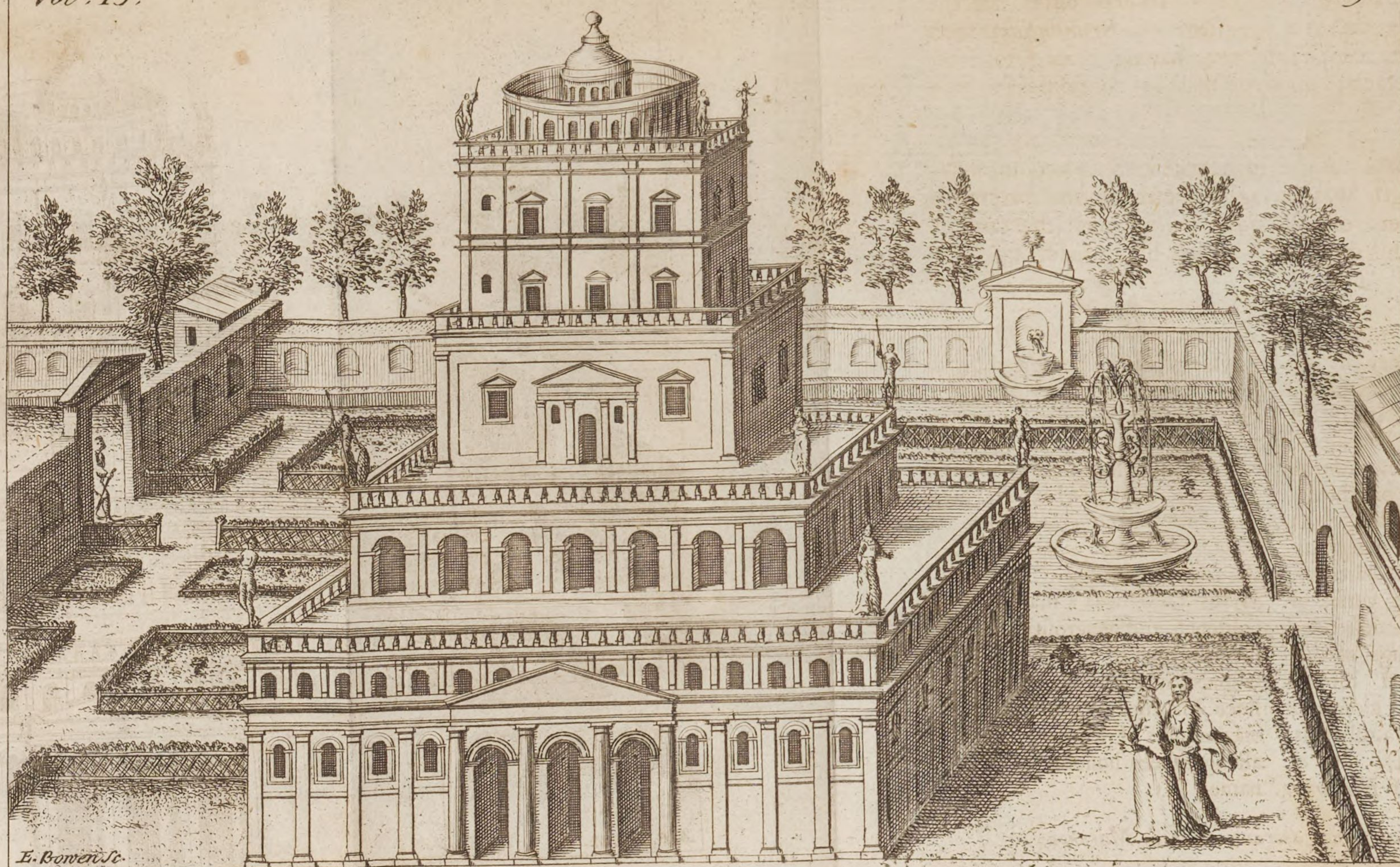
The death
of Fulvia.

at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith against the *Parthians*. With this view, having got together 200 ships, he sailed to *Tyre*; but, finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the same time most lamentable letters from *Fulvia*, he changed his mind, and resolved to postpone the war with the *Parthians*, and sail directly to *Italy*.

ACCORDINGLY, he left *Tyre*, after having reinforced the garison of that place; and, sailing by the islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*, whom he highly blamed as the chief cause of the late disorders. In this city he received certain advice, that *Octavianus* had made himself master of *Transalpine Gaul*, and forced the son of *Calenus*, after the death of his father, to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As *Transalpine Gaul* had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of *Philippi*, yielded to *Antony*, he looked upon such a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to sea without loss of time, set sail for *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sicyon*. This neglect and scorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for she died in that city soon after her husband's departure. *Antony*, in crossing the *Ionian* sea, was met by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral; who, instead of opposing him, came on board his gally, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by *Asinius Pollio*, who had fled from *Italy*, as we have related above, after the surrender of *Perusia*, and taken refuge on board *Domitius's* fleet (P). The two fleets,

(P) *Appian* tells us, that *Antony*, meeting *Domitius* in the *Ionian* sea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in person against him with five gallees only. *Plancus*, who was then with *Antony*, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that *Domitius*, who had a fleet much more powerful than his, would neither submit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. *Antony*, without hearkening to his reasons, advanced boldly; and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who stood on the prow of his gally, cried out to *Domitius* to

strike his flag to the triumvir, who was of an higher rank than he. At these words the republican admiral, as if he had been thunderstruck, submitted to the summons, saluted *Antony* as his general, and, coming on board his gally, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by *Appian*; but we have chosen to follow *Velleius*, who tells us, with more appearance of truth, that *Pollio* had beforehand engaged *Domitius* to take part with *Antony*; by which signal piece of service, he acquitted himself of the many obligations



The house and famed Turret of MÆCENAS which commanded the whole prospect of Rome.

fleets, thus joined, came to an anchor on the coast of *Epi-Antony*
rus, and from thence set sail for *Brundisium*. *arrives in*

IN this city *Octavianus* had five legions, who shut the gates *Italy, and*
against *Antony*, refusing admittance, not to him, they said, *lays siege*
but to *Domitius*, who was *Octavianus's* declared enemy. *to Brun-*
Upon this refusal *Antony* immediately blocked up the place, *dufium.*

and at the same time dispatched one of his officers to *Pompey*
in *Sicily*, inviting that general to join interest with him against
Octavianus, and invade *Italy*. *Pompey* came readily into the
proposal, made a descent, and took several cities on the
coast, while *Antony* pursued the siege of *Brundisium* with
great vigour. Hereupon *Octavianus*, having drawn together
his legions, and detached *Agrippa* with a considerable body
against *Pompey*, marched with the rest to the relief of the be-
sieged city. But his veterans refusing to draw their swords
against *Antony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommoda-
tion, which at length was brought about by the interposi-
tion and management of *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and the famous
Mæcenas (Q). This dangerous breach being made up, and

Octavia-
nus and
Antony
come to an
agree-
ment.

obligations he owed him. To
perpetuate the memory of this
remarkable event, *Antony* caused
a medal to be struck, or rather
a piece of money to be coined,
which is still to be seen, with the
triumvir's head, and, on the re-
verse, the prow of a ship, with
the names of the two generals.

(Q) *Caius Cilnius Mæcenas*,
well known from the verses of
Virgil and *Horace*, was descended
from the antient kings of *He-*
truria, but contented himself
with the degree of a *Roman*
knight. The *Cilnian* family was,
according to *Livy* (4), one of
the most illustrious of *Hetruria*.

As for the surname of *Mæcenas*,
it was probably borrowed from
some place belonging to the fa-
mily; at least *Varro* tells us, that
all the *Latin* names, ending in *as*,
denote some place. *Pliny* speaks
of the wines of *Mæcenatium*, and
ranks them among the best of
Italy: *Cæsenatia vina*, says he,
& *Mæcenatia* (5). This illu-
strious *Roman* was a man of great
politeness and generosity, which,
towards men of letters, knew no
bounds; whence those, who, ever
since his time, have set up for
encouragers of learning, have in
all ages been honoured with his
name.

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones:

That skill poetic may not miss reward,
Give me the patron, I'll give you the bard:

as *Martial* ludicrously compli- nerous patron to the learned;
ments himself, and his patron (6). he was himself thoroughly ac-
But *Mæcenas* was not only a ge- quainted with all the branches of

(4) *Liv.* l. x.

(5) *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 6.

(6) *L.* viii. epig. 56.

all past offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the soldiers of the two armies, to make the friendship of their generals more lasting, desired it might be cemented with the ties of blood; and proposed a match between *Antony* and *Octavianus's* sister *Octavia*, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus* (R). Though the queen of *Egypt* had so large a share in *Antony's* heart, yet the match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with inexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance.

They divide the Roman empire.

AFTER this the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after their mutual embraces, and promises of lasting friendship, they came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof *Codropolis* (S), a town of *Illyricum*, was to be the boundary

polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleasures. *Ingeniosus vir ille fuit*, says *Seneca* of him (6). *magnum exemplum Romana eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, imo castrasset*; "That man had a genius, and would have given a noble specimen of *Roman* eloquence, if good fortune had not enervated, I may say, emasculated him." And elsewhere (8), *Habuit Macenas grande & virile ingenium, nisi ipse illud discinxisset*. "Macenas had a sublime and manly genius, if he had not himself dissipated it by luxury." After the battle of *Philippi* he interceded with *Octavianus* in favour of *Horace*, and obtained his pardon, though he had served under *Brutus* in quality of legionary tribune. He protected *Virgil*, and, by his interest, got his farm restored to him, which *Octavianus's* soldiers had seized. He was one of *Augustus's* chief favourites, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. He was

a man of great penetration and address in managing the most difficult affairs; but liked his pleasures too much to engage in business, when he could decline it without disgusting his master, the gaining of whose favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, especially *Juvenal* and *Seneca*, reproach him, and not undeservedly, with luxury, indolence, and effeminacy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, *Meibomius* has written an intire volume under the title of *Macenas*, to which we refer our readers.

(R) *Octavianus* had a great veneration and tenderness for his sister; and, to do her justice, none of her sex ever had a better claim to the esteem and veneration of mankind. For though she excelled all the women of her age, *Cleopatra* herself not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her person were far inferior to those of her mind.

(S) This city is called by *Apian* *Scodra*, the situation whereof agrees with that of *Codropolis*. *Scodra*, now known to the *Turks*

(7) *Senec. epist. 19.*

(8) *Idem, epist. 92.*

boundary of their dominions; all from that place, westward, was allotted to *Octavianus*; and all eastward, to *Antony*: so that the former had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*; and the latter, all the eastern provinces, quite to the *Euphrates*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, who had been sent by *Octavianus*, with six legions, into that province some time before the arrival of *Antony*. It was agreed, that *Antony* should make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavianus* upon *Pompey*, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions. *Italy* was left common to both the triumvirs for the raising of forces wherewithal to carry on these wars. To these conditions *Antony* added, that *Octavianus* should pardon *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and likewise all those who had borne arms against him in the war of *Perusia*. The two generals, thus reconciled, marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Antony*, and the incomparable *Octavia*, was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, *Antony*, to give *Octavianus* an undeniable proof of the sincerity of his intentions, discovered to him, that *Salvidienus* (T), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops, and his service, when *Octavianus* sent him into *Spain*; and that he

*Antony
marries
Octavia,
Octavia-
nus's sister.*

by the name of *Escodar*, and to the *Italians* by that of *Scutari*, was antiently the capital of the country of the *Labeates*, a people of *Illyricum*, and is at present the chief city of *Albania*. It stands on the river *Drilo*, now the *Drino*, about sixty miles east of *Ragusa*. This city, which was the bulwark of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*, and looked upon as one of the best fortified and most inaccessible cities in the world, is often mentioned by *Livy*, and the other *Roman* writers, who give an account of the war between the republic and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. *Florus* was certainly mistaken, when he placed *Scodra* in *Macedon*, and stiled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(T) *Salvidienus* was the son of a poor peasant, and spent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly em-

ployed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if all on a flame. This he looked upon as a prognostic of some extraordinary good fortune; and therefore soon after listed himself in the army, where, by his valour, he rose to the highest posts. He attended *Cæsar* in most of his wars, and, as he had on all occasions distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, the dictator had named him one of the consuls, who were to govern the republic in his absence, though *Salvidienus* had not yet been admitted into the senate. Upon the dictator's death, he, out of gratitude, sided with his son *Octavianus*, and had a great share in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking *Octavianus* did not reward him according to his deserts, he offered his service to *Antony*, who, by basely betraying him, was the occasion of his death.

had

had repeated the same offer at *Brundisium*. Hereupon *Octavianus* accused him of treachery before the senate, who declared him an enemy to the people of *Rome*, sentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the discovery of the treason. At the same time *Manius*, of whom we have spoken above, was, by *Antony's* order, put to death, as having been the chief author of the late disturbances.

Rome in
great di-
stresses for
want of
of corn.

The people
rise.

The tri-
umvirs
agree to
come to
an accom-
modation
with Pom-
pey.

IN the mean time *Pompey*, who was master at sea, keeping all the ports of *Italy* blocked up with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, especially of corn, which was become so dear, that the people were ready to starve. Hereupon *Antony* pressed his colleague either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him, by a vigorous war, to recal his fleets, and leave the sea open for trade and navigation. *Octavianus* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; but, as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Antony's* approbation, he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*; the one of four drachmas and an half for every slave, the other on all legacies. This so provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they rose in opposition to these edicts, assaulted *Octavianus* in the forum, and would have torn him in pieces, had not *Antony* hastened to his assistance with a body of troops, which was encamped at the gates of the city. The rabble were soon dispersed, several of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*; but, as the famine still continued, the populace, notwithstanding the punishment of a few, grew daily more outrageous.

ANTONY therefore, fearing a general insurrection, wrote to *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was then in *Sicily* with *Pompey* his son-in-law, inviting him to *Rome* to treat there of an accommodation between *Octavianus*, *Pompey*, and himself. *Pompey* was overjoyed at this proposal, as was also *Stati-
tius Murcus*; but *Menas*, whom some writers call *Menodorus*, one of *Pompey's* enfranchised slaves, and a sea-officer of great experience and bravery, not only opposed it, but with groundless insinuations intirely estranged *Pompey* from *Murcus*, who pressed him, with great earnestness, to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and restore *Italy* to its former tranquillity. Hereupon *Murcus* retired to *Syracuse*, where he was murdered by some slaves, whom *Pompey* afterwards caused to be executed, to clear himself from the murder. It

PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. *epit.* l. cxxvii. DIO, l. xlviii. P. 375.

was,

was, however, commonly believed, that *Menas* had put him to death by *Pompey's* orders. But, notwithstanding *Menas's* opposition, *Pompey* allowed *Libo* to go to *Rome* in compliance with *Antony's* invitation, where he persuaded *Octavianus* and *Antony* to come to an interview with *Pompey*, that they might in person, and face to face, discuss their pretensions, and put an end to their differences. To this *Pompey* consented, at the earnest request of his officers; and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount *Misenus*, where he and *Libo* in a gally, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpose, exposed their mutual claims and pretensions. *Pompey* demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate, instead of *Lepidus*, whose authority declined daily. This demand seemed very reasonable to *Pompey*, but quite otherwise to *Antony* and *Octavianus*; so that, after a warm and long dispute, they parted without coming to any resolution. *Pompey*, who knew he had it in his power to reduce *Rome*, and all *Italy*, to the utmost extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms against the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference, and returning to *Sicily*. But *Libo* advised him to stay, and continue the negotiations, at least by deputies, which he did accordingly.

THE second day he dropped his pretensions to a place in the triumvirate; but proposed the following preliminaries: 1. That those, who had been concerned in the death of *Cæsar*, should only be banished, and be at liberty to choose for their exile what place they pleased. 2. That such as had been proscribed on any other account whatsoever, should be allowed to return to *Rome*. 3. That the latter should be restored to the possession of their lands and fortunes. *Antony* and *Octavianus* absolutely rejected the two first articles, and only consented that those, who were not in the number of the conspirators, should be allowed to purchase their estates. Most part of those, who were about *Pompey*, tired with so long and destructive a war, and dreading the fate of *Murcus*, declared, that they were willing to return to *Rome* even upon the conditions proposed by the triumvirs; which so displeased *Pompey*, that, in the transport of his passion, he tore his robe, calling those who submitted to such shameful conditions, vile traitors, and cowardly deserters. “*Menas*, said he, is the only true friend I have in the world; *Menas* alone has given me wholesome and disinterested advice.” However, at the earnest intreaties of his mother *Mutia*, of *Julia*, *Antony's* mother, and of *Libo*, his father-in-law, he consented to a second interview, in which, after three days debates, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties:

“ I. THAT

*The arti-
cles of ac-
commoda-
tion be-
tween the
triumvirs
and Pom-
pey.* “ 1. THAT *Pompey* should be left in possession of *Sicily*,
“ *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the adjacent islands; and should, over
“ and above, have *Peloponnesus* yielded to him. 2. That he
“ should have the privilege of demanding the consulate, tho’
“ absent, and of discharging that office by any of his friends.
“ 3. That the dignity of pontifex maximus should be con-
“ ferred upon him, and seventy thousand great sesterces re-
“ stored to him out of his father’s confiscated estate. 4.
“ That such as had taken refuge with him merely out of
“ fear, should be allowed to return, and enjoy their whole
“ estates; and that the proscribed persons, who were not
“ guilty of *Cæsar*’s death, should have only the fourth part
“ of their estates restored to them. 5. That trade and na-
“ vigation should be free; that *Pompey* should withdraw his
“ troops from *Italy*; that he should suffer no inroads or de-
“ scents to be made upon the coasts, nor build more ships.
“ 6. That he should not for the future receive the slaves who
“ fled to him; that those who had borne arms under him
“ should be declared free; and that his legionaries, when the
“ time of their service was expired, should have their share
“ in the division of lands with those of *Antony* and *Octavia-*
“ *nus*. 7. That he should immediately send to *Rome* the corn
“ he had retained, oblige the *Sicilians* to pay annually what
“ corn was due to the republic out of their island, and clear
“ the seas of all pirates.”

*The tri-
umvirs
and Pom-
pey treat
each other.* THIS treaty was signed by the three chiefs, and sent to
Rome, to be deposited in the hands of the *Vestals*^m. They
then agreed to treat each other, in token of their sincere re-
conciliation; and it fell to *Pompey*’s lot to make the first en-
tertainment. *Antony* asked him, where he designed to receive
them. In *Carinis*, answered *Pompey* pleasantly: for the word
carinæ, in *Latin*, signifies ships; and was likewise the name of
a ward, or part of the city, where *Pompey the Great* had a
stately palace, which *Antony* had seized. *Antony* understood
the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the
day appointed for the entertainment, *Pompey*, having brought
his gally near the shore, and made a bridge to it from the pro-
montory, received his two guests with great civility and po-
liteness. Here *Octavianus* seemed to have forgot his usual
wariness and circumspection; and this entertainment would
have cost both him and his colleague dear, had not *Pompey* been
endowed with a truly great and generous soul. For while
they were at table, and *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, growing warm with
wine, began to rally *Antony* upon his amours, and fondness for
the fair *Egyptian* queen, *Menas* approaching *Pompey*, “ You

^m APPIAN, DIO, PLUT. *ibid*.

“ have

“ have now a fair opportunity (he whispered him in the ear)
 “ of revenging the death of your father and brother, and
 “ making yourself master of the whole *Roman* empire : it is
 “ but cutting the cable ; leave the rest to me.” The blow
 was sure, and the temptation violent ; *Pompey*’s fleet being
 drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces
 ashore. However, the generous *Roman*, scorning to purchase *Pompey*’s
 the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a *generosity*
 short pause, “ *Menas* (said he) may forfeit his word and re-
 “ putation ; but that is not becoming the son of *Pom-*
 “ *pey* (U).”

ANTONY and *Octavianus* treated *Pompey*, in their turns,
 with great demonstrations of seeming friendship ; for the con-
 firming of which, and cementing it with new ties, *Pompey*,
 who was sincere, proposed a match between his daughter, and
M. Marcellus, the son of *Octavia*, by her former husband ;
 which *Octavianus* consenting to, they both entered into the *Pompey*’s
 usual engagements, *Pompey* for his daughter, and *Octavianus* *daughter*
 for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is *betrothed*
 the famous *M. Marcellus*, whom *Octavianus* had appointed *to M. Mar-*
 his heir, in case he had no issue male of his own, and whose *cellus Oc-*
 virtues are so highly commended by the prince of the *Latin* *tavianus’s*
 poetsⁿ. Before the three chiefs parted, they named consuls *nephew*.

ⁿ Vide VIRG. *Æneid*. l. vi. v. 856, & seq.

(U) It is a great pity we have
 the characters of illustrious men
 only from historians, who, either
 out of fear or flattery, decry
 the enemies of the princes, whose
 favour they courted. *Velleius*
Paterculus, who wrote in the
 time of *Augustus*, and has in his
 history miserably perverted truth,
 or utterly suppressed it, paints
Pompey in the worst colours. But
 the greatness of mind, which he
 displayed on this occasion against
 his own interest, is sufficient to
 bely that mercenary sycophant,
 and the other flatterers of the
Cæsars, who ought to have had
 some regard to his memory, in
 consideration of this generous
 action, which, in spite of all
 their disguises, and false repre-

sentations, will recommend his
 name to the latest posterity.
Plutarch relates this matter some-
 what differently ; for, according
 to him, *Pompey* returned this
 answer to the proposal of *Menas* ;
 “ This you might have done,
 “ without imparting it to me ;
 “ but now let us make the best
 “ of our present condition ; for
 “ I cannot prevail upon myself
 “ to violate my faith once
 “ given.” From this answer it
 appears, that so great an advan-
 tage, joined to the pleasure of
 revenge, was a kind of surprize
 upon his generosity ; but it
 served only to make it break out
 with greater lustre, in rejecting
 a perfidious action, what profit
 soever might accrue from it (9).

(9) *Appian*, l. v. *Plut.* in *Antonia*.

for

for the four following years ; to wit, *Antony* and *Libo* for the first, *Octavianus* and *Pompey* for the second, *Domitius* and *Sofius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Cæsar* for the fourth. The consuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *C. Asinius Pollio*, who had succeeded *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus* ; but before their year expired, others, namely, *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *P. Canidius Crassus*, on what account we know not, were substituted in their room^o.

The pro-
scribed
citizens
return to
Rome.

ALL differences being thus composed, and, for a while, an end put to the civil wars, *Pompey*, taking his leave of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, returned to *Sicily*, and the other two to *Rome*, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to see themselves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of *Italy*. The joy of the people was doubled, upon the return of many illustrious citizens, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into *Octavianus*'s hands after the surrender of *Perusia* (W). And now *Antony* and *Octavianus*, after a short stay at *Rome* (X), took leave of

^o Dio, l. xlix.

(W) Among these were *L. Arruntius*, *M. Junius Silanus*, *C. Sentius Saturninus*, *M. Titius*, *M. Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *M. Cicero*, the son of the orator, and many other citizens of great distinction ; who, after having assured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgements, returned to their native country, where they were received with those marks of esteem and affection, which were due to their merit. The praises of *Pompey*, who had the glory of saving so many worthy men, and restoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true Roman.

(X) While *Antony* and *Octavianus* staid together at *Rome*, after the conclusion of the peace, they frequently diverted themselves with drawing lots, playing at dice, &c. when *Antony* was constantly the loser. As this gave

him a great deal of uneasiness, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an *Egyptian*, who was with him, and was deemed very skilful in the calculation of nativities, told him, That tho' the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by that of *Octavianus* : he therefore advised him to keep himself at a distance from that young man : " For your genius, said he, dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when absent from him ; but, in the presence of his, unmanly and dejected." This, no doubt, the impostor said to make his court to *Cleopatra*, by forcing *Antony* to leave *Rome*, and return to *Egypt* ; wherein he succeeded ; for *Antony*, who put great confidence in the skill of the *Egyptian* astrologer, left *Rome* soon after (1).

(1) Plut. in *Anton.*

each

each other, and, quitting the capital, set out, the former for *Greece*, and the latter for *Gaul*. Some nations beyond the *Alps* having attempted to shake off the yoke, *Octavianus*, to *Octavia*-whose share *Gaul* was fallen, marched against them in person; and, having easily reduced them, repassed the *Alps*, and stop-marches ped in *Hetruria*. As for *Antony*, he dispatched *Ventidius* into *Trans-Asia* to put a stop to the inroads of the *Parthians*; but went alpine himself no farther than *Athens*, where he spent the winter with *Gaul*, his new wife *Octavia* in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and childish diversions, as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria* (Y).

IN the mean time news were brought to *Antony* of a signal victory gained by *Ventidius* over the *Parthians*, for which he

(Y) Laying aside the ensigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exercises in the *Grecian* habit, like a private citizen of *Athens*. He often visited the academy, and the *Lycaum*, spending sometimes whole days in hearing the disputes and conferences of the philosophers. While he thus led an idle life at *Athens*, *Ventidius*, his lieutenant, was signalizing himself in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on against the *Parthians*. We have given elsewhere (2) a distinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that warlike nation by the brave *Ventidius*; and therefore shall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the same transactions. When news were brought to *Antony* of the signal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the *Greeks* of any rank, exhibited sports and shews, and presided at them in person, as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleased with the title of *Bacchus*, which divinity he took upon him to personate in a procession he made

upon the joyful tidings of the success of his arms in the East. During these public rejoicings, the *Greeks* set no bounds to their flattery; they fell prostrate before the pretended *Bacchus*, beseeching him to marry *Minerva*, the tutelar deity of their city. *Antony*, displeased with this gross flattery, consented to the match; but asked a thousand talents for the portion of the goddess. *Your father Jupiter*, answered one of the *Athenians*, *required no fortune with your mother Semele*. 'Tis true, replied *Antony*; but *Jupiter was rich, and I want money*. *Antony* would abate nothing of the sum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themselves, according to their custom, with satires and lampoons, of which his amours with *Cleopatra* were the chief subject. But he laughed at their jests, and took their money; though *Delilius*, to mortify them the more, gravely represented to him, that he acted therein against the *Roman* laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion (3).

(2) Vide vol. xi. p. 36---38.
Dio, *ibid*.

(3) Plut. in *Anton*. Appian. *ibid*. &

*Resolves
to march
into the
East.*

*His lieu-
tenant
Ventidius
gains
great ad-
vantages
over the
Parthians.*

*Is dismis-
sed by An-
tony.*

*Antony
besieges
Samofata.*

made great rejoicings; but, being informed, at the same time, that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations, with a design to invade *Syria* anew, and thinking it no-way consistent with his reputation to continue idle at *Athens*, and suffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he assembled his troops early in the spring, and reassumed, with the marks of his dignity, all the majesty of a *Roman* general. When his army was ready to march, he made himself a garland of the olive-tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and filled a vessel with the water of the *Clepsydra* to carry along with him (Z). At length he left *Athens*, after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the East. But, before he got thither, *Ventidius* gained a third victory, far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and redeemed the honour of the *Roman* name, which had suffered much ever since the battle of *Carrhæ*; for *Pacorus* himself, with above twenty thousand of his best men, was slain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our history of the *Parthians* ^{p.} Had *Ventidius* pursued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*; but, not thinking it prudent to push his good fortune any further, for fear of giving *Antony* umbrage, he turned his arms against those who had revolted in *Syria* and *Phœnice*, during the late war.

PURSUANT to this design, when *Antony* arrived, he was besieging *Samofata*, the capital of *Comagene*, whither *Antiochus*, king of that country, had retired. *Antony*, on his coming thither, dismissed this brave commander, and sent him to *Rome* to demand of the senate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a subaltern, whose glory eclipsed that of his general. *Antiochus*, from the beginning of the siege had offered to *Ventidius* a thousand talents for his pardon, and promised an intire obedience and submission to all *Antony's* commands. But, as *Antony* was then on his march, *Ventidius* ordered him to send his proposals to him; which he did accordingly; but *Antony* rejecting them, the besieged, dreading his resentment, defended the place with such

^{p.} Vide vol. xi. p. 38.

(Z) This was a fountain in the citadel of *Athens*, and was called *Clepsydra*, as being sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty, like those vessels which were antiently in use a-

mong the *Greeks*, and also the *Egyptians*, to measure time by the running out of the water. *Antony* imagined, that this water would not a little contribute to the success of his arms.

vigour and intrepidity, that the *Roman* general began to repent his not accepting the first offer, and was, in the end, glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred talents, that he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise, he feared, he should be forced to do in a shameful manner, his soldiers being highly displeased with his dismissing *Ventidius*, under whose conduct they had gained so many signal victories. After this, *Antony*, having appointed *Sosius* his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Palæstine*, left the army under his command, and returned to *Octavia* at *Athens*. He returns to Athens.

In the mean time new disputes arising between *Pompey* and *Octavianus*, the latter was wholly intent on making the necessary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to invade *Sicily*. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition; and that animosity between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey the Great*, which had laid waste the *Roman* world, was still subsisting in the minds of their children. The apparent subject of their quarrel was *Peloponnesus*, which had been yielded to *Pompey*, as we have observed above, in virtue of the treaty. *Octavianus* pretended, that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that *Pompey* ought to be responsible for them. On the other hand, *Pompey* maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to ensue, *Pompey* caused his old gallies to be refitted, and several new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plausible pretence for *Octavianus* to invade *Sicily*. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and assembled what ships he could on the coasts of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* seas. New disputes between Pompey and Octavianus.

POMPEY, informed of these preparations, blocked up the ports of *Italy* anew, and, in a short time, reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and seemed disposed to rise, if their grievances were not soon redressed. But *Octavianus*, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war, both by sea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the discontented populace. He wrote to *Antony*, desiring him to leave *Athens* for a while, and pass over into *Italy*, that they might confer together about the most proper measures for the crushing of *Pompey*, their common rival. He likewise acquainted *Lepidus* with his design, Rome reduced again to great straits.

1 PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. in Parthic. Dio, l. xlix. p. 405.

who was then in *Africa*, which had fallen to his share in the last division of the *Roman* dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all possible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade *Sicily* at the same time. *Antony*, in compliance with his request, came to *Brundisium*; but, not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to *Athens*; whether out of some distrust he had of *Octavianus*, or because he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (A). Whatever his reasons were, he reembarked, and returned to *Athens*, leaving a letter for *Octavianus*, wherein he exhorted him to stand to the conditions of the last treaty. As for *Lepidus*, who was a man of a lazy and indolent disposition, he spent the whole summer in making preparations, and did not leave *Africa* till the following year; so that the whole burden of the war fell upon *Octavianus*, whose boundless ambition would allow him no rest, till he had got rid of so powerful a rival, and made himself master of the wealthy island he possessed.

Octavianus falls in love with Livia, and marries her.

HOWEVER, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no small relief in the agreeable conversation of *Livia*, with whose charms, and refined wit, he was so taken, that, in the end, he divorced his own wife *Scribonia* (B), and married her, though then big with child, her husband *Claudius Tiberius Nero* not daring to withstand the inclinations of so powerful a lover. *Livia* had one son by *Tiberius*, who bore his father's name, and was, three months after her marriage with *Octavianus*, brought to bed of another, named *Drusus*. But of these two children, and their mother *Livia*, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. The charms of *Livia*, however

(A) One of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left intire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of *Brundisium* told him, that at break of day they had seen a wolf come out of his tent.

(B) *Scribonia* was the sister of *Scribonius Libo* father-in-law to *Pompey*. *Octavianus* married her with a political view; which was, to divert *Pompey*, by that alliance, from siding with *Antony*, who seemed inclined to espouse the quarrel of his brother *Lucius*, and his wife *Fulvia*. *Libo*, with

Saturninus, and some other senators, had already attempted to conclude a league between *Antony* and *Pompey*. *Octavianus* therefore, to gain *Libo*, who had a great ascendant over his son-in-law, married his sister, and had by her the famous *Julia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. But as in that marriage he had consulted his interest, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry *Livia*, who was accounted the most agreeable woman of her age.

powerful, were not able to divert *Octavianus* from the pursuit of his ambitious views. He continued, with the same ardour, his warlike preparations, recalled the legions he had left in *Transalpine Gaul*, and assembled a great number of vessels in the ports of *Hebruria*, and at *Ravenna*, on the *Adriatic* sea.

BUT, as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of *Pompey*, he must have put off his *Sicilian* expedition till the return of *Antony*, and the arrival of *Lepidus*, had he not been favoured by fortune beyond his expectation. For *Menas*, the famous freedman of *Pompey*, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his freedmen, killed by the senators who were about him, revolted to *Octavianus*; and, joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which he commanded, delivered up to him the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, over which he had been placed by his indulgent master. *Octavianus* received the traitor with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the privilege of wearing a gold ring, and sitting among the *Roman* knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This *Pompey* looked upon as a declaration of war; and therefore immediately sent out *Menecrates*, another freedman, and a mortal enemy to *Menas*, with a numerous squadron, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, which he did accordingly; but, being met on his return by a squadron of *Octavianus's* fleet, commanded by *C. Calvisius*, and his antient rival *Menas*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Menecrates* and *Menas* distinguished themselves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, animating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity, and therefore, regardless of all danger, fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. At length, after a long and most obstinate dispute between the two rivals, *Menecrates* being dangerously wounded, *Menas* boarded his gally, and made himself master of it. Hereupon *Menecrates*, choosing rather to die, than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himself into the sea, and perished in the waves. Upon his death *Democharis*, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, attacked *Calvisius's* squadron so warmly, that he forced him to give way, took several of his galleys, sunk others, and drove the rest against the rocks near the shore, where most of them were dashed to pieces; so that *Calvisius* escaped

Menas
Pompey's
freedman
goes over
to Octa-
vianus.

A new
breach be-
tween
Octavia-
nus and
Pompey.

Octavia-
nus's fleet
defeated
by Pom-
pey's.

by the favour of the night only with a few gallies, and took refuge with *Menas* in the bay of *Cumæ* ^r.

Octavianus is overcome in a sea-fight by Pompey.

Octavianus in great danger.

Octavianus's fleet wrecked.

OCTAVIANUS, who was then at *Tarentum*, where he had assembled a numerous fleet, upon the first news of this engagement, resolved to pass the streights of *Messana*, and join *Calvisius* and *Menas*, for whom he was in great pain. But, being attacked in that narrow passage by *Pompey* and *Demochares*, who was returned to *Messana*, most of his ships were either sunk, or dashed to pieces against the rocks. *Octavianus* himself gained the shore with the utmost difficulty, where he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands; who, having landed, and surrounded him, thought themselves sure of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country saved him; for, being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, thro' by-ways he reached the top of it, and there, with a few attendants, lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another. A slave of *Æmilius Paulus*, whose father had been proscribed by *Octavianus*, seeing the triumvir without his usual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old master; and therefore, approaching him with a dagger, attempted to stab him; but, missing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants ^s. While *Octavianus* lay concealed on the top of the mountain, *Cornificius*, who commanded under him, still maintained the combat with great bravery; and, having sunk *Demochares's* ship, continued fighting, notwithstanding the great loss he had sustained, till sun-set, when *Calvisius* and *Menas* appearing unexpectedly with their squadrons, *Pompey* thought it adviseable to sound a retreat. The next morning *Octavianus*, from the top of his mountain, had the mortification to see most of his vessels stranded upon the coast; some half-burnt, others still in a flame, and the sea, to a great distance, covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to see the enemy's fleet advancing full sail against *Menas* and *Calvisius*, who were now way in a condition to withstand them. However, they drew up; but, as they were ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and the sea began to run very high. Hereupon *Pompey* retired into the port of *Messana*; but *Octavianus's* ships were, for the most part, either sunk with all the men on board, or dashed in pieces against the rocks, and the shore. As the storm lasted all night, *Octavianus*, to avoid so dismal a sight, went early next morning to *Vibonium*, or *Vibo*, a city of *Brutium*; whence he sent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great

^r APPIAN. DIO, *ibid.*

^s APPIAN. l. v. DIO, l. xlviii.

care the coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* should attempt an invasion. But he was so far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that, by an unpardonable negligence, he suffered the poor remains of his shattered fleet to retire unmolested to *Vibonium*^t.

AND now *Octavianus* finding himself without ships or money, and, at the same time, the people at *Rome* being ready to rise for want of corn, he dispatched *Mæcenus* to *Antony*, soliciting his assistance against their common enemy. *Antony*, who was then in *Syria*, as we read in *Dio*, or at *Athens*, as *Appian* has it, promised to assist his colleague to the utmost of his power; and accordingly having, with all possible diligence, assembled his fleet, he sailed for *Italy* with three hundred ships. But, in the mean time, *Octavianus*, receiving news of a complete victory gained by *Agrippa* over the revolted *Gauls*, began to think, that he stood no more in need of *Antony's* assistance, and would willingly have dispensed with his civility. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore, under various pretences, would fain have declined going to meet him. These proceedings highly displeased *Antony*, who had for a long time been jealous of his colleague. However, as he designed to exchange with *Octavianus* part of his fleet, which would be of no use to him in his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at *Tarentum*, though he had been refused admittance at *Brundisium*.

Antony arrives in Italy.

AT length he began to grow very uneasy, and to complain of *Octavianus* in most bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon *Octavia*, who had attended him from *Greece*, though then big with child, prevailed upon him to send her to her brother, not doubting but she should easily clear up all their jealousies and suspicions. As she was on her journey to *Rome*, she met her brother, and had a conference with him in the presence of his two friends *Mæcenus* and *Agrippa*, whom she was willing to have for witnesses of what passed between them. After she had, with great prudence and address, answered the complaints of her brother against her husband, she conjured both him, and his two favourites, with tears in her eyes, to consider her circumstances, and not suffer her, instead of the most fortunate of women, to become the most miserable; for at present, said she, the eyes of the whole Roman people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties, which bind me to two of the greatest men in the world, being wife to one, and sister to the other. If rash counsels prevail, and war

Misunderstanding between him and Octavianus.

^t APPIAN, DIO, &c. *ibid.*

ensues, I shall be miserable without redress ; for, on what side soever victory falls, I shall be sure to be the loser.

Octavia brings her brother and husband to an interview. OCTAVIANUS, softened by the intreaties of a sister, whom he loved with the greatest tenderness, consented to an interview with *Antony* ; for which a place was chosen between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, upon a river bearing the name of the latter. *Antony* went thither the first ; and, as soon as he saw *Octavianus* advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other side the river. *Octavianus*, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the same ; so that the two boats met in the midst of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly contest on which side they should land. *Antony* was for landing on *Octavianus*'s side, and *Octavianus* on *Antony*'s ; but *Octavianus* at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his sister, who was returned to *Tarentum*. They walked together to the town, where *Octavianus* spent the night without any other guards about his person, but those of *Antony*, who likewise went the next day without guards, and passed the night in *Octavianus*'s camp. All little differences between them being made up in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that *Octavianus* should give *Antony* two of his legions to be employed against the *Parthians* ; and that *Antony*, in return, should leave with him an hundred armed gallies (C). Besides this, *Octavia* obtained of her husband twenty small ships, or, as *Appian* has it, ten triremes, for her brother ; and of her brother a thousand foot for her husband. That their friendship and union might be more lasting, *Octavianus* betrothed his daughter *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to *Antyllus*, *Antony*'s son ; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without consulting either the senate or people. After this *Antony* departed once more for *Syria*. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, whence, that she might not be exposed to the dangers of that expedition, he sent her back into *Italy*, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his children both by her, and his former wife *Fulvia*, to the care of *Octavianus* ^u.

Octavianus makes great preparations. OCTAVIANUS, upon the departure of his colleague, began to make vast preparations, both by sea and land, for his in-

^u PLUT. in Anton. APRIAN. p. 726, 727. DRO, l. xlviii, p. 390, 391.

(C) *Appian* says, that *Antony* yielded to *Octavianus* an hundred and fifty ships, and *Octavianus* to *Antony* twenty thousand men.

tended expedition against *Pompey*. He appointed *Agrippa* ^{parations} commander in chief of his navy; and that brave officer, in ^{for war} a few months assembled, with indefatigable industry, a fleet ^{against} able to cope with *Pompey's*. And now, both the sea and *Pompey*. land-forces being ready to enter upon action, *Octavianus* resolved to invade the island in three different places at the same time: *Lepidus*, whom he had sent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum*, on the south of the island; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the east side, at cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavianus* himself on the western coast at cape *Pelorum*. As for *Agrippa*, he was, with a numerous squadron, to cruise off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coast of the island, where *Pompey* was said to have assembled all his naval forces. *Menas* had already, out of his natural levity, *Menas a-* abandoned the party of *Octavianus*, and returned to *Pompey* *bandons* with his squadron, not thinking himself considered, as he *Octavia-* deserved, by his new master. *Calvisius*, though an officer *nus, and* of great experience in maritime affairs; was not employed in *returns to* this expedition, he having incurred the displeasure of *Octa-* *Pompey.* *vianus*, for suffering himself to be over-reached by *Menas*, when he deserted to *Pompey*.

AND now all things being ready, *Octavianus's* fleets, tho' in different ports, set sail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of *July*; both that day and month being sacred to the memory of *Julius Cæsar*. But they had scarce put to sea, when a violent storm arising, defeated all *Octavianus's* measures. *Statilius Taurus*, foreseeing it, returned to *Tarentum* with the hundred and two ships he commanded; but the squadrons of *Octavianus*, *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, suffered much; that especially of *Octa-* *Octavia-* *vianus*, who, on this occasion, lost six of the ships, which *nus's fleet* *Octavia* had given him, twenty-six others, and a great num- *wrecked* ber of light vessels, called by the *Latins Liburnicæ*. *Lepidus*, *a second* who was come from *Africa* with twelve legions, and five *time.* thousand *Numidian* horse, on board eighty ships of war, and a thousand transports, after having lost some of his vessels, landed at *Lilybæum*, in spite of the opposition he met with *Lepidus* from *Plennius*, whom *Pompey* had posted there with some le- *lands in* gions, and a great number of slingers and archers. All the *Sicily.* other squadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could (D).

AFTER

(D) *Pompey*, looking upon favour and protection of *Neptune*, these repeated shipwrecks in summer, when the sea is commonly calm, as visible tokens of the returned him solemn thanks for his assistance, and was so elated with this unexpected success, as to

Octavia-
nus refits
his fleet.

AFTER this disaster, *Octavianus*'s chief care was to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the disturbances which the news of this disaster might raise in *Rome*. Thither he dispatched *Mæcenæ*s, who, with his usual address, soon calmed the minds of the people. At the same time he went in person to the several ports, where his ships had taken shelter; and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to sea again before the end of the summer. In this second attempt he was attended with better success than in the former; for *Messala Corvinus* landed safe with three legions, and encamped near *Taurominium* at a small distance from *Lepidus*; several other legions were set ashore, without meeting with any considerable opposition, in other places of the island; and *Statilius Taurus* made himself master of cape *Scylaceum* on the continent, which *Pompey* had seized. But, on the other hand, *Papias*, one of *Pompey*'s admirals, falling in with a squadron, which was conveying four legions to *Lepidus*, attacked the transports, took some of them, sunk others, and obliged the rest to return to *Africa*. In this encounter two of *Lepidus*'s legions were either taken, drowned, or cut in pieces.

Hiera
taken by
Agrippa,

and one of
Pompey's
squadrons
defeated.

In the mean time *Octavianus*, who was then with his fleet in the port of *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* islands, observing all the coast of *Sicily* on that side lined with *Pompey*'s forces, left the command of the fleet to *Agrippa*, and returned to *Vibonium*, to hasten the departure of the rest of his ships. Upon his departure, *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of signalizing his valour, made himself master of *Hiera*, one of the *Æolian* islands, a place of the utmost importance. From thence he steered his course towards *Mylæ*, with a design to surprise *Demochares*, who had in that port a fleet of forty sail under his command. But, being informed that *Papias* was advancing to the relief of *Demochares*, he thought it advisable first to engage the former; which he did accordingly, and gained a complete victory, *Papias*, who behaved on this occasion with unparalleled bravery, having lost thirty gallies, and *Agrippa* only five. Upon the news of this victory, *Octavianus*, who was then at *Scylaceum*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, embarked the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Taurominium*, with a design to besiege that place. But, in the mean time, *Pompey* appearing unexpectedly on the coast with his fleet, both *Octa-*

stile himself the son of Neptune. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, thinking himself ill used by that deity, never forgave him; but

caused his statue several years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated.

vianus,

vianus, and his troops, were struck with such terror, that *Pompey* might have easily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far spent, instead of attacking them without loss of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there spent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp.

NEXT morning, by break of day, *Octavianus*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, *L. Cornificius*, *Titinius*, and *Carcus*, and went on board his fleet. But, flying from one danger, he fell into another; for *Pompey*, not thinking it adviseable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and soon convinced his rival, that, if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. *Octavianus's* fleet was put to flight at *Pompey* the first onset; several of his ships were taken; and the rest, defeats a small number only excepted, either sunk or burnt. As the squadron battle was fought near the shore, such of *Octavianus's* men as commanded by *Octavianus*, could swim, took refuge in the camp of *Cornificius*; but the rest were, for the most part, either drowned or taken. As *Octavianus* himself, he made his escape in a boat; and, who is in great danger, leaving his troops ashore to shift for themselves, made *Abala*, a city on the coast of *Italy*, being attended only by one domestic. As he was quite spent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin, on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open shore, and fell into so sound a sleep, that he was carried, without waking, by some officers who knew him, to a camp, which *Messala* had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coast (E). His first care, after he awaked, was, to provide for the safety of the troops he had left in *Sicily* under the command of *Cornificius*. With this view he immediately dispatched a messenger to *Agrippa*, injoining him to send forthwith a strong body of legionaries under the command of *Laronius*, to their assistance. And indeed *Cornificius* was reduced to the utmost extremity. He could receive no provisions by sea, which was beset by the enemy's victorious fleet, reduced to and all convoys by land were intercepted by *Pompey's* *Numidian* cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what route to take. At length he resolved to march towards *Mylæ*, which *Agrippa* had

(E) An accident is said to have happened to him here, which, however frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at last. A large fish, leaping out of the sea, fell at his feet; and this the

augurs, who were consulted on such occasions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the sea, by this tribute and submission, had acknowledged his power.

seized;

but re-
lieved by
Agrippa.

Messana
invested by
Octavia-
nus and
Lepidus.

Pompey
challenges
Octavia-
nus ;
who ac-
cepts the
challenge.

seized ; but was so harassed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to despair, and give themselves up for lost. *Cornificius*, with his words and example, supported their drooping courage, till they found themselves shut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called *The fiery brook*. As the ground was here covered all over with dust and ashes, thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any springs or rivulets, they must inevitably have perished with thirst, or surrendered at discretion, had not the succours sent by *Agrippa*, coming very seasonably, disengaged them from the desperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the *Roman* legions, the *Numidians* retired, leaving *Cornificius* to pursue his march without the least disturbance. That general was so pleased with his retreat, that, on his return to *Rome*, when he happened to sup at his friends houses, he always came home mounted, as it were in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made use of that warlike animal in his retreat ^w.

In the mean time *Octavianus*, returning to *Sicily*, had joined *Agrippa* in the neighbourhood of *Tyndaris*, where he was encamped with twenty-one legions, two thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards *Messana*, with a design to besiege that place, hoping thereby to draw *Pompey* to a battle, who had lodged all his military stores, provisions, and treasures, in that city. As they approached the place, *Lepidus*, whom *Octavianus* had acquainted with his design, joined them with all his sea and land-forces ; and the city was closely invested both by sea and land. *Pompey*, having assembled into one body all the troops he had dispersed up and down the island, posted himself at a small distance from *Octavianus*'s camp, and at the same time drew together his several squadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After several motions, and slight engagements, between the fleets as well as the land-forces, *Pompey* challenged *Octavianus* to put an end to their differences by a sea-fight with three hundred ships on a side. This proposal was no-way agreeable to *Octavianus*, who had not hitherto been attended with any great success by sea. However, depending upon the valour and experience of *Agrippa* on one side, and, on the other, suspecting the fidelity of *Lepidus*, who had, according to some, twelve, according to others, twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge ; and a day was appointed for the decisive action. Great

^w LIV. l. cxxix. VELL. PATERC. l. iii. c. 79. SUET. in Octavio, APPIAN. l. v. DIO, l. xlix. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

preparations were made on both sides for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties.

WHEN the day agreed on came, both fleets appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between *Mylæ* and *Naulocus*; upon which the two armies ran to the shore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great measure depended. The signal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is peculiar to men who are more animated by private hatred, and party-rage, as happens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conquest. *Agrippa* behaved with his usual bravery, and *Pompey*, knowing all lay at stake, distinguished himself, from the beginning of the action to the end, in a very eminent manner. Never was victory disputed with more obstinacy, the soldiers, as well as officers, of both parties, fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible resolution and intrepidity. The sea was covered to a great distance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but shouts of the soldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men perishing in the waves. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length, all yielding to the valour, and superior conduct, of *Agrippa*, *Pompey's* fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate *Roman* obliged, in spite of his utmost efforts, to own himself conquered. Of his numerous fleet, only seventeen vessels escaped, the rest being taken, burnt, or sunk (F). He might, after this defeat by sea, have repaired to his

A general action at sea between Pompey and the two triumvirs.

Pompey intirely defeated.
Year of the flood 2317.
Bef. Chr. 31.
Of Rome 717.

* LIV. VELL. PATERCUL. SUET. APPIAN. DIO, OROS. ibid. FLOR. l. iv. c. 18.

(F) *Demochares*, one of his admirals, was taken prisoner, but laid violent hands on himself, to avoid the disgrace of being led in triumph. *Apollonphanes*, his other admiral, yielded up himself, and his gally, to *Agrippa*, in the very beginning of the action. What became of *Papias*, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great trust, we know not, none of the antients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. As for *Menas*, he had long before the battle, with his usual inconstancy and perfidiousness, aban-

doned *Pompey* the second time, and gone over with his squadron to *Octavianus*, who received him rather to weaken the enemy's party, than to strengthen his own; for, knowing he was not a man to be trusted, he gave him no command, and displaced all the officers of the squadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whose courage and experience were worthy of a more noble mind, retired, if we believe *Horace*, with great wealth, and served afterwards in the post of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was intirely owing

Pompey's
flight.

his land forces, and encouraged them with his presence; but, instead of that, he left them at the discretion of the conqueror; and, taking on board his daughter, and some of his friends, who were in *Messana*, together with the treasures he had lodged in that city, he passed the *Streights* in the night, and steered his course towards *Asia* with seventeen gallies, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. His design was, to throw himself upon the mercy of *Antony*, whose mother *Julia* he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when she abandoned *Rome*, during the war of *Perusia*.

UPON his retreat, *Tisienus Gallus*, one of his lieutenants, immediately submitted to the conqueror, with all the forces under his command. As for *Plennius*, who commanded eight legions in *Lilybæum*, upon the first news of Pompey's defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to *Messana*, and threw himself into the place, before *Octavianus* or *Agrippa* had any intelligence of his design. But, seeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of *Octavianus*'s absence to capitulate with *Lepidus*, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. *Agrippa*, whom *Octavianus* had left to carry on the siege with *Lepidus*, exclaimed against this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his colleague, which at farthest would be, he said, next morning. But *Lepidus*, without hearkening either to his remonstrances or in-

to *Agrippa*; for *Octavianus*, if *Antony* is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia; but in a great fright lay down in his gally, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beside himself, and continued in that posture till *Agrippa* had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that, at the time of the engagement, he was overcome with so profound a sleep, that his friends with much ado waked him, to give the word, and the signal, for the charge. Be that as it will, it would seem very strange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army should say, by

way of excuse for not discharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was asleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. *Octavianus*, however, did, in some degree, justice to the valour of *Agrippa*, honouring him with a blue standard, and a rostral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower-work represented the beaks of gallies. He deserved indeed a more substantial reward, having utterly destroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loss of three ships only of his own; but we shall soon see him raised to the greatest honours of the state, and distinguished by *Octavianus*, when absolute master of *Rome*, above all the subjects of the *Roman* empire.

treaties,

treaties, received *Plennius* into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. *Octavianus*, arriving at break of day, sent some of his friends to his colleague's camp, to complain, in his name, of these proceedings. *Lepidus*, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, answered with great haughtiness, that he would not suffer *Octavianus* to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply, *Octavianus*, having first gained over, by his emissaries, the greatest part of *Lepidus's* officers, repaired to his camp, attended with a strong body of horse, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He no sooner appeared, than *Plennius's* legions, whom he had already found means to corrupt, flocked to him, offering him their service. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon *Octavianus* at the head of his guards, killed his shield-bearer close by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in some confusion.

HOWEVER, the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who, with their ensigns displayed, marched out of their camp in good order, to join his rival (G). The unhappy triumvir, being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and, putting on a mourning robe, after having remained some time unregarded in the throng of those who made their submissions to *Octavianus*, threw himself at the feet of his colleague, and, with great meanness, begged his life, which was granted him with his estate, *Octavianus* despising him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* is the only writer who says, that *Octavianus* banished him to *Circeii*, a small town on the coast of *Latium*. That he attained to be one of the supreme governors of the Roman empire, was intirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wisdom, valour, or activity; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high station to which fortune had raised him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who held the Roman empire divided between them, the former having

(G) *Appian* tells us, that *Octavianus* went alone to the camp of *Lepidus*, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, *Pompey's* soldiers looking upon him with respect, and drawing round him. Hereupon *Lepidus* ordered his guards to disperse them, and

fall upon *Octavianus*, who, notwithstanding the wound he received, went to the place where the eagles of the legions were kept, and, taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him; which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

all the East from the borders of *Illyricum*, and the *Adriatic* gulf, and the latter all the rest^y (H).

OCTAVIANUS, having staid some time in *Sicily*, to settle affairs there, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy: the senate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the success of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he assembled the senate, according to custom, in the temple of *Bellona*; where, in a studied speech, which he caused afterwards to be published, he gave the conscript fathers an account of his expedition, and assured them, that he had undergone so many toils and dangers with no other view but to restore peace and tranquillity to *Rome*. When he had ended his speech, he withdrew; and the senators, who were no more swayed with the love of liberty, but a spirit of slavery, and

^y APPIAN. l. v. p. 741. DIO, l. xlix. p. 398. SUTTONIUS in Octavio.

(H) The war in *Sicily* being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and strength, began to mutiny, and demand, in a tumultuous manner, their discharge, and the same rewards which had been bestowed on those who had overcome *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the plains of *Philippi*. *Octavianus* endeavoured to appease the mutineers, by telling them, that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of *Antony* from the east; adding, that the *Illyrians*, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing else could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refused to march, till he had satisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loss what to do, caused several crowns, bracelets, spears, &c. to be brought out for such of the soldiers as had distinguished themselves in the war, and scarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name *Ostilius*, told him with a great deal of insolence, *That he might keep those babbles for children; but, as for his soldiers, nothing would satisfy them but money or land.* At these words the whole army shouted, and *Octavianus* in a great passion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune disappeared that night, and was never after seen or heard of, nobody doubting but he had been privately dispatched by *Octavianus's* orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for, whenever *Octavianus* appeared, they cried out all with one voice, *Money, or our discharge*; insomuch that he was at length obliged to dismiss those whose time of service was expired, to the number of twenty thousand. The others he pacified with large promises, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the *Sicilians*.

the

the meanest flattery, decreed him such honours as he himself *Honours* was ashamed to assume. However, he gave them leave to *decreed to* erect a statue of gold to his honour in the forum, with this *Octavia-* inscription; *To Cæsar, for having restored peace by sea and nus by the* land; and to appoint an annual feast to be celebrated on the *senate.* day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him; but he was satisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of *November*². After his ovation, he assembled the people; and, having returned them thanks for the honour they had bestowed on him, he lessened the taxes, and forgave those, who had hired houses of the public, all the rents they owed to the treasury. As the city, as well as the *He courts* country, had been greatly infested, during the late troubles, with *and gains* thieves and robbers, he charged *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to pursue them with fire and sword; and established at *the affec-* *Rome* several companies for the guard of the city, under the *tions of the* command of an officer, whom he stiled *præfectus vigilum*. By *people.* this means peace and tranquillity were restored, not to *Rome* only, but to all *Italy*; which, together with the plenty he procured, being now master of *Sicily*, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that some cities went even so far as to erect altars to their benefactor, especially after one generous action, which inspired them with an high opinion of his prudence and good-nature. He had found, among *Pompey's* papers, a great many letters to him from some of the chief men in the senate. These he brought into the forum, and, before all the people, threw them unopened into the fire, protesting, that he sacrificed his private resentments to the good of the public. At the same time he solemnly declared, that his intention was, to resign his authority as soon as *Antony* should return from the *Parthian* war. This declaration, however insincere, absolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiscerning multitude, who immediately chose him *He is cho-* tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might *sen perpe-* induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He *tual tri-* readily accepted the perpetual tribuneship, which rendered his *bune of the* person sacred and inviolable; but put off the suppression of *people.* the triumvirate till the return of *Antony*, dispatching in the mean time *Bibulus*, to impart to him his resolution. After this, *Octavianus* left *Rome*, and marched, at the head of his army, against the *Illyrians*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Pompey* occasioned *Pompey* great disturbances in the east. From *Sicily* he sailed to the *raises new* island of *Lesbos*, where he was informed of the bad success *troubles in* *Asia*;

² APPIAN. l. v. p. 746. DIO, l. xlix. p. 400. SUEt. ibid. c. 22. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

but is de-
feated,
taken pri-
soner, and
put to
death.

The Ro-
man state
involved
in new
troubles.

which had attended *Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking *Antony's* post in the East, or at least of sharing with him the empire. With this view, he sent embassadors to the kings of *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Parthia*, soliciting their friendship, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the same time he drew together what troops he could, giving out, that he had no other design but to assist *Antony*, and defend himself against *Octavianus*. *Antony*, informed of these proceedings, commanded *Marcus Titius* to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in *Syria*, and watch the motions of *Pompey*. *Titius* was ordered to receive him with all possible marks of honour, if he yielded up himself, and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces, if he refused to submit. But *Pompey*, before the arrival of *Titius*, had pulled off the mask, and taken several cities of *Asia Minor*, among the rest, *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*. Hereupon *Titius*, taking with him *Furnius*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Asia*, marched against him, and, having defeated his small army, obliged him to surrender at discretion. As soon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death; but, soon after, changing his mind, he sent a second letter, ordering his lieutenant to save him. But, the second messenger arriving before the first, *Titius* perversely interpreting the last order he received to be the last that was sent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had formerly served under him, but abandoned him to side with *Antony*, lest he should be once in a condition, if his life were spared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered *Titius* so odious to the *Roman* people, who still retained a great regard for *Pompey*, and his family, that they could never after bear the sight of him; but drove him out of the circus with hisses and curses, even while he was exhibiting to them games and shews at his own expence^a.

It was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil wars. But the unbounded ambition of *Octavianus* and *Antony* soon involved the *Roman* state in new troubles. The passion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant presents of whole provinces, which he bestowed on her, served *Octavianus* for a specious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was, to get rid of a competitor so formidable, both for his valour, and the high reputation he had gained among the soldiery. *Antony* had left *Octavia* in *Italy*, as we have related above, and passed into *Syria*;

^a APPIAN. p. 747. DIO, p. 402. STRABO, l. iii. p. 141. LIV. epit. l. cxxxii. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 82. & 97.

whither he invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnice*, *Cœle-syria*, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. These Antony's profuse gifts much displeased the Roman people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule, on account of the scandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after, he marched against the *Parthians* with thirteen legions, ten thousand *Gaulish* or *Spanish* horse, and above thirty thousand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the East tremble, served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related at large in our history of the *Parthians*^b. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only which might hasten his return to that bewitching woman, the Romans were highly incensed against him. But what most of all provoked them, was, his taking *Artabazes* king of *Armenia* in a most treacherous manner, as we have related in the history of that kingdom, and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*, the Romans, looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city.

OCTAVIANUS took advantage of Antony's impolitic conduct, to estrange more and more the minds of the people from him; and, when he found their spirits sufficiently exasperated, he resolved to send his sister *Octavia* to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Antony* was then returned from his *Parthian* expedition, and waiting at *Leucopolis*, or, as *Plutarch* calls it, *Leucocome*, for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, whom he had sent for. The queen arrived at last, bringing with her cloaths for the soldiers, and vast sums of money to be distributed among them. Almost at the same time *Niger*, one of Antony's particular friends, arrived from *Octavia*, who was already come as far as *thens*, with letters from her to her husband; wherein she acquainted him, that she had brought with her cloaths for his soldiers, a great many horses, and rich presents for his friends and officers, with two thousand chosen men well armed, to recruit the prætorian cohorts. These were very unwelcome news to the queen, who, knowing *Octavia* came only to dispute with her, and lay in her claim to Antony's affections, and dreading the presence of so virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love of him. When she was near him, she beheld him with languishing eyes, and a despairing countenance, like one beside herself with love. She let fall tears in his presence, and at the same time pretended to dry

^b Vol. xi. p. 40—44.

Cleopatra
prevails
upon An-
tony to
send back
Octavia.

them up in haste, and unobserved, as if she were ashamed to have him a witness of her weakness. By these artifices the crafty queen gained the ascendant over *Antony*, and prevailed on him to send word to *Octavia*, that she should not pursue her journey into *Syria*, but return to *Rome*. After this, he waited on *Cleopatra* back to *Alexandria*, where he passed the winter with that lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness.

Antony
gives new
occasion of
offence to
the Roman
people.

THIS injurious treatment of *Octavia* drew on him the resentment of all the *Romans*, who were still more provoked at what he did about this time at *Alexandria*. For, having feasted the whole people of that great metropolis, he assembled them in the gymnasium, and, causing a throne of silver to be erected there with two seats of gold, the one for himself, the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower seats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cælesyria*; and joined with her, as her colleague, *Cæsarion*, whom she had by *Julius Cæsar*. As for his own children by *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*; to *Cleopatra*, the twin sister of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phænice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Lesser Asia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *king of kings*. What seemed most remarkable in this solemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared dressed like the goddess *Isis*, and *Antony* like the god *Osiris*; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to those deities^c.

Octavia-
nus ac-
cuses him
before the
senate.

OCTAVIANUS, taking advantage of the general resentment against *Antony*, which this division of provinces occasioned at *Rome*, accused him, before the senate and people, of this and several other attempts highly injurious to the majesty of the *Roman* empire; which *Antony* being informed of, he sent some of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cause, and accuse *Octavianus* in his turn. The chief articles he preferred against him, were, 1. That he had not shared with him the island of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*: 2. That he had not made restitution of the ships he had lent him: 3. That, having abrogated the power of *Lepidus* his colleague, he had appropriated to himself his army, his government, and his revenues: lastly, That he had divided almost all *Italy* among his own soldiers, and reserved nothing for his. To these accusations

Articles
preferred
against
Octavia-
nus by An-
tony.

^c PLUTARCH. in Anton. Dio, lib. xlix. p. 415, 416. & lib. I. p. 421.

Octavianus answered, that he had not dismissed *Lepidus* from his government, till he had made it appear, that he was unfit to govern: that, as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with *Antony*, when he gave him his share of *Armenia*: and, as for *Antony's* soldiers, they could not surely value or claim a few acres of land in *Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media*, and reduced the wealthy empire of the *Parthians*, by the mighty exploits they had performed under the conduct of their invincible general. *Antony* was so provoked at this biting jest, that, though he had already marched as far as the river *Araxes*, with a design to invade *Parthia*, he dropped that expedition, and ordered *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith, at the head of sixteen legions, down to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, and there keep himself in a readiness to pass over into *Europe* at a day's warning.

As for *Antony* himself, he hastened with *Cleopatra* to *Ephesus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred vessels, of which the queen furnished two hundred, with twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army. *Antony* was advised by his friends to send back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the war; but she, dreading a peace might be made in her absence, upon condition of *Antony's* receiving again *Octavia*, and excluding her, prevailed upon *Canidius*, with a large sum of money, to represent to *Antony*, that it was not just to drive away a princess with disgrace, who bore so great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to disoblige the *Egyptians*, who made up so considerable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good sense, as was manifest from her governing so mighty a kingdom by herself. It was owing to *Octavianus's* good fortune, and *Antony's* evil destiny, that this counsel took place. *Cleopatra* was allowed to stay; and they both left *Ephesus*, and set sail for *Samos*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations, from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* sea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to send men, arms, and provisions. It was at the same time proclaimed, that all stage-players, dancers, singers, buffoons, &c. should repair to the same island; so that sometimes a ship, which was thought to be laden with soldiers, and warlike stores, proved fraught with scenes, machines for the stage, musicians, and players. Thus, while the rest of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kind of pleasures, reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places, to reside there. Thither each city, within the limits of *Antony's* government, was ordered to send an ox to be offered in sacrifice;

Antony resolves upon a war with Octavianus.

How he spent his time at Samos,

and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual dispute, who should make the most magnificent feasts; insomuch that it became a common question among the spectators, *What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, since they make such rejoicings at the opening of a dangerous war*^d?

and Athens.

He divorces Octavia.

FROM *Samos*, *Antony* sailed for *Athens*, where he lived after his usual manner, spending his whole time in luxury and voluptuousness (I). While he was at *Athens*, *C. Sosius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the consuls of this year, were obliged to leave *Rome*, not thinking themselves safe there, after they had taken upon them to defend *Antony*. They both took refuge in *Athens*, and incensed *Antony* to such a degree against *Octavianus*, that he solemnly divorced *Octavia*, and sent proper officers to *Rome*, to drive her out of his house (K).

DURING

^d PLUT. in Anton.

(I) *Cleopatra*, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours *Octavia* had received at *Athens*, insinuated herself, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the *Athenians*, who, in requital, decreed her honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed several of the citizens to wait upon her at her house with the decree. At the head of this deputation was *Antony* himself, he being free of *Athens*: and, as he was chosen their speaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people.

(K) The virtuous *Octavia* obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own house with all his children, except *Antyllus*, his eldest son by *Fulvia*, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in seeing herself looked upon as one of the causes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cause of the present breach; to wit, *Octavianus's*

unbounded ambition, which, not satisfied with one half of the *Roman* empire, aspired at the whole. But he had certainly been disappointed, had not *Antony*, according to his custom, spent so much time in idleness and debauchery at *Samos* and *Athens* with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occasion of his ruin. Had *Antony* immediately come to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, whereas his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and, besides, all *Italy* was in a ferment on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raising of the necessary sums; insomuch that it was looked upon as one of the greatest of *Antony's* oversights, that he put off the war till the next summer; by which time *Octavianus*, having quieted the people, put himself in a condition of

DURING *Antony's* stay at *Athens*, many of his friends, being *Antony* is ill used by *Cleopatra*, for opposing her design of attending *forsoaken* *Antony* in the war, abandoned him, and came over to *Octa-* by *severa* *vianus*; among the rest, *Plancus*, and *Titius* his nephew. of his *Plancus*, on his arrival at *Rome*, accused *Antony* before the *friends*. senate of several crimes, with so much venom and bitterness, that *Coponius* could not forbear saying to him, *Surely, you never observed what you now lay to Antony's charge till the evening before your departure*, reproaching him thereby either with baseness in enduring those crimes so long, or with stupidity, in not finding them out sooner (L). *Pollio's* conduct was as generous as *Plancus's* was infamous. *Pollio* had abandoned *Antony*, and led a private life in *Italy*, ever since his first intrigues with *Cleopatra*; but yet, when *Octavianus* pressed him to serve under him in this war, he answered frankly, *I have served Antony better, perhaps, than he has rewarded me: however, as the favours I have received at his hands are more known than the services I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms against him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the discretion of the conqueror.*

ANTONY had made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, and highly injurious and dishonourable to the *Roman* people, and lodged it with the *Vestals* at *Rome*. *Plancus* and *Titius*, who had been privy to all his secret counsels and designs, gave notice of it

of disputing the empire with forces equal to those of his enemy (4).

(L) *Plancus* was one of *Cleopatra's* most servile flatterers, and had been privy to all *Antony's* intrigues, debasing himself to the meanest employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen, and to other women. Though he had been consul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not ashamed to appear at the *Egyptian* court among common actors, buffoons, and stage-players, all wretches, whose birth was as mean as their profession. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to per-

fonate *Glaucus*; and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of an huge fish. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the *Egyptians* themselves. Besides, *Antony* abused and reproached him for some extortions, whereof he had been accused; which, as he was already despised by the *Egyptians*, he took so much amiss, that he laid hold of the first opportunity that offered, to abandon *Antony*, and join *Octavianus*, who received him with great demonstrations of friendship and affection.

(4) *Plut. in Anton.*

Octavia-
nus makes
use of An-
tony's
will to stir
up the
people a-
gainst
him.

to *Octavianus*, who immediately demanded it. The religious *Vestals* answered, that they could not deliver it up, without a sacrilegious breach of the trust reposed in them; but that *Octavianus* might, if he thought fit, come and seize it himself: which he did accordingly; and, having first read over in private, and made marks upon, those places which he thought most for his purpose, he called the senate, and caused it to be read to them. In this will *Antony* declared, that *Cæsarion*, *Cæsar*'s son by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of *Julius Cæsar*. This was dispossessing *Octavianus* of the inheritance which he held only as the adopted son of the dictator. By the same will he bequeathed most of the *Roman* territories, which were under his command, to *Cleopatra*, and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he should die, though at *Rome* itself, to be sent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried as she should direct. *Octavianus* insisted more especially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the *Roman* people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princess, who was an enemy to *Rome*. As these charges were undeniably made good from an authentic instrument, they estranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded his cause with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding, to punish a man in his life-time for what was not to be put in execution till after his death.

He is ac-
cused of
several
crimes by
C. Calvi-
sius.

HEREUPON *Caius Calvisius* accused him of several other crimes; to wit, that he had made a present to *Cleopatra* of the famous library of the kings of *Pergamus*, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes; that he had suffered the *Ephesians* to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently, at the public audience of kings and princes, received love-letters from *Cleopatra*, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when *Furnius*, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, he left him, and the audience, in the middle of their cause, to follow *Cleopatra*, who happened to pass by in her chair; that at a solemn feast he had risen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the guests looked upon as the signal of a private meeting, &c. The heads of this accusation, however ridiculous they may seem at present, were seriously proposed by *Calvisius*, and appeared of such moment and weight to *Antony*'s friends, that they sent one *Geminus* to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumspect; and that, unless he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of consul, to which he had been named for the year ensuing, of being stripped of all his

his governments, and declared an enemy to the Roman people.

The arrival of *Geminus* alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as one of *Octavia*'s spies, ridiculed him, and made him the constant jest of the table, where she took care to have him always placed at the lower end. *Geminus* bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But he, instead of giving him a private audience, asked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to Athens. The business I come upon, said he, well deserves a serious consideration, and is not to be talked of over a bottle.

One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as sober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you send back *Cleopatra* into Egypt. You have done very wisely, *Geminus*, answered the queen in a great passion, to tell us this important secret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack. A few days after *Geminus*, dreading the effects of *Cleopatra*'s displeasure, made his escape, and returned to Rome; whither he was followed by many of *Antony*'s friends, no longer able to bear with the ill usage they received from the imperious queen (M).

AND now *Octavianus*, finding himself in a condition to encounter *Antony* with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Antony*'s friends, who were still very numerous and powerful. However, *Antony* was deprived of the consulate, and his government was taken from him, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied besides, that *Cleopatra* had so bewitched *Antony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his senses; and that *Antony* was not to manage the war against the Romans, but *Mardion* the eunuch, *Photinus*, *Iras*, *Cleopatra*'s waiting woman, and *Charmion*, another of her maids, who were become *Antony*'s counsellors, and prime ministers of state (N).

THE

^c PLUT. in Anton. DIO, p. 421, 422.

(M) Among these were *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the historian. The latter had said at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that *Antony*'s friends drank vinegar, while at Rome *Sarmentus* was served with *Falernian* wine. This *Sarmentus* is mentioned by *Horace* (5), and

was one of *Octavianus*'s buffoons. *Cleopatra* took this raillery so ill, that she ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered; but he, being acquainted by one *Glaucus*, a physician, of her design, saved himself by flight, and retired to Rome (6).

(N) It is said, that this war

(5) *Horat.* l. i. satir. 5.

(6) *Plut.* in Anton. *Dio*, lib. l. p. 420.

The forces THE forces of the contending parties were answerable to of Octa- the empire they shared between them. *Antony* had under his vianus and command all the provinces from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* Antony. to the *Ionian* sea and *Illyricum*, and from *Cyrene* to *Ethiopia*. *Octavianus's* government extended from *Illyricum* to the ocean, and comprehended all the coast of *Africa* that was opposite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. Many kings followed *Antony's* fortune, and attended him in this war; namely *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, *Tarcondemus* or *Tarcondimotus* of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagene*, *Adallas* of *Thrace*. These attended him in person: but *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, *Herod* king of *Judæa*, *Amyntas* king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, only sent their quotas of forces. All these together made up an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. His navy consisted of five hundred ships of war, some whereof had eight, and some ten, banks of oars. As for *Octavianus*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ships, but those light, and well manned with sailors, rowers, and soldiers; whereas *Antony's* seemed built for ostentation, and, besides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to press in *Greece*, which had been ex-

was preceded by many signs and prodigies, which were all interpreted very justly, but not before *Antony's* defeat. The city of *Pisaurum*, where *Antony* had settled a colony, was swallowed up by an earthquake: a marble statue of *Antony* at *Alba* was observed to sweat for many days together. While he himself was in the city of *Patrae*, the temple of *Hercules* was destroyed by lightning; and at *Athens* the statue of *Bacchus* was, by a violent wind, blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and carried into the theatre. The *Gigantomachia* was a public edifice at *Athens*, where the battle of the gods with the giants was represented in painting. These

two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for *Antony*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a profession of imitating *Bacchus*, causing himself, for that reason, to be called young *Bacchus*. The same storm, falling at *Athens* upon the statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which had been dedicated to *Antony*, and were called *Antonii*, overturned them, without hurting others, that stood equally exposed. Some swallows built their nests in the stern of *Cleopatra's* admiral gally, called *Antonias*; but others drove them away, and destroyed their nests (7).

(7) *Plut. in Antonio.*

hausted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and, notwithstanding this, his vessels had not their full complement^f (O).

In the mean time the consular year expiring, *Octavianus* Octavia-
caused himself to be declared consul for the third time; and *nus's third*
took *M. Valerius Messala* for his colleague, in the room of *consulate*.
Antony, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according

^f PLUT. in Anton. DIO, p. 422, 423.

(O) Before these two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occasion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting letters to each other. *Octavianus* reproached *Antony* with the prodigality of his entertainments, and his intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, put *Octavianus* in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he presided, dressed like *Apollo*, while the other guests, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddesses, and passed the night in the most infamous debaucheries. This feast was called the *dodecatheon*, because the guests personated twelve gods and goddesses, had made a great noise at *Rome*, and had been the subject of many satirical epigrams. *Antony* had never been guilty of more infamous and scandalous debaucheries, than *Octavianus* was on this occasion. To these reflections he added *Octavianus's* hasty marriage with *Livia* against all rules of decency, his divorcing *Scribonia*, because she would not bear with the capricious humour of that new mistress; and on this occasion all the *Roman* ladies, with whom *Octavianus* had ever carried on intrigues, were brought

upon the stage. *Antony*, in one of his letters, reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed in all the engagements, at which he had been present, mentioning those shameful circumstances, of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon *Octavianus* wrote to him, that it was childish to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he should be suffered to land in *Italy* without molestation; that his fleet should have safe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to encamp on, and put themselves in order of battle. In return to these bravadoes, *Antony* challenged his rival to a single combat, though he was much older; and sent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their quarrel. However, nothing was done this year; *Octavianus* assembled both his fleet and army at *Brundisium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but the summer being far spent, and the tempestuous season of the year approaching, they both retired, and put their armies into winter-quarters (8).

(8) Plat. & Dio, *ibid.*

to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and *Pompey*, of which we have spoken above. *Messala* resigned the fasces on the calends of *May* to *M. Titius*, who had abandoned *Antony* together with *Plancus*; and *Titius*, on the calends of *October*, yielded his office to one *Cn. Pompeius*, of whose descent or services no mention is made in history.

Antony
encamps at
Aëtium
near his
fleet,

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. *Antony's* fleet sailed into the *Ambracian* gulf between the islands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*, and his army encamped at *Aëtium* near his fleet. *Aëtium* was a small city on the south side of the mouth of the gulf in *Acarnania*. While *Antony's* fleet was at anchor there, *Octavianus*, crossing the *Ionian* sea, surprised *Toryne*, a small city near *Aëtium* (P); and appeared the next morning, as soon as it was light, off *Aëtium* with his ships in order of battle. As *Antony's* legions were not yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board his fleet, and consequently must unavoidably have been defeated, had *Octavianus* attacked him. To divert him therefore for the present from engaging, which he knew was no difficult matter in the absence of *Agrippa*, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and sailed up into the mouth of the gulf, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; which *Octavianus* no sooner observed, than he retreated, as *Antony* had expected.

and Octa-
vianus on
the opposite
side of the
Ambra-
cian gulf.

The ex-
pl. its of
Agrippa.

OCTAVIANUS's land-forces were encamped on the other side of the mouth of the gulf of *Ambracia*, at a place where *Octavianus* afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called *Nicopolis*, or the city of victory. While he lay there, *Antony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much distressed his army &. In the mean time the brave *Agrippa*, with a squadron, and a considerable body of land-forces, ravaged the coasts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Antony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Asia*; and, making descents, stormed several cities; among the rest *Methona* in *Peloponnesus*, where *Bogud* king of *Mauritania*, who had sided with *Antony*, and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garison cut in pieces. From *Me-*

& PLUT. in Anton.

(P) This unexpected attempt occasioned great confusion in *Antony's* camp, by reason only a few legions were yet arrived, and they had no news of the rest. But *Cleopatra*, to calm their fears,

turned it into a jest: "Indeed" (said she) we ought to tremble "now that *Cæsar* has taken "*Toryne*;" alluding to the word *toryne*, which, in the language of that country, signifies a ladle.

thona

thona Agrippa sailed for *Leucas*, at a small distance from *Ætium*; and in the fight of *Antony* made himself master of that island, and the ships he found there. The cities of *Patrae* and *Corinth* were likewise forced to submit to him, after he had defeated *Q. Nasidius*, whom *Antony* had sent to stop the progress of his conquests. As he was returning from the coasts of *Greece* to join *Octavianus*, he fell in with *Sosius*, one of *Antony's* admirals, who had just put to flight *L. Taurus*, whom *Octavianus* had sent out with a numerous squadron to watch the enemy's motions. *Agrippa* attacked him with his usual bravery, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. In this engagement *Sosius* himself perished, and with him *Tracondimotus* king of *Cilicia*. At the same time a great body of *Antony's* cavalry, commanded by himself, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavianus's* cavalry under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. These advantages, and the arrival of *Agrippa* with his victorious squadron, induced *Antony* to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over-against the enemy's, and retire to *Ætium* on the other side of the *Ambracian* gulf, where the greatest part of his army lay.

WHILE he continued at *Ætium*, several persons of distinction, seeing his fleet so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himself spending his whole time with *Cleopatra*, abandoned him, and went over to *Octavianus*. Among these were the kings *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to *Antony*, could no longer bear with the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The unexpected desertion of *Domitius*, whom *Antony* looked upon as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much against the will of *Cleopatra*; for he sent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and servants; which so sensibly touched *Domitius*, who was sick of a fever when he fled, that he soon after died, his distemper being increased by the grief of abandoning a man, who by kindness requited his infidelity and desertion. The flight of *Domitius* proved extremely prejudicial to *Antony's* interest, most men believing, that a person of his understanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. *Antony* now began to distrust even his best friends, and caused some of them, upon bare suspicions, to be put to death; namely *Iamblichus*, a petty king of *Arabia*, who expired upon the rack, and *Q. Posthumus*, a senator of distinction ^h.

^h PLUT. *ibid.* VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 84. DIO, lib. l. p. 427, 428.

Canidius
advises
Antony to
dismiss
Cleopatra,
and
retire.

But Antony
resolves upon
a fight at
sea.

Burns several
of
his own
ships.

AT length *Canidius*, commander in chief of *Antony's* forces, arrived with the rest of the legions; and, soon after his arrival, as he saw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*. He advised *Antony* by all means to send her back, and retire himself into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, because *Dicomes* king of the *Getæ* was ready to join him with a great army. *Antony* was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but *Cleopatra*, whose words were oracles with him, byassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his own judgment, to hazard the empire, and his life, in a sea-fight. Being therefore determined, out of a shameful complaisance for *Cleopatra*, and against his own opinion, as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by sea, he began to make the necessary preparations for an action, on the success whereof depended the empire of the *Roman* world.

As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, he was afraid they would turn their backs as soon as the fight began; and therefore he set fire to all their ships, except sixty, which he spared, that they might serve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other squadrons from *Syria*, *Greece*, *Cilicia*, the kingdom of *Pergamus* and *Phœnice*, he chose the best gallies from three ranks of oars to ten. The rest he condemned to the flames for want of mariners (Q).

AND now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent storm, which continued for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded

(Q) While he was reviewing the troops that were to embark, an old experienced officer, who had often fought under him, and had his body covered all over with scars, called to him aloud, and addressed him thus: "O my
" noble general, why do you
" mistrust these wounds, and this
" sword, so as to put your con-
" fidence in rotten wood? Leave
" the water to the *Egyptians* and
" *Phœnicians*, men born and
" nursed up in that element;
" but give us *Romans* the land,
" where we are accustomed to

" brave death, and make our
" enemies fly before us." *Antony* returned no answer; only by his looks, and the motion of his hand, he seemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himself was far from being satisfied with the posture of his affairs; as manifestly appeared from his behaviour towards the pilots, who were for leaving their sails behind; but *Antony* obliged them to take them with them, saying, "We must not
" let one enemy escape;" which was putting a good face upon a bad cause (9).

(9) *Plut. in Anton. Dio, p. 428.*

Antony's right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius* The disposition of *Marcus Justeius* the main body. On *Octavianus*'s side, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right, the two and *Aruntius* on his left. As for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, they fleets. were both, according to some writers, in the right wing of their respective fleets; according to others, they chose no particular place for themselves; but went each in a light vessel from one division to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories (R). This day, said *Antony* to his men before the engagement, *I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promise you rewards answerable to so noble a conquest.* *Octavianus* gave no less hopes to his men, and with more confidence, having been animated by an happy omen, which he caused to be published throughout the fleet (S). *Antony* ordered

(R) According to *Plutarch*, *Antony* commanded the right wing in conjunction with *Publicola*. The same writer places *Octavianus* in his right wing, *Agrippa* in the left, and *Aruntius* in the centre (1). "The right wing of the *Julian* ships (says *Velleius Paterculus* (2)) was committed to *M. Larius*, the left to *Aruntius*, and to *Agrippa* the charge of the whole. *Cæsar* was present every-where. The command of *Antony*'s fleet was committed to *Publicola* and *Sofius*." As to the land-forces, it is agreed on all hands, that *Taurus* commanded in chief on the side of *Octavianus*, and *Cannidius* on *Antony*'s. *Antony* had on board his fleet twenty thousand legionaries, and two thousand archers (3); *Octavianus* eight legions, and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ships, *Florus* tells us, that *Octavianus*'s fleet consisted of four hundred sail, and *Antony*'s only of half that number; but what

was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all *Antony*'s ships had from six to nine ranks of oars; and, besides, they were so raised with turrets and decks, that they resembled castles and cities, making the sea groan under them, and the wind out of breath to move them (4). But, as to the number of *Antony*'s ships, *Florus* is contradicted by *Octavianus* himself, who left written in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch*, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ships (5).

(S) We are told, that, as *Octavianus* was going out of his tent at break of day to visit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or rather superstition, he asked the man's name. *My name*, replied he, *is Eutyches, and my ass is called Nikon.* The first of these names in Greek signifies happy, and the other conqueror. This seemed so lucky an omen to *Octavianus*, that he no longer

(1) *Plut. in Anton.*
(4) *Flor. l. iv. c. 11.*

(2) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 85.*
(5) *Plut. ibid.*

(3) *Plut. ibid.*

ordered the commanders of his ships to receive the enemy without stirring, but lying still as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulf. *Agrippa* was not for attacking him in that posture; and therefore kept about eight furlongs distant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale springing up, *Antony's* men, impatient of further delays, and trusting to the bulk and height of their ships, put their left wing in motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great satisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the enemy as far out of the streights as possible, that his galleys, which were light, and nimble sailors, might have an opportunity of surrounding *Antony's* heavy ships, whose bulk, and want of hands in proportion to their rates, made them unwieldy, and unfit for service.

The battle
of Acti-
um.

Year of
the flood

2319.

Bef. Chr.

29.

Of Rome

719.



ON this side the action began; but in a different manner from what was then used in sea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ship against another, *Antony's* vessels being, on account of their size, incapable of a violent motion; and, on the other hand, *Octavianus's* ships not daring to approach them for fear of splitting against their sides, which were armed with strong square pieces of wood fastened together with massy pins of iron; so that this engagement resembled a land-fight, or rather the attack of some strong place. *Octavianus's* soldiers attacked the enemy with pikes, javelins, darts, and several inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while *Antony's* men defended themselves with showers of darts and arrows, which they discharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time *Agrippa* ordered *Aruntius* to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made *Publicola* advance to prevent it; but, as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore in upon it, and put it in disorder. However, the victory still remained doubtful, *Antony's* soldiers, who were all chosen men, defending themselves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight lasted several hours, with as fair a prospect of success for *Antony*, as for *Octavianus*, the mariners and soldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged

doubted of victory; and, when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and

the other his ass (6). *Pliny* adds (7), that, as *Octavianus* was sacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(6) *Plut. in Anton. Suet. in Octav. c. 96.*

(7) *Plin. l. xi. c. 37.*

by the shouts of their respective armies, who waited the event of the engagement drawn up in battle-array, the one on the north side, and the other on the south side, of the *Ambracian* gulf.

WHILE the two parties were thus contending with great fury and obstinacy for victory, *Cleopatra's* sixty gallies, croud-
ing all their sails, advanced unexpectedly between the two
fleets. This sudden motion equally surprised both navies.
Antony, whose centre was already in disorder, expected some
gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the
present danger. He was therefore struck with amazement, *The flight*
when he saw the whole *Egyptian* squadron, instead of falling of *Cleo-*
upon the enemy, tack about, and with a fair wind steer their *patra,*
course towards *Peloponnesus*. Here *Antony* betrayed a weak-
ness hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* ob-
serves, the antient saying, that *a lover's soul lives in another*
body; for love getting the better of his ambition, and of all
other regards, he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail,
than, forgetting the duty of a general, and renouncing the
empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend
than her absence, he threw himself into a gally of five ranks
of oars; and, attended only by two domestics, *Scellius* and
Alexander the *Syrian*, he abandoned his men, who were ge-
nerously sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base *who is*
woman, who had long since begun, and was now accomplish- *followed*
ing, his destruction. As soon as he came up with *Cleopatra's* *by An-*
gally, he was taken on board; but, without so much as see-
ing her, he placed himself at the stern; and there, leaning his
elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one
confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct, he con-
tinued a long while in that melancholy posture i.

THE gallant behaviour of *Antony's* troops on this occasion *The gal-*
cannot be sufficiently admired and commended; for tho' their *lant beha-*
general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was *viour of*
spread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the same ar- *Antony's*
dour and intrepidity, as if he had been present; and would in *troops.*
all likelihood have gained the victory, which they disputed till
late at night, if a stiff gale, which blew hard astern, had
not dispersed their vessels, and given the enemy an oppor-
tunity of falling upon them while in disorder, and destitute
of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ships yielded to the *His fleet*
conqueror; but there were not above five thousand of the *is over-*
enemy slain in the whole action, as *Octavianus* himself left *come,*

¹ PLUT. in Anton. DIO, lib. I. p. 439, 440. FLOR. I. IV.
C. II. VEL. PATERC. I. II. C. 83.

and his
land-
forces sub-
mit.

Octavia-
nus's con-
duct to-
wards the
conquered.

recorded in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch* * (T). *Antony's* land-forces shewed no less fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire, and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them, and *Antony* above all, who had so often seen fortune in all her shapes, as *Plutarch* expresses it, and been so accustomed to changes. They therefore expected he would soon appear from some part or other, and, putting himself at their head, give them an opportunity of shewing their fidelity and zeal for his interest and service. When they were at last thoroughly persuaded, that he was fled, and had deserted them, they nevertheless kept in a body, tho' quite surrounded both by sea and land, for seven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by *Octavianus*. At length, being abandoned by *Canidius*, and all their chief officers, who privately made their escape, they listened to the conditions which *Octavianus* offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous sea-fight of *Actium*, so much spoken of by the antients, especially the poets of that time ¹. It was fought on the second day of *September*, when *Cæsar Octavianus* and *Messala Corvinus* were consuls (U).

AFTER this defeat, the auxiliaries, who had served under *Antony*, retired to their respective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror on the best terms they could. Some of the princes he deposed, others he continued in their former state; but imposed upon them, as well as upon all the free states which had sided with *Antony*, heavy fines; whereby those unhappy countries were reduced to a most deplorable condition. As for the *Romans*, *Octavianus* pardoned some at the earnest intreaties of his friends, and his mother *Mutia*; others he punished with the utmost seve-

* PLUT. in Anton.

¹ Vide VIRG. l. viii. *Æneid*. OVID. metamorph. l. xv. HORAT. epod. 9. & PROPERT. l. iv. eleg. 6.

(T) And yet *Orosius* writes, that, on *Antony's* side, twelve thousand men were killed, and six or seven thousand wounded, of whom one thousand died of their wounds (8).

(U) As *Octavianus*, by this

ever memorable victory, became sole master of the whole *Roman* empire, *Dio* (9), *Suetonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*, reckon from this time the years of *Octavianus's* empire or reign.

(8) *Oros.* l. vi. c. 19.

(9) *Dio*, l. lv. p. 590, & l. li. in init.

rity (W). As to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus* the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a squadron of light gallies in pursuit of them; which *Antony* no sooner saw rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about, and face them. Hereupon they all gave back, except one commanded by *Eurycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, who, making up to *Antony's* vessel with great fierceness and intrepidity, from off the deck shook his lance at him in a threatening manner. *Who art thou*, cried *Antony* from the stern, *who hast the boldness to pursue me thus?* *I am*, answered he, *Eurycles the son of Lachares, brought hither by Cæsar's fortune to revenge my father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery. However, the *Lacedæmonian*, not caring to engage so renowned a commander, attacked another gally, and took her, with a ship, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. *Eurycles* retired, well satisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat, *Antony* returned to his former melancholy posture, and continued so three days, without seeing the queen, till he reached *Tænarus* in *Laconia*.

THERE *Cleopatra's* women brought them to see each other, and converse as formerly, *Antony* shewing himself as fond of her as ever, even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her, as the only cause of his ruin. At *Tænarus* he had an account of the total defeat of his navy; but, believing his legions still held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Asia*, proposing to renew the war there. As he was himself determined to retire into *Africa*, he gave one of his largest ships, laden with vast sums of money, and gold and silver vessels of an inestimable value, to his friends, desiring them to share it among them, and provide for their own safety; but they refusing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodness imaginable, complaining of his cruel destiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them such tokens of his acknowledgement and gratitude,

He continues his fondness for Cleopatra.

His generosity towards his friends.

(W) Among the latter was the son of the famous *Curio*, who had distinguished himself among the most zealous partisans of *Cæsar* the dictator, and had lost his life in maintaining his interest in *Africa*, as we have related above. His son followed the fortune of *Antony*, and therefore, being taken prisoner at *Actium*, *Octavianus*, without any regard to the important services of his father, caused him to be put to death (1).

(1) *Dio*, l. li. p. 443, 444.

as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greatest injury, suffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he absolutely commanded them to abandon him to his evil destiny, and consult their own safety. He wrote to *Theophilus*, governor of *Corinth*, desiring him to provide for their security, and keep them concealed till such time as they could make their peace with *Octavianus*. After this, *Antony* retired to *Africa*, whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and soon after followed her thither. But of the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavianus*, of the unhappy end of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and the affecting circumstances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, to which we refer our readers. All *Antony's* statues were thrown down, and intirely demolished, both in *Egypt*, and at *Rome*; his memory was declared infamous by the servile senate; and a decree was passed, enacting, that none of his family should ever after bear the name of *Marcus* (X).

BUT

(X) He died in the fifty-third, or, as some write, fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him seven children by his three wives *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, and *Cleopatra*; for he married the queen after his divorce with *Octavia*. What became of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his sons by *Cleopatra*, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter *Cleopatra*, the virtuous *Octavia* brought her up with her own children, and married her to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, one of the most learned and virtuous princes of his age. *Antyllus*, his eldest son by *Fulvia*, was betrayed by his governor *Theodorus* to *Octavianus's* soldiers, who, by his orders, put him to death. *Julius Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the same mother, became one of *Octavianus's* chief favourites; *Octavia*, whose generosity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having bestowed on him *Marcella*, one of her daugh-

ters by her first husband; but he afterwards indiscreetly engaged in a scandalous intrigue with *Julia*, *Octavianus's* only daughter, which cost him his life. *Octavia* had by *Antony* only two daughters, of whom the elder was called *Antonia Major*, and the younger *Antonia Minor*. The former married *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom she had *Cneius Domitius*, who, by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, was the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Antonia Minor*, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and son-in-law to *Octavianus*. From this marriage came *Germanicus*, who was deservedly esteemed the greatest general of his time, and the most accomplished person among the *Romans*, and *Claudius*, who reigned before *Nero*. *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the son of *Germanicus*, did likewise govern the *Roman* empire; so that *Antony's* family, in

BUT to resume the thread of our history : *Octavianus*, *Octavia* having reduced *Egypt*, and settled the affairs of the kingdom, *nus settles* left *Alexandria* in the beginning of *September*, of the present *the affairs* year of *Rome* 720. with a design to return through *Syria*, of *Egypt*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*, to *Italy*. On his arrival at *Antioch*, *Asia Mi-* he found there *Tiridates*, who had been raised to the throne of *nor, &c.* *Parthia* in opposition to *Phraates*, and likewise ambassadors from *Phraates*, who were all come on the same errand ; to wit, to solicit the assistance of the *Romans* against each other. *Octavianus* gave a friendly answer both to *Tiridates*, and the ambassadors of *Phraates*, without intending to help either ; but rather with a design to animate the one against the other, and by that means to weaken both, so far as to render the *Parthian* name no longer formidable to *Rome*. After this, having appointed *Messala Corvinus* governor of *Syria*, he marched into the province of *Asia* properly so called, and there took up his winter-quarters ^m. In the beginning of the next year *Octavianus* entered his fifth consulate, and had the following colleagues, *Licinius Crassus* to the calends of *July*, *C. Antistius* to the ides of *September*, and *M. Tullius*, the son of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He spent the whole winter in settling the affairs of the several provinces of *Asia Minor*, and the adjacent islands ; and early in the spring passed into *Greece*, whence he set out for *Rome*, *He returns* which he entered in the month *Sextilis*, afterwards called *to Rome.* *August*, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together (Y).

AND

^m Dio, lib. li. p. 447.

in spite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to *Rome* ; whereas none of *Octavianus*'s posterity ever enjoyed that sovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiously trod under-foot the most sacred laws of his country, and, by a thousand acts of cruelty and injustice, laid waste the *Roman* world.

(Y) The first triumph was for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and some *German* and *Gaulish* nations, whom he had conquered before his war with *Antony*. The second was for his naval victory at *Actium* ; and the

third for the reduction of *Egypt*. In the last, which was the most magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, whom *Antony* had by the queen ; and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of state, with an asp hanging at her arm. *Rome* was so much enriched with the immense treasures brought by *Octavianus*, and his soldiers, out of *Egypt*, that the value of money fell from ten to four *per cent.* and the prices of every thing else rose in proportion (2). After his triumph, the name of *emperor* was

(2) Dio, l. li. p. 458, 459. Suet. in Octav. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. c. 19.

Octavia- AND now *Octavianus* was at the height of his wishes,
nus enter- sole sovereign, sole master, of the whole *Roman* empire. But,
tains on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an usurped
thoughts power, appearing to him in a stronger light than ever, filled
of resign- his mind with a thousand perplexing thoughts. The natural
ing his aver- sion of the *Romans* to a kingly government, their love of
authority; liberty, and the ides of *March*, when his father *Julius* was
murdered in full senate by those very men, whom he thought
the most devoted to his person, made him fear there might
arise another *Brutus*, who, to restore liberty to his country,
might assassinate him on his very throne. This he knew had
happened to *Julius Cæsar*; whereas *Sylla*, after having laid
down the authority he had usurped, died peaceably in his bed
in the midst of his enemies. The passion of fear outweighed
in his soul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow
the example of *Sylla*. He was indeed very unwilling to part
with his authority; but fear began to get the better of his
ambition. However, before he came to any resolution, he
thought it adviseable to consult his two most intimate and
trusty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, the former no less fa-
mous for his probity, than his valour; and the latter a man
of great penetration, and generally esteemed the most refined
politician of his age. *Agrippa*, sensible only of that sort of
glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly
declared for a generous resignation. He enlarged on the many
and almost inevitable dangers, which attend monarchy, insup-
portable to a free people, and to men educated in a common-
wealth. He did not forget the examples of *Sylla* and *Cæsar*,
and closed his speech with exhorting *Octavianus* to convince
the world, by restoring liberty to his country, that the only
motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's
death.

but is dis- MÆCENAS, on the other hand, remonstrated to him, that
suaded he had done too much to go back; that, after so much blood-
from it by shed, there could be no safety for him but on the throne;
Mæcenas. that, if he divested himself of the sovereign power, he would
be immediately prosecuted by the children and friends of the
many illustrious persons, whom the misfortune of the times
had forced him to sacrifice to his safety; that it was absolutely
necessary for the welfare and tranquillity of the republic,
that the sovereign power should be lodged in one person, and
conferred upon him, not in the common sense, as it imported
only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a sovereign power,
and an uncontrouled authority (3).

(3) *Dio*, l. lii. p. 493, 494.

not divided among many, &c. *Octavianus* thanked them both for their friendly advice, but shewed himself inclined to follow the opinion of *Mæcenas*; whereupon that able minister gave him many wise instructions and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dio Cassius*ⁿ, and will ever be looked upon as a masterpiece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being successful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in history after his death, if he never deviated from this rule; to wit, to govern others as he would wish to be governed himself, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the sovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name so odious in a commonwealth, he might content himself with the title of *Cæsar* or *Imperator*, and, under that name, which was well known to the *Romans*, enjoy all the authority of a king.

THIS advice *Octavianus* followed, and from that time laid aside all thoughts of abdicating the sovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief, that they still enjoyed their antient government, he continued the old magistrates, with the same name, pomp, and ornaments, but with just as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old jurisdiction of deciding finally all causes, except such as were capital; and tho' some of these last were left to the governor of *Rome*, yet the chief he reserved for himself. He paid great court to the people: *He continues the old magistrates.* the very name that covered his usurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneship, tho' he acted as absolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewise won the hearts of the populace by cheapness of provisions, and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with shews and sports; and, by these means, kept them in good humour, and made them forget usurpation, slavery, and every public evil; people in ease and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or resenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel.

As for the senate, he filled it with his own creatures, and the raising the number of the conscript fathers to a thousand. *He courts the people,* He supplied several poor senators with money out of the treasury to discharge the public offices, and, on all occasions, affected an high regard for that venerable body; but at the same time divested them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. *He courts the people,* To prevent them from raising new disturb-

ⁿ Dio, l. lii. p. 464, &c.

He adorns
the city.

ances in the distant provinces, he issued an edict, forbidding any senator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except such as had lands in *Sicily*, or *Narbonne Gaul*, which at that time comprehended *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*. To these provinces, which were near *Italy*, and in a perfect state of tranquillity, they had full liberty to retire when they pleased, and live there upon their estates. Before he ended his sixth consulship, he took a census of the people, which was forty-one years after the last; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred sixty-three thousand, the greatest that had ever been found before ° (Z). He likewise celebrated the games, which had been decreed by the senate for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered, that they should be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of priests being appointed to take care of them; to wit, the pontifices, the augurs, the septemvirs, and quindecimvirs P. The more to gain the affections of the people, he annulled, by one edict, the many severe and unjust laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raised many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many stately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to some antient writers, about fifty miles in compass, and contained near four millions of souls, reckoning men, women, children, and slaves. He attended business, reformed abuses, shewed great regard for the *Roman* name, procured public abundance, pleasure, and jollity, often appearing in person at the public diversions, and in all things studying to render himself dear to the populace ¶.

AND now *Octavianus*, entering upon his seventh consulship with *M. Agrippa*, the third time consul, and finding all things ripe for his design, the people being highly pleased with his mild government, and the senate filled with his creatures, whose fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had usurped, went, by the advice of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s, to the senate-house; and there, in a studied speech, offered to

° Dio, l. liii. p. 496, & marmor. Capuana, tom. iii. Annal. PICHII, p. 495. P Dio, ibid. p. 496. ¶ Idem ibid.

(Z) Mention is made of this census in the marble tables of *Capua* in these words: "In my sixth consulship with my colleague *M. Agrippa*, I numbered the people, and made a census after forty-one years (that is, from the censorship of *Cn. Læ-* *tulus* and *L. Gellius*); in which four hundred sixty-three thousand citizens were numbered." Instead of this number, *Eusebius*, whom several modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand.

resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people upon the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well apprised, that the greater part of the conscript fathers, whose interests were interwoven with his, would unanimously press him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not only often interrupted him while he was speaking, but, after he had done, unanimously besought him to take upon himself alone the whole government of the Roman empire. He, with a seeming reluctance, yielded at last to their request, as if he had been compelled to accept of the sovereignty. By this artifice he compassed his design, which was, to get the power and authority, which he had usurped, confirmed to him by the senate and people for the space of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending he should, in that time, be able to settle all things in such peace and order, that there would be no further need of his authority; but that he might then ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the senate and people. This method he took to render the yoke less heavy; but with a design to renew his lease, if we may be allowed the expression, as soon as the ten years were expired; which he did accordingly from ten years to ten years as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole Roman empire with an absolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the senate resolved to distinguish him with a new name. Some of the conscript fathers proposed the name of *Romulus*, thereby to import, that he was another founder of *Rome*; others offered other titles; but the venerable name of *Augustus*, proposed by *Munatius Plancus*, seemed preferable to all the rest, as it expressed more dignity and reverence, than authority, the most sacred things, such as temples, and palaces consecrated by augurs, being termed by the Romans *Augusta* (A). *Octavianus* himself was inclined to assume the

(A) So *Ovid*, in the first book of his *fasti*:

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:

Hic socium summo cum Jove nomen habet.

Sancta vocant Augusta patres: Augusta vocantur

Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi:

Et quodcunque sua Jupiter auget ope.

All other heroes human honours claim:

With mighty *Jove* *Augustus* shares his name.

All sacred things our fathers term'd *August*:

Hence temples rais'd with ceremonials just.

Hence augury derives its awful sound,

And aught by *Jove* with augmentation crown'd.

The title of Augustus conferred upon him. name of *Romulus*; but, fearing he should be suspected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of *Augustus*^r, by which we shall henceforth distinguish him in the sequel of our history.

His policy in dividing the provinces with the senate.

THOUGH the whole power of the senate and people was now vested in *Augustus*, yet, that he might seem to share it with the conscript fathers, he refused to govern all the provinces, assigning to the senate such as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himself those, which, bordering upon barbarous nations, were most exposed to troubles and wars, saying, He desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but, by this politic conduct, he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen; and the others, which were governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. The latter were called *senatorial*, and the former *imperial*, provinces (B). Over the provinces of both sorts were set men of distinction, to wit, such as had been consuls or prætors, with the titles of *proconsul* and *proprætor*; but the government of *Egypt* was committed to a private knight, *Augustus* fearing lest a person of rank, depending upon the wealth and situation of that country, might raise new disturbances in the empire^s. All these governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their successors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at *Rome* within three months at the farthest^t. This division of the provinces was made, according to *Ovid*, on the ides of *January* (C); whereas

^r Dio, l. liii. p. 497. FLOR. l. iv. LIV. l. cxxxiv. ^s Dio, ibid. p. 504, 505. TACIT. annal. l. i. p. 35. ^t Idem ibid. p. 506.

(B) The senatorial were, *Africa*, that is, the antient dominions of *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Asia* properly so called, or the antient kingdom of *Pergamus*, *Greece*, stiled by most historians *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the island of *Crete*, *Libya*, *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and that part of *Spain* called

Bætica. The imperial provinces were, the rest of *Spain*, comprehending the provinces of *Tarracon* and *Lusitania*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Cælesyria*, *Phœnice*, *Cilicia*, the island of *Cyprus*, and the kingdom of *Egypt*.

(C) *Ovid*, speaking of this distribution of the provinces, addresses *Cæsar Germanicus* thus:

*Idibus in magni castus Jovis æde sacerdos
Semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis;*

Red-

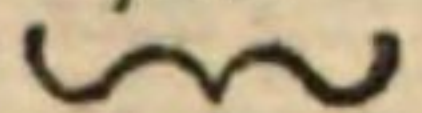
whereas he was vested, by the senate and people, with the sovereign power on the seventh of the ides of the same month, as is manifest from the *Narbonne* marbles ^u; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended *The end of the* the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the *commonwealth.* greatest monarchy, that had ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent, and continuance, all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it (D). *Year of the flood*

^u Vide inscript. GRUT. p. 229.

*Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
Et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus* (3).

2321.
Bef. Chr.

27.
Of Rome
721.



Great *Jove's* high-priest within his holy fane
Consumes the wether's entrails, newly slain:
Now ev'ry province to our empire bows:
Your grandfire, nam'd *Augustus*, claims our vows.

(D) It comprehended the greatest, and by far the best part of *Europe, Asia, and Africa*, being near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the *Romans* themselves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; those who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raise and depose great kings, to bestow or take away potent empires, were so sunk and debauched, that, if they had but

bread and shews, their ambition went no higher. The nobility were indeed more polite than in former ages, but at the same time idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, utter strangers to public glory or disgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and solely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready submission, acquiescence, and flattery. No wonder therefore that they lost their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

(3) *Ovid. fast. l. i.*

C H A P.

C H A P. XVII.

The History of Rome, from the perfect Settlement of the Roman Empire, to the Death of Nero, the last of the Family of the Cæsars.

THE first and chief care of *Augustus*, now absolute master of the whole *Roman* empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more and more to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over *Italy* in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, seventeen of which were in *Europe*; to wit, eight on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were sent into *Asia* and *Africa*, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and in *Syria*, two in *Egypt*, and two in the province of *Africa*, that is, in the antient dominions of *Carthage*. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by *Augustus*, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called *cohortes prætoriae*, or *prætorian cohorts*; and the other three *cohortes urbanæ*, or *city cohorts*. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who dismissed them all in the year 312. of the Christian æra.

The fleets.

BESIDES these numerous and well-disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets; the one riding at anchor near *Ravenna* in the *Upper* or *Adriatic* sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the *Lower* or *Mediterranean* sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to *Rome* the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions necessary for the subsistence and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the antient laws, and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held, as formerly, in the field of *Mars*;

The policy of Augustus.

but



AUGUSTUS,
born at Rome, reigned
55 Years, 8 Months, 2 Days,
died in the Year of CHRIST 14.

C. Grignion Sculp.

but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Augustus* had beforehand recommended to the centuries. In short, the same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments, were continued with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power ^a. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that *He is styled* they honoured him with the title of *Pater patriæ*, or *Father* *Pater patriæ* *of his country*.

TOWARDS the end of this year, *Augustus*, having settled *Goes into* affairs in the capital, left *Italy*, and passed into *Gaul*, with a *Gaul*. design to attempt the reduction of the *British* islands; but, being informed on his arrival at *Narbonne*, that the *Salassi* at the foot of the *Alps*, and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* in *Spain*, had shaken off the *Roman* yoke, he sent *Terentius Varro* against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his colleague *Titus Statilius Taurus*, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left *Gaul*, he took a census of the in- *The first* habitants of the three provinces into which that country was *census out* then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of *Italy*. *Italy* ^b.

ON his arrival in *Spain*, he defeated the *Cantabri* in a pitched battle near *Vellica*, at a small distance from the *Iberus*, and obliged them to retire, with their wives and children, to one of the highest mountains, called by the antients *Vindius*, and by the moderns the mountain of *Asturias*. But in the mean time *Augustus* falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to *C. Antistius*; who, having defeated *The Can-* the united forces of the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in a great *tabrians* battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible *and Astu-* mountain, which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch *rians de-* fifteen miles in compass, and fortified at proper distances with *seated* castles and turrets. By this means all the avenues and passages being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful *They fall* attempts to force the *Roman* intrenchments, the *Asturians* *out among* were at length for throwing themselves upon the clemency *themselves* of the conqueror; but were therein opposed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, to die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so

^a Dio, l. liii. p. 511. Suet. in Octav. ^b Dio, l. liv. p. 535. Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 39. Suet. l. ii. c. 26.

Great
numbers of
the Astu-
rians pe-
rish with
famine.

The Can-
tabrians
subdued;
Year of
the flood
2323.
Bef. Chr.
25.
Of Rome
723.
and also
the Astu-
rians.

far, that, after a sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the *Asturians*, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, whom they begged, in a most moving manner, to receive them upon what terms they pleased. But *Tiberius*, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others, lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames; and some put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the forest they possessed ^c.

In the mean time the consular year being expired, *Augustus*, who still resided at *Tarracon*, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth consulship, and chose for his colleague *M. Junius Silanus* ^d. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of *Spain*, after it had, for the space of two hundred years, and upwards, given the *Romans* constant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The *Cantabrians*, whom *Antistius* kept closely invested, were at length forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Of these ten thousand were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries, to be employed against the *Asturians*; the rest were disarmed, and sold to the best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives after the loss of their liberty and arms ^e. *Cantabria*, now *Biscay*, being thus reduced, *Augustus* divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of *Titus Carisius*, into *Lusitania*, whither some of the *Asturians* had retired, and the other he led himself into their country. The *Asturians* in *Lusitania* were, in a battle, which lasted two days, and was one of the most bloody that had ever been fought, intirely defeated by *Carisius*, who could not help owning, that the *Asturians* equaled in valour the *Romans* themselves. On the other hand, *Augustus* and *Antistius*, entering the country of those brave, but unfortunate people, cut most of them in pieces, and made themselves masters of all their cities and strong-holds. Thus were the two most warlike nations of *Spain* forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their antient liberty. *Augustus*, before he left the country, built several cities to keep the rebellious *Spaniards* in awe; among the rest *Cæsar Augusta*, now *Saragosa*, and *Augusta Emerita*, now *Merida*, so called, because it was founded by *Augustus*, and peopled

^c OROS. l. vi. c. 22. ^d SUET. in Octav. c. 26. ^e OROS. ibid.
DIO, l. liii. VEL. PAT. l. ii.

by his veterans, called in *Latin emeriti* ^f. He likewise built a stone bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops from one province to another.

THIS year several wars were carried on with equal success in other parts. *Marcus Crassus*, one of *Augustus*'s lieutenants, overcame the *Mæstians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube*. *M. Vincius* gained considerable advantages over some nations of *Germany*, for which the title of *Imperator* was conferred upon *Augustus*, under whose auspices *Vincius* had fought. *Terentius Varro*, surnamed *Murena*, reduced *The Salassi*, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he ^{laffi sub-} thought proper to impose upon them. After they had de- ^{duced.} livered up their arms, *Varro* sent forty thousand of their youth to *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years. *Augustus* divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called *Augusta Prætoria*, now known by the name of *Aosta* ^g. The whole glory of this expedition was ascribed to *Augustus*, tho' he was then in *Spain*, and a stately monument erected, by a decree of the senate, to his honour, in the midst of the *Alps*, on which were engraved the names of forty-three nations inhabiting those mountains, who were said to have been subdued by him, and brought under the *Roman* yoke ^h.

WHILE *Augustus* was waging war with the rebellious *Spaniards*, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inscribed his tenth ^{Cornelius Gallus} and last eclogue, was condemned to perpetual banishment by ^{banished.} the senate, for having spoken with too much liberty of *Augustus*. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and esteemed him on account of his fine genius, the first governor of *Egypt*, which he oppressed in a most tyrannical manner, stripping the most wealthy cities of the country, particularly the famous city of *Thebes*, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an absolute monarch, than a subordinate magistrate, erecting statues to himself in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inscribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged *Augustus* to recal him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his house, and the provinces under his command. Hereupon *Gallus* uttered many disrespectful speeches against the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanours, he was, by the unanimous suffrages of the senate,

^f Suet. in Octav. Dio, l. liii. p. 514. Oros. ibid. ^g Dio, Suet. ibid. Epit. Liv. ^h Dio ibid. p. 513, 514. Pcin. l. iii. c. 20.

He lays
violent
hands on
himself.

Pisidia,
Galatia,
&c. be-
come a
Roman
province.

The Pan-
theon.

The Sar-
matians,
Scythians,
&c. send
embassa-
dors to Au-
gustus.

condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by falling on his own sword ⁱ. *Augustus*, whose favour he had gained by his military exploits, and the elegance of his poetical compositions, is said to have wept, when he received in *Spain* the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to set what bounds he pleased to his resentment. However, he returned thanks to the senate for the zeal they had shewn on this occasion for the safety of his person, and the glory of his name ^k. This year died *Amyntas* king of *Pisidia*. He had been secretary to old king *Deiotarus*, and raised by *Marc Antony*, whom he served with great fidelity, to the throne, which *Augustus* suffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to transmit it to his posterity; so that *Pisidia*, with *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, upon his death, were reduced to a Roman province, and first governed by *M. Lollius* in quality of proprætor ^l.

DURING *Augustus*'s stay in *Spain*, *Agrippa*, who had remained in *Rome*, was no less employed in adorning with magnificent structures that stately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charges, the most remarkable were the porch and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths, called *Thermæ Agrippæ*, and the *Pantheon*, a celebrated temple, so named, according to *Dio*, from the many images of the gods with which it was embellished, or rather from its arched roof, which resembled the heavens. This wonderful structure was finished this year, in the ninth consulship of *Augustus*, and is preserved intire to this day.

WHILE *Augustus* continued at *Tarracon*, his health not allowing him yet to set out on his return to *Rome*, he had the satisfaction to see the most remote nations of the north and the east, that is, the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres* (A), courting his friendship with embassies, and rich pre-

ⁱ STRABO, lib. xvii. p. 819. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xvii. Dio, lib. liii. p. 512. EUSEB. in chron. ^k SUET. in Octav. c. 66. Dio, ibid. ^l Dio, p. 514. EUTROP. l. vii. SEXT. RUF. in breviar. EUSEB. in chron.

(A) The *Seres*, the same people whom we now call the *Chinese*, are thought to have been the first who made silk; whence silk was called *serica*, and a silken garment *sericum*, by the *Greeks* as well as the *Latins*. From the country of the *Seres*, that is, from *China*, silk was brought into *Persia*, and from *Persia* into *Greece* and *Italy*. It was first brought into *Greece* on *Alexander*'s conquering *Persia*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flourishing times of the *Roman* empire. It was for a long time very dear in

presents^m. *Florus* tells us, that the *Seres* were four years on their journey, and that they presented *Augustus* with pearls, precious stones, and elephants. The fame of *Cæsar's* moderation in the midst of his victories was what prompted those distant nations, if we believe *Suetonius*ⁿ, to solicit his friendship. The following year, *Julia*, *Augustus's* daughter by *Scribonia*, was married to *Marcellus*, *Augustus's* nephew by his sister *Octavia*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments, and already adopted by *Augustus*, who had no hopes of issue by his wife *Livia*, whom he passionately loved. As the emperor was still kept in *Spain* by the bad state of his health, the ceremonies used by the *Romans* on such occasions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by *Agrippa*^o.

^m FLOR. l. iv. c. 12. SUET. in Octav. c. 21. OROS. lib. vi. c. 21. EUTROP. l. vii. ⁿ SUET. ibid. ^o DIO, l. liii. p. 515.

in these western parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the *Persians*, to keep this manufacture to themselves, would not allow the silk-worms to be carried out of *Persia*, or any one to pass from thence into the west, who was skilled in the management of them. But the emperor *Justinian*, who died in the year of the Christian æra 565. looking upon it as a great hardship, that his subjects should purchase this manufacture of the *Persians* at so dear a rate, sent two monks into *India*, to learn there how the silken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them, on their return, some silk-worms, that he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These monks, on their return, told him, that the silk-worms could not be brought so long a journey: but the emperor understanding from them, that

their eggs might, he sent back for them; and by this means great quantities of these eggs were brought to *Constantinople*. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk trade, which have been since that time in *Europe*. The ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a silken garment. In the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, a law was made, *ne vestis serica viros fœdaret*, that is, that no man should dishonour himself by wearing a silken garment (1); and *Lampridius* reckons it one of the most infamous parts of *Helio-gabalus's* character, that he was the first man who wore *bolosericum*, that is, a garment, which was all of silk (2).

(1) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 33.

ad vocem Sericum, & de idololat. l. iv. c. 90. & Salmas. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad bist. August.

(2) Vide Prid. connect. & Voss. in etym.

New hon-
ours con-
ferred on
Augustus.
Year of
the flood
2325.
Bef. Chr.
23.
Of Rome
725.

THE ensuing year *Augustus* entered upon his tenth consulship, having *C. Norbanus Flaccus* for his colleague; but whether he was then in *Spain*, on his journey, or at *Rome*, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year, or the beginning of this, the senate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of all laws, and empowering him to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleasure. At the same time, by a solemn oath, they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, though then not not above sixteen years of age, should, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the senate among those of the prætorian rank, and that he might stand for the consulate ten years sooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewise ordained in favour of *Tiberius* son-in-law to *Augustus*, that he might stand for the curule offices five years sooner than the usual time. These decrees were no sooner passed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæstor P.

THIS, or, as some will have it, the preceding year, was remarkable for an expedition against the southern *Arabs*, undertaken by *Ælius Gallus* a Roman knight, and the third governor of *Egypt* under *Augustus*. The emperor, being informed, that *South Arabia* abounded in gold, silver, and other riches, resolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and so open a way for commerce with them, or by conquest to make them his subjects. He had also this farther view; to wit, in case he should, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himself an easy way for the subduing of the *Troglodytes*, their country being separated from *South Arabia* only by the narrow streights now called the *Streights of Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulf discharges itself into the southern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, *Augustus* furnished *Gallus* with ten thousand men; *Herod* king of *Judæa* sent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and *Obodas* king of the *Nabathæan Arabs* a thousand more, under the command of *Syllæus* his chief minister.

SYLLÆUS undertook to be *Gallus's* guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miscarry. *Gallus* had proposed to march through the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence into *South Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*; but *Syllæus*, falsely informing him, that there was no safe passage thither by land, he built an hundred and thirty transports at *Cleopatris*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulf, or *Red Sea*; and, putting his army

on board of them, sailed for *Leucocome*, a maritim city of the *Nabathæans* on the other side of that sea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus* conducted them the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost a great many ships. Upon his landing, his whole army was seized with a distemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive at *Leucocome*, and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the summer, and the following winter. Early next spring he set out from *Leucocome*; and, after a most painful march of six months southward, being led by the treacherous *Syllæus* through ways almost impassable, he arrived at length on the borders of *Arabia Felix*.

UPON his approach, *Sabus* king of the country fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by *Strabo* the city of the *Agrans*, which *Gallus* took by assault. From thence he continued his march southward, and arrived the sixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had assembled with a design to dispute his passage; but *Gallus*, falling upon them, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, with the loss of two men only. He then, without further opposition, made himself master of *Annestus*, *Asca*, *Magusum*, *Tommacum*, *Labecchia*, *Mariaba* a city six miles in compass, *Athrula*, where he left a garison, and *Caripeta*. From *Caripeta* he penetrated farther into the country, and, after some days march, came to *Marsyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, who were governed by a petty prince named *Ilasarus*. He besieged the place; but was obliged, after several unsuccessful attempts, to drop that enterprize, for want of water. In the mean time his men being seized with various distempers, occasioned by the heat of the climate, and the unwholsomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviseable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence pursue his route into *Egypt*. Accordingly, having by this time discovered the treachery of *Syllæus*, he set out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides; and came in six days to *Anagrana*; whence, after having put to flight king *Sabus*, who attempted to harass him on his march, he pursued his journey to *Negra*, called also *Hygra*, a maritim city of the *Nabathæan* country, which he reached in sixty days; whereas he had spent six months in marching from thence to the confines of *Arabia*. At *Negra* he embarked his troops, and, having crossed the *Arabian* gulf in eleven days, he landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* side; and from thence, by the way of *Captus*, led back the poor remains of his army to

He defeats the Arabs, and takes several cities.

He drops the enterprize, and returns to Egypt.

Alexandria, after having spent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the several skirmishes he had with the enemy, he lost only seven men; but the far greater part of his forces perished either by famine or diseases⁹ (B).

Candace
queen of
Ethiopia
invades
Egypt;

but is de-
feated by
Petronius,
who takes
several of
her cities.

WHILE *Ælius Gallus* was employed with part of the Egyptian army in this expedition, *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia*, invading the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* with a great army, surprised the cities of *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Phyllis*, carried the Romans, who garisoned them, into captivity, overthrew *Augustus's* statues, and laid waste the whole country. Hereupon *C. Petronius*, at that time governor of *Egypt*, having, with all imaginable expedition, got together a body of ten thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, marched against the warlike queen, and, coming up with her in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the banks of the *Nile*, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, though thirty thousand strong, and made himself master of *Pselcha*, the key of *Ethiopia* on the side of *Egypt*. From *Pselcha*, *Petronius* penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and, after having passed those deserts, where the whole army of *Cambyfes* is said to have been by a sudden storm buried in the sand, he took, without opposition, the cities of *Premnis*, *Aboccis*, *Phturis*, *Cambyfes*, *Atteva*, and *Stadisis*; which last place stood near the cataracts of the *Nile*. Encouraged with this success, the Roman general advanced to *Napata*, which *Dio* calls *Tenape*, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took, and destroyed; and from thence marched forwards, till at length, being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great deserts, nor stay there any longer on ac-

⁹ *Dio*, lib. liii. p. 516—524. *STRABO*, lib. xvi. p. 780. & lib. ii. p. 118. & lib. xvii. p. 820. *JOSEPH*. antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. *PLIN*. l. vi. c. 28.

(B) Some of the medicinal compositions, which he invented against the distempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by *Galen*, and, among the rest, treacle, which, on his return, he presented to *Augustus*, telling him, that it had saved the lives of many of his soldiers (3). The bad success that had attended *Ælius* in this expedition, deterred both

him and others from any further attempts on that country; so that the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* in the East, and the *Scots* in the North, as we shall observe hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfall of the *Roman* empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

(3) *Galen*. de antidot. l. ii.

count of the excessive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having, therefore, put a garison of four hundred men into *Premnis*, one of the strongest fortresses of *Ethiopia*, and supplied it with provisions for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying with him many thousand captives, whom he sold for slaves, except one thousand, in which number were the chief commanders of *Candace's* army; and those he sent as a present to *Augustus*. The queen of *Ethiopia*, upon the first notice of the departure of the Romans, having assembled new forces, attacked with great vigour the garison they had left at *Premnis*; but, *Petronius* returning with a quickness and expedition hardly to be imagined, she was obliged not only to raise the siege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the Romans. However, *Augustus* afterwards remitted the tribute, which she was, pursuant to the treaty, to pay yearly to the Roman people, and restored to her all the cities which *Petronius* had seized^r.

The queen concludes a peace with the Romans.

DURING these transactions in the East, the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having, by a stratagem, surpris'd a considerable body of Romans, put them all to the sword. But *Ælius Lamia*, whom *Augustus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, soon revenged their death, laying waste the whole country with fire and sword, and cruelly massacring most of their young men who were able to bear arms; by which means he reduced them in less than a month to an intire subjection^s.

The Cantabrians and Asturians rebel; but are soon reduced.

THE following year *Augustus*, being in his eleventh consulship, with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, fell into a dangerous distemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himself past recovery, he sent for the curule magistrates, and the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who immediately came to attend him, not doubting but he designed to name in their presence his successor, and intail the empire on his family. They were, therefore, greatly surpris'd to see the dying emperor, without uttering a single word, put into the hands of his colleague *Calpurnius Piso* his last will, and, with it, a book of his own writing, which contained a distinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole Roman empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a successor, and his delivering to the chief magistrates, in so critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his design was, to put

Augustus at the point of death.

His behaviour on that occasion.

^r STRABO, l. xvii. p. 820. DIO, l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. ^s DIO, p. 523, 524.

the commonwealth into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered, in the presence of all, to *Agrippa*, signifying thereby, as was then interpreted, that, if they desired to be governed by one man, they could not choose a person more fit for so great a trust than *Agrippa*. As for *Marcellus*, his son-in-law, his nephew, and his son by adoption, whom every one expected he would name for his successor, he seemed to have intirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of *Augustus* at the point of death, when his sincerity could not be reasonably questioned, gained him the affections of the people above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being solemnly deified, and ranked among the gods, in regard of the disinterested love he shewed for his country, than his father *Julius* on account of all his warlike exploits.

Antoni-
Musa re-
stores him
to his
health.

Rejoicings
at Rome
for his re-
covery.

BUT the apotheosis of *Augustus* was put off for many years; for *Antoni-
Musa*, a famous *Greek* physician, and brother to *Euphorbus* physician to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, by cooling potions, and the use of the cold bath, restored him to his health, to the great real, or seeming, satisfaction of the senate and people, who immediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to *Musa* over-against that of *Æsculapius*, a distinction never before granted to any freedman. He was also allowed to wear a gold ring; and all persons of his profession were for ever, out of gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes^c. The recovery of *Augustus* occasioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were struck, many of which have reached our times, and the most magnificent sports exhibited that had ever been seen at *Rome*. We are told, that some fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to sacrifice victims in their name, by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this inscription, *The day of our death was the day of Augustus's recovery*^d. The emperor, as soon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the senate-house; and, after having thanked the fathers in most obliging terms for the concern they had shewn during his illness, and the joy they had expressed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the assembly, in order to convince them, that he had appointed himself no successor; but left them at full liberty either of re-establishing the antient form of government, or choosing for themselves a sovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpose, since they were, without any further

^c DIO, l. liii. p. 517, & seq.

^d Suet. in Octavio.

proof, fully convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare ^w.

THE behaviour of *Augustus* during his illness occasioned a *Misunder-*misunderstanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The for-*standing*mer, thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred *between*to one of his own family a man of a mean descent, a mere *Marcellus*soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the *and Agrip-*emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on several oc-*pa.*casions with great contempt. On the other hand, *Agrippa*was not a man to bear with any ill usage. The emperor, therefore, to prevent the evil consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it adviseable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*, who immediately left *Rome*, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos*, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care ^x.

AND now *Augustus*, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years together, to *P. Sestius*, a man of an unblemished character, but a constant and faithful friend to *Brutus*, under whom he had served in the battle of *Philippi* in quality of proquæstor, and whose memory he still revered, keeping his picture in his house, and commending on all occasions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of *Augustus*, in preferring a man of *Sestius*'s character to many of his own friends who aspired to the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the *Roman* empire, empowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the most distant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all outrages and insults, whether in words or actions. His successors never parted with this power; but, after the example of *Augustus*, caused it to be recorded in public registers in these terms; *Tribunitiæ potestatis primum, secundum, &c* ^y. Thus were the Romans, by

*New honours
heaped upon
Augustus.*

^w Suet. Dio, *ibid.*

^x Dio, lib. liii. p. 518. Vell.

PATERC. l. ii. c. 91. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xi. c. 13. Suet. *ibid.* c. 66.

^y Dio, *ibid.* p. 518, 519. Vide NORIS de cenotaph. Pisan. & L. Cæs. p. 191. & ANTON. PAGI, critic. in anal. Baronii, p. 109.

raising the authority of their emperors, daily riveting their own chains.

IN the consulate of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Sestius*, *Phraates* king of *Parthia* being restored to the throne by the *Scythians*, *Tiridates*, whom the *Parthians* had chosen in his room, being obliged to save himself by flight, came to *Rome*, with the chief men of his party, to solicit the assistance of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, in case he was restored by his means to the throne. On the other hand *Phraates*, hearing he had fled to *Rome*, sent ambassadors after him, to defeat his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious slaves, as he stiled them, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands at *Antioch*, when he passed through that city on his return to *Italy* after the reduction of *Egypt*. *Augustus* introduced the ambassadors of the contending parties to the senate; but, after they had pleaded the cause of their respective princes before the fathers, without consulting them, he answered the ambassadors himself in the same manner as he had done before at *Antioch*; to wit, That he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phraates*, nor assist either of them against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to live at *Rome*, ordering him out of the public treasury an allowance suitable to his rank; and sent back to *Phraates* his son, on condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. This *Phraates* promised; but did not perform till three years after².

Augustus's answer to his ambassadors, and to those of *Phraates*.
Marcellus dies.

THIS year *Marcellus* was seized with an hectic fever, which *Antonius Musa* undertook to cure; but the remedies he prescribed, the same which had saved the life of *Augustus*, were commonly believed to have occasioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of *Augustus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whose hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. Though this year proved very sickly, and many were carried off by the reigning distempers, yet the ambitious *Livia* was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom she was believed to have dispatched by means of *Antonius Musa*, to make room for *Tiberius* and *Drusus* her own children. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence in the *Campus Martius*, *Augustus* himself, who was his

² DIO, l. liii. p. 518, 519. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5.

nearest relation, pronouncing, according to custom, his funeral oration ^a.

THE next year, *M. Claudius Marcellus Æterninus* and *L. Aruntius* being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome*, and all the other cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the *Pantheon*, and there dashed to pieces several statues, &c. The populace, imagining that the gods visited them with these, and threatened them with greater calamities, because they had suffered *Augustus* to lay down the consulate, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, unless the fathers immediately created him dictator. The conscript fathers readily complied with their request; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the house of *Augustus*, with twenty four axes and fasces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorship; but he wisely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not seem to despise the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on *Pompey the Great*, and took care to supply the city with great plenty of provisions, appointing annually two persons for that purpose, who had discharged the prætorship two years before. As to the office of perpetual censor, he could by no means be prevailed upon to assume it; but named to that important employment *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proscribed, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, formerly one of *Antony's* most zealous partisans; but, *Lepidus* dying soon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a most infamous character, being no-way qualified to censure the vices of others, *Augustus* took upon himself to perform the functions, though he declined the title, of that magistracy, and enacted several excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and esteem of many (C); but

Augustus wisely declines the dictatorship, and the office of perpetual censor.

Enacts several excellent laws.

^a DIO, lib. liii. p. 517. 519. VELL. PATERC. lib. ii. c. 93. TACIT. annal. ii. VIRG. Æneid. l. vi.

(C) He suppressed several private assemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he transferred the care of the public shews and sports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit

the usual sports at their own charges; but obliged the people to contribute a small sum for their own diversions, and paid the rest out of the public treasury. As the ædileship was the first step to public honours, the young noblemen

Conspira- others, who were enemies to *Augustus* in their hearts, and
cy against wished to see the antient form of government restored, en-
Augustus. tered into a conspiracy against the tyrant of *Rome*, as they
 styled him. *Murena*, and *Fannius Cæpio*, the former a man of
 an unblemished character, and the latter the greatest debauchee
 in *Rome*, took upon them the whole management of the plot,
 for the execution of which a day and place were already ap-

blemens often spent their whole
 fortunes, and reduced themselves
 to beggary, by the expensive
 shews with which they enter-
 tained the people, in hopes of
 being raised, by their suffrages, to
 the superior magistracies; and it
 was to obviate this abuse, that
Augustus committed the cele-
 brating of the games to the præ-
 tors, and would have the charges
 attending them divided between
 the people and the public trea-
 sury. To the curule ædiles he
 committed the care of extinguish-
 ing fires, allowing them for that
 service six hundred slaves, who
 were bought and maintained at
 the public expence. He likewise
 ordered, by a particular edict,
 that none should exhibit the shew
 of gladiators without leave from
 the senate, and then only twice a
 year, and with no more than
 one hundred and twenty combat-
 ants. As many persons of rank,
 women as well as men, had of
 late debased themselves to act and
 dance upon the stage, *Augustus*
 restrained such scandalous pra-
 ctices, by forbidding, under the
 severest penalties, any of the se-
 natorial or equestrian order to
 appear on the stage, and extend-
 ing this prohibition to the chil-
 dren and grandchildren of sena-
 tors (4). In these regulations he
 exerted the power and authority
 of an absolute prince and legis-

lator; but in other things used
 great condescension, affecting to
 appear in courts of judicature like
 a private person, and even to
 plead for his friends, or attend
 them when cited before the præ-
 tors, or other judges. This com-
 plaisance often drew insults upon
 him from the adverse parties, as
 it happened in the case of one
M. Primus, who was accused of
 having made an irruption into
 the country of the *Odrysians*,
 while he was governor of *Mace-*
don. *Primus* maintained, that
 he had been ordered by *Augustus*
 to make war upon the *Odry-*
sians; whereupon *Augustus*, ap-
 pearing soon after in court, was
 asked by the prætor, Whether
Primus's plea was true or no.
 The emperor answered, That
Primus was certainly mistaken,
 since he was very sure he had
 given no such orders. This open
 and positive declaration left no
 room for any reply; which so
 provoked *L. Murena*, who plead-
 ed for *Primus*, that he could not
 help asking the emperor with
 great boldness and anger, "What
 business he had there; and
 what had brought him to a
 place where he was neither
 expected nor wanted." "The
 public good," replied *Augustus*,
 with great calmness and modera-
 tion.

(4) *Dio*, p. 521 — 524. *Suet. in O. Cæs.*

pointed. But in the mean time *Murena* disclosed the whole *Is disco-*
to his sister *Terentilla*, and she to her husband *Mæcenas*, who *vered, and*
gave notice of it to the emperor, after having advised his bro- *the conspi-*
ther-in-law, and the other conspirators, to abscond, till such *rators pu-*
time as he should obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. *nished.*
But *Augustus* would not hearken to the intreaties either of *Mæ-*
cenas or *Proculeius*, who was brother to *Murena*, and in such
favour with the emperor, that he had been long in suspense
whether he should bestow his daughter *Julia* on him or *Mar-*
cellus. As *Augustus* proved inflexible, the conspirators were
summoned to take their tryals, and, not appearing, interdicted,
by a majority of suffrages, fire and water throughout the
whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* was conveyed in
the night-time, by a faithful slave, to the *Tiber* in a basket,
and put on board a small vessel, which landed him at *Ostia*.
From *Ostia* the slave conducted him safe to *Laurentum*, and
from thence to *Cumæ*, where he was betrayed by another slave
to a centurion, who cut off his head, and carried it to *Rome*.
Murena was discovered in *Rome*, and assassinated by *Augustus*'s
emissaries.

As the conspirators were absolved by the votes of some of
the judges, the emperor, fearing such criminals might, for
the future, go unpunished, enacted the two following laws; *Two laws*
to wit, That all guilty persons, who refused to appear, should *enacted by*
be condemned to the same punishments, which would have *Augustus,*
been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and *with rela-*
convicted; and that, for the future, the judges, in criminal *tion to cri-*
cases, should deliver their opinions, not in writing, but open- *minals, and*
ly, and by word of mouth. Lest the severity he shewed on *their*
this occasion, and the new laws he enacted, might estrange *judges.*
the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the
odd behaviour of old *Cæpio*, who not only set at liberty the slave
who had conveyed his son out of *Rome*, but sentenced the other
to be crucified, after having caused him to be led through all the
streets of *Rome*, with a writing, which expressed the cause of
his punishment. At this time *Augustus*, out of complaisance
to the senate, whom his severity towards two men of rank
might have provoked, delivered up to the conscript fathers the
provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which, from this *The pro-*
time, began to be ranked among the proconsular provinces, *vinces of*
and to be governed by magistrates sent thither by the senate *Cyprus*
b. This same year the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* revolted anew; *and Gaul*
but were soon brought under subjection by *C. Furnius*. Many *delivered*
of the *Cantabrians*, finding they could not shake off the yoke, *up to the*
chose rather to lay violent hands on themselves than to bear *senate.*

^b *Dio*, l. liv. p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504.

it ; so deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people !

AND now *Italy*, and all the provinces in the west, enjoying a profound tranquillity, *Augustus* resolved to take a progress into the east ; and, with this view, set out for *Sicily* towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to choose for consuls whom they pleased. At the time appointed, therefore, for the great elections, the centuries met, and, with one consent, raised to the consulate *Augustus*, and gave him *M. Lollius* for his colleague ; but he refusing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the

Disturbances in Rome, on account of the elections. centuries met a second time ; when such disorders were raised in the comitia by the ambition of the two competitors *L. Sillanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, that the wiser citizens thought it proper to acquaint *Augustus* therewith, and solicit him to return to *Rome*, and, with his presence, put a stop to the contests and divisions which the opposite factions had raised in the city. *Augustus* heard the account of these disturbances with a secret satisfaction, hoping they would convince the most zealous and obstinate republicans, that they were no longer capable of governing themselves as formerly. However, lest the quarrels of two such men, who had a great number of clients, and were allied to most of the chief families in *Rome*, should produce a civil war, he sent for the candidates, reprimanded them severely, and commanded them to keep at a distance from *Rome* till the election was over. But this did not restore tranquillity to the city ; the friends of the two competitors supported their respective interests with the same warmth, as if they had been present ; but at length *Lepidus's* party prevailed, and he was chosen consul. However, *Augustus*, to prevent such disturbances for the future, as he could not be always at *Rome* himself, judged it necessary to create a new magistrate, whose province should be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis. *Agrippa* seemed to him the most proper person for so great a command. He therefore dispatched a messenger to him, ordering him to quit the island of *Lesbos*, and repair to him in *Sicily*. On his arrival, to procure him more respect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, though daughter to *Octavia*, and *Augustus's* niece, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus* (D).

Agrippa made governor of Rome. *He marries Julia.*

^c DIO, l. liv. p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504.

(D) We are told, that *Mæcenas* promoted this match, by suggesting to *Augustus*, when he consulted him about it, that, since he had already made *Agrippa* so great and powerful, he ought

IN the mean time *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, passed over into *Greece*, where he shewed particular marks of his favour to the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom he bestowed the island of *Cythera*, and five other cities, as a reward for the kindness they had formerly shewn to *Livia*, when she fled, with her husband and son, out of *Italy*. The *Athenians* he punished for having erected statues to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and afterwards sided with *Antony*. He took from them the island of *Ægina*, and the city of *Eretria*, forbidding them for the future to sell the right of citizenship, which brought them in vast sums, the *Romans* themselves glorying in being free of *Athens*^d. From *Greece* *Augustus* sailed to *Samos*, and there wintered.

Augustus
passes into
Greece;
Year of
the flood
2327.
Bef. Chr.
21.
Of Rome
727.
and from
thence into
the East.

EARLY in the spring, *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius Nerva* being consuls, *Augustus* left *Samos*, and crossed over into *Asia*, settling the affairs of the provinces, through which he passed, in as absolute a manner as if they had belonged to himself, and not to the senate. He deprived the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt, and put to death, some *Roman* citizens. The same punishment he inflicted on the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, judging this the most effectual method of putting an end to the factions which reigned in these two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phraabates* king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was universally hated by his subjects, not only sent back to him all the ensigns and captives taken by the *Parthians* in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*, but yielded to all the conditions which *Augustus* required, giving four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them^e (E). *Augustus*, no less proud of having thus recovered the *Roman* eagles and

Year of
the flood
2328.
Bef. Chr.
20.
Of Rome
728.
Phraabates
sends back
to him the
Roman
eagles and
ensigns.

^d Dio, p. 525.

^e Dio, *ibid*.

ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his interest, by marrying him to his daughter (5). The marriage was celebrated with the utmost magnificence; and *Agrippa* immediately after took his leave of *Augustus*, and set out for *Rome*; where he discharged his new office with great applause, being equally beloved by the senate and people.

(E) *Justin* observes, that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war (6); but *Tacitus* tells us, that not the fear of *Augustus*, but the diffidence *Phraabates* had of his own people, induced him thereunto (7); and with him agree *Strabo* (8), and *Josephus* (9). So far as we can gather from their writings, the

(5) *Dio*, l. liv. p. 525. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 93. *Suet. in Octavio.* (6) *Justin.* l. xliii. c. 5. (7) *Tacit. annal.* l. ii. c. 1. (8) *Strabo*, l. vi. p. 288. (9) *Joseph.* *antiq.* l. xviii. c. 3.

and captives, than if he had overcome the *Parthians* in battle, sent orders to the senate to shut up the temple of *Janus*, which he had opened on his setting out for the East, and to offer sacrifices, by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended him in this expedition (F).

At the same time *Augustus* settled the affairs of *Armenia*. *Artabazes*, king of that country, having been taken prisoner by *Antony*, and carried to *Alexandria*, as we have related above, *Artaxias* his son, whom *Dio* calls *Artabazes*, succeeded him. But he making himself obnoxious to his subjects by a most tyrannical and oppressive reign, they complained of him to

whole matter seems to have passed in the following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, named *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phrabates* as a present, the king entertained her first as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her, and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Phrabates* the putting of his other sons, whose names were *Sarospades*, *Cerospades*, *Phrabates*, and *Vonones*, into the hands of the *Romans*. *Phrabates*, not thinking himself safe against his subjects, so long as there were any of the race of *Arsaces* of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's proposal; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and *Augustus*, and hostages demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four sons into the hands of *Augustus*, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many years. As for *Thermusa's*

son, who was named *Phrabatides*, he was bred up to succeed his father in his kingdom. The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the race of *Arsaces*, that *Phrabates* well knew they would only bear him, so long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be set up to reign in his room; and this was, according to *Strabo* and *Josephus* (1), the reason why *Phrabates* so readily yielded up his sons to the *Romans*; but at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians* (2).

(F) To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the most glorious of his whole reign, on his return to *Rome*, he caused a temple to be built in the capitol to *Mars the Avenger*, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In this new temple were hung up the military ensigns, which the king of *Parthia* had restored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to *Augustus* (3).

(1) Vide *Strab.* et *Joseph.* ubi sup.
Dio, p. 526.

(2) *Vol.* xi. p. 47.

(3) *Suet.* *ibid.*

Augustus, desiring to have *Tigranes*, his younger brother, who was then at *Rome*, to reign over them in his stead. *Augustus* complied with their request, and sent *Tiberius*, the son of *Livia*, who had attended him into the East, with an army into *Armenia*, to drive out *Artaxias*, and place *Tigranes* on the throne. But *Artaxias* being killed by his own subjects before the arrival of *Tiberius*, and *Tigranes* thereupon admitted, without opposition, to succeed him, the young Roman had no opportunity of signalizing himself by any military exploits. However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging *Tigranes* to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom ^f (G).

Augustus
appoints
Tigranes
king of
Armenia :

who re-
ceives the
crown of
Tiberius.

THIS year *Julia*, who had had no children by her first husband *Marcellus*, brought *Agrippa* a son, who was named *Caius*, and on whose birth-day a perpetual sacrifice, with other solemnities, was decreed, by way of thanksgiving to the gods ^g. Towards the end of the summer, *Augustus* left *Syria*; and, being attended by *Herod* king of *Judæa* to the sea-side, he embarked, and sailed for *Samos*, where he passed the ensuing winter. In the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus* was named consul in the assembly of the people, and *C. Sentius Saturninus* given him for his colleague. But *Augustus* declining that office, the factions revived, and the *Campus Martius* was turned into a field of battle, many persons being killed in the fray; infomuch that *Augustus*, to put a stop to the disorders that were raised on this occasion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a colleague to *Sentius* of his own authority. The person he pitched upon was *Q. Lucretius Vespillo*, who had been formerly proscribed by the triumvirs, but at this time served under *Augustus* in quality of lieutenant. These two magistrates, together with *Agrippa*, maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by punishing, with the utmost severity, the ringleaders of the late tumult ^h.

Caius Cæ-
far born.

^f *Dio*, p. 526.

^g *Dio*, *ibid*.

^h *Dio*, *ibid*.

(G) *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that, entering *Armenia* at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the *Armenians* to receive *Tigranes*, whom he calls *Artavajdes*, for their king. He adds, that the *Parthians* were so terrified at his approach, and the fame of

his name and exploits, that they sent back to *Augustus* the Roman ensigns and captives (4). But all other writers ascribe the recovery of the ensigns to *Augustus*, and agree, that *Tiberius* performed nothing worth mentioning.

(4) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 94.*

A second
embassy to
Augustus
from the
king of
India.

Year of
the flood
2329.
Bef. Chr.

19.
Of Rome
729.

~~~~~  
Augustus  
returns to  
Rome.

WHILE *Augustus* resided at *Samos*, he received a second embassy from the king of *India*, soliciting an alliance with him. The ambassadors, as we are informed by *Nicolas of Damascus*, who saw them as they passed through *Antioch*, delivered to *Augustus* a letter in the *Greek* tongue, wherein the king of *India* told him, That though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had so great a value for his friendship, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey on purpose to desire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place soever he pleased to appoint; and that, upon the first notice, he would assist him to the utmost of his power, in whatever was right. This letter he subscribed by the name of *Porus king of India* (H). *Augustus* early in the spring left *Samos*, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and all possible marks of honour; his bringing back the military ensigns, and prisoners, taken in the *Parthian* wars, being what the *Romans* valued beyond the greatest victories (I).

As

(H) The six hundred kings, whom he boasted to reign over, were the *rajas*, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants remain to this day; who, paying an annual tribute to the *Great Mogol*, govern their subjects with an absolute authority. Of the ambassadors, who first set out from *India*, three only reached the presence of *Augustus*, the others dying by the way. Of the three surviving, one was *Zarmar* a gymnosophist, who, following *Augustus* to *Athens*, there burnt himself in his presence, as *Calanus*, another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of *Alexander*; it being customary for the gymnosophists to put an end to their lives by throwing themselves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or appre-

hended some misfortune (5). Among the presents which they brought, were huge vipers, serpents ten cubits long, a river tortoise three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and several tygers, the first that had ever been seen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans* (6).

(I) The poets of his time, as is well known, made his recovering of the ensigns and prisoners the common topic of their flatteries (7). Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the senate; an altar was erected to *Fortune*, with this inscription, *Fortunæ reduci*; and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital should be annually solemnized with sacrifices, sports, shews, &c. and distinguished by the name of *Augustalia*, or the feast of *Augustus*. This year died the prince of the *Latin* poets, in the

(5) *Dio*, p. 527. *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 719, 720.  
(7) *Vide fast.* l. v. *Horat.* l. iv. od. 15, &c.

(6) *Strabo*, *ibid.*



As there reigned at this time in *Rome* a general depravation of manners, and the city was greatly over-run with all kinds of vices, the senate prevailed upon *Augustus* to accept the office of censor for five years. At the same time *Augustus* they conferred upon him the consular power for life; ordain-<sup>censor.</sup> ing, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the consuls. They likewise intreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themselves by oath to the observance of them. But the emperor refused an oath, which he judged useless, intimating, that, if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual<sup>i.</sup> And now the presence of *Agrippa* being no longer necessary *Agrippa* in *Rome*, *Augustus* dispatched him into *Gaul* to stop the in-<sup>sent</sup> sent <sup>against the</sup> against the Germans.

<sup>i</sup> DIO, p. 527. SUET. in Octav.

fifty-first year of his age; having bequeathed a considerable part of his great wealth to *Augustus* and *Mæcenas*, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had designed to attend *Augustus* into the East, but was obliged, by the bad state of his health, to remain at *Naples*; whence he passed over to *Athens*, to meet *Augustus* on his return from the island of *Samos*. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindness and esteem; but he, leaving *Athens* soon after, to visit the antiquities of *Megara*, in the hot season of the year, fell sick there; but nevertheless embarked for *Italy*, and reached *Brundisium*, where he expired soon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the last hand to

his *Æneid*, he ordered, by his will, that inimitable performance to be burnt; but *Augustus* saved *Troy*, we may say with an antient poet, from a second conflagration, and, by that means, preserved for all future ages a most perfect pattern of epic poetry. *Virgil's* body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to *Naples*, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpose on the road from *Naples* to *Puteoli*. On the monument was engraved a distich, written by the poet himself; wherein he gave a modest account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works (8). The distich is as follows:

*Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc  
Parthenope: cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

Now, turn'd to dust, to *Naples* I belong,  
Once to *Calabria*; but from *Mantua* sprung:  
Of shepherds, fields, and mighty chiefs, I sung.

(8) Vide Tib. Donat, in vita Virgilii.

curfions



ursions of the *Germans*, who, having passed the *Rhine*, committed horrible disorders in the countries subject to *Rome*. But, at the approach of so renowned a commander, they repassed the river, and sheltered themselves in their woods.

HEREUPON *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of that country, and left a sufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, the boundary between *Gaul* and *Germany*, passed from thence into *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians*, notwithstanding their former losses, had raised new disturbances. Most of their youth had a few years before been taken prisoners, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations; but, having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their masters, and, returning into their own country, fortified themselves there, and attacked, with incredible fury, the *Roman* garisons. *Agrippa* marched against them with great expedition; but, on his arrival in their country, he met with so vigorous a resistance from that brave and gallant people, that his soldiers began to despair of ever being able to reduce them. As the *Cantabrians* had waged war with the *Romans* for two hundred years and upwards, they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, no-way inferior to them in point of courage, and now become desperate, as well knowing, that, if they were conquered, after having so often attempted to recover their liberty, they must expect the most severe usage, and cruel slavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the *Romans* with a fury hardly to be expressed, routed them in several rencounters, and defended themselves, when attacked by the enemy, with such intrepidity and resolution, that *Agrippa* afterwards owned, that he had never, either by sea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to use intreaties, menaces, and to brand some of his legionaries with ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the lists with so resolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length, with much ado, prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he so animated them by his own example, that, after a most obstinate dispute, he gained at last a complete victory; which indeed cost him dear, but put an end to that destructive war. All the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their castles and strong-holds were taken and rased, and their women, children, and old men, none else being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountainous places, and settle in the plain. Thus *Agrippa* completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for the space of two hundred years, that is,

His expedition against the Cantabrians.

Their bravery.



is, ever since the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the first *Roman* who made war in *Spain*<sup>k</sup> (K).

AGRIPPA, on his return to *Rome*, applied himself wholly to Rome embellishing of the city with new edifices, and supplying it with great plenty of water; which proved no less ornamental to that great metropolis, than convenient and useful to the vast multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world (L). Towards the end of this year *Augustus* granted a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus*, for having subdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa*, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. *Balbus* made himself master of all that country, which lay between *Africa* properly so called, that is, the antient dominions of *Carthage*, *Lower Ethiopia*, and *Getulia*, extending by that means the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Niger*. Such an important conquest *Augustus* judged well worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*. Though he was not so much as a native of *Italy*, but born at *Gades* in *Spain*, and lately admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen; he had the glory of being the first foreigner who was honoured with this mark of distinction; *Augustus* wisely overlooking antient customs, to honour and reward valour, without distinction, in men of all nations<sup>l</sup>.

THE next year *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, either brothers or relations, being consuls, *Augustus* prorogued his authority for five years more, the first

<sup>k</sup> DIO, p. 528. SUET. in Octavio. <sup>l</sup> Fasti Capit. DIO, ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 5. SOLINUS, c. 32.

(K) The final reduction of *Cantabria*, and the quieting of all *Spain*, was judged, both by the senate, and *Augustus*, well worthy of a triumph; but *Agrippa* modestly declined that honour; ascribing the whole glory of so successful an expedition to *Augustus*, under whose auspices he had fought.

(L) The waters *Virgo*, *Julia*, and *Tepula*, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts of a most magnificent structure, and, for the most part, supported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters *Appia* and *Marcia*, which conveyed into *Rome*, we may say, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vast charge. In short, to *Agrippa* chiefly is *Rome* indebted for that great plenty of wholesome water, which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world: and to this *Augustus* alluded, when he pleasantly answered the people, who complained to him of the scarcity and dearth of wine, That *Agrippa had taken care they should not die of thirst* (9).

(9) *Cassiod. l. vii. epist. 6. Front. in aqueduct.*



ten years of his sovereign power being near expired <sup>m</sup>. The first thing *Augustus* undertook, after the prorogation of his power, was to reform the senate. Many persons of no birth, and of infamous characters, having been admitted into that venerable body, during the confusion of the civil wars; in order to purge the senate of so many unworthy members, he agreed with *Agrippa*, whom he took for his colleague in the censorship, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thousand to six hundred; but, to avoid the odium of choosing them all himself, he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named, one only was to be chosen, and he by lot; so that thirty only were elected at a time; but, as soon as that election was over, five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five chosen by lot, as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himself by a solemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or persons unworthy of that rank; yet, in some of their tablets, were found the names of men of most infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjust partiality induced *Augustus* and *Agrippa* to change the method of election, and, since they could not depend upon others, to name the rest themselves, to the number of six hundred; wherein, to do them justice, they proceeded with the utmost impartiality, choosing only men of merit, and, by that means, restoring the senatorial order to its former splendor.

*Reforms  
several  
abuses.*

AUGUSTUS, having thus restored the senate to its antient splendor, applied himself, in the next place, to the reforming of several abuses in the city. He decreed, that such as should be convicted of having purchased the suffrages of the people with money, should be excluded from all public offices for the space of five years. That the people, who used to sell their votes, might not be sufferers by this law, he caused large sums to be distributed among them, on condition that they should not require any thing of the candidates. To check the debauchery of the *Roman* youth, which, at this time, was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon such as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry; declaring, that, though a patrician should marry a *liberta* or freedwoman, his children should rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the senators, whom he would not allow to marry under their rank: and because the *Hortensian* family had been, by the civil wars, reduced almost to beggary, he presented young *Hortensius* with a large sum,

<sup>m</sup> Dio, p. 529.

which



which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of distinction. The loose behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young *Romans* from marriage; but *Augustus*, who had himself debauched many, not sparing even the wife of his great friend *Mæcenæ*s, refused to put a stop to that disorder; saying, that he left the care of married women to their husbands. Having reformed many abuses in the state, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and causing most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burnt, as spurious; reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to some of the *Sibyls*. These also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained such only, as were, on this trial, judged genuine; the rest he committed to the flames: but those that were pronounced authentic, he caused to be copied by the pontifices themselves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of *Apollo*, built by him in his palace<sup>n</sup>. These *Sibylline* oracles were of great repute among the gentiles, and often appealed to by the antient Christian writers. This year *Julia* brought *Lucius Agrippa* a second son, who was named *Lucius*; and *Augustus* adopted both him, and his brother *Gaius*, declaring them his successors, in order to put a stop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans for the recovery of their liberty<sup>o</sup>.

THE following year, *C. Furnius* and *C. Julius Silanus* being consuls, the *secular games*, which had not been celebrated for an hundred years before, were exhibited by *Augustus* and *Agrippa* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games one of the players giving him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *Lord* or *Sovereign*, he shewed great marks of dissatisfaction; and the next morning published an edict, forbidding all persons, under severe penalties, to give him that title for the future (M).

2331.  
Bef. Chr.  
17.  
Of Rome  
731.  
Augustus  
rejects the  
title of  
Dominus  
or Lord.

THE

<sup>n</sup> SÆTON. in Octav. Dio, p. 531—533.

<sup>o</sup> Dio, ibid.

(M) It was on occasion of these games that *Horace* wrote the hymn, intituled, *Carmen Seculare*; which was sung at the sacrifice, that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, before the shews and spectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which *Augustus*

himself was a great admirer; especially of the tournament, or warlike exercise, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewise a great encourager of wrestling; but would not allow women to be present at those games. He enticed to *Rome*, with great rewards, the best players and



Augustus  
goes into  
Gaul.

Lollius de-  
feated by  
the Ger-  
mans.

THE ensuing year, *Augustus*, having got *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two persons wholly addicted to him, raised to the consulate, resolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell some disturbances there, occasioned by the avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, who, being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in those parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and, by a deceitful account, reckoned fourteen months in the year. *Augustus* no sooner passed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty; but the *Sicambri*, *Ustpetes*, and *Tenēteri*, people of *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, defeated first a considerable body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards *M. Lollius* proconsul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a standard. *Lollius*, though no great commander, found soon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them, with great loss, beyond the *Rhine*. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, yet *Augustus* spent the remaining part of this, and all the following year, when *M. Lucius Drusus Libo* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were consuls, in that province. During his stay there, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country, with complaints against *Enceladus*, of whom we spoke above. He was by birth a *Gaul*, and formerly a slave of *Julius Cæsar*, by whom he had been taken in the *Gaulish* wars; but, being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to insinuate himself into the favour of *Augustus*, he had

actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles to cause them, according to antient custom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the satisfaction of the audience. But, notwithstanding the encouragement he gave them, he severely examined their morals; not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio*, a comedian, was attended by a woman in the disguise of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and banished the city.

He likewise drove out of *Rome* *Pylades*, a famous actor, for having behaved disrespectfully towards a *Roman* citizen, and because he was continually quarreling with *Bathyllus*, an actor no less famous than himself, and greatly favoured by *Mæcenas*; but he soon recalled him, to gratify the people; and the comedian, on his return, instead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his interest the people should be diverted by men of his profession, lest they should watch too narrowly his actions, or seriously reflect on their own condition (1).

(1) *Dio*, p. 531—533.



ins. But, according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rheti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the valley of *Boiohemia*, now *Bohemia*, by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, of whom we shall







been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppressed the *Gauls* in a most barbarous manner; insomuch that *Augustus*, ashamed of having employed a man of so infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him such punishment as should deter others from the like practices. But the crafty *Gaul* found means to appease the emperor, by delivering up to him the vast sums he had amassed by rapine and extortion, and assuring him, that, in plundering the *Gauls*, he had nothing else in view but to enrich the public treasury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Augustus*, pleased with this defence, and more with the large sums which were delivered to him upon the spot, not only absolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppressed *Gauls*, continued him in his office <sup>P.</sup>

In the mean time the *Rhæti* (N), having made an irruption into *Italy*, committed there dreadful devastations, putting <sup>The Rhæti invade Italy.</sup>

<sup>P.</sup> Dio, p. 531—533. & SENEC. lud. p. 477.

(N) *Ptolemy* places the *Rhæti* between the *Rhine*, or the lake of *Constance*, called by the antients *Lacus Brigantinus*, and the river *Lycus*, now the *Lech*; the *Vindelici* between the *Lycus* and the *Ænus*, now the *Inn*; and the *Nerici* between the *Vindelici* and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the springs of the *Save* and the *Drave* to the banks of the *Danube* in the neighbourhood of *Vienne*, and was known to the antients by the name of *Mons Cæthius*, but to the moderns by many different names, such as the *Pleysz*, the *Hengstberg*, the *Dembberg*, the *Hersberg*, *Kalensberg*, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But, according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rhæti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the valleys formed by those mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of *Constance*: from that lake to the conflux of the *Ænus* and the *Danube*, extended *Vindelicia*, or the country of the *Vindelici*, and *Noricum* from thence to the *Cæthian* mountains. In the country of the *Vindelici* were antiently some cities of no small note, to wit, *Augusta Vindellicorum*, *Juvavium* or *Colonia Juvavia*, *Reginum* or *Regina castra*, *Batava castra*, *Abusena*, *Guntia*, *Campodunum*, *Abudiacum*, *Isinisca*, now *Ausburg*, *Salzburg*, *Regensburg*, *Passau*, *Abensperg*, *Guntzperg*, *Kempten*, *Fuessen*, and *Munich*, now the metropolis of *Bavaria*. *Boiodurum* was the metropolis of that country in former times, so called from the *Boii*, who, being driven out of *Boiohemia*, now *Bohemia*, by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, of whom we shall



ting all the males they met with to the sword, without distinction of rank or age ; nay, we are told, that, when they happened

have occasion to speak anon, settled in *Boioaria*, or *Boiuvaria*, now called *Bavaria*. *Vindelicia* borrowed its name from the rivers *Vindo* or *Vinda*, now the *Wert*, and *Lycus*, which, watering great part of it, and running the one to the east, the other to the west of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Ausberg*, join at a small distance from that city, and, with one stream, fall into the *Danube*. They are both mentioned by *Venantius Fortunatus* in the following verse :

*Pergis ad Augustam, quam Vindo Lycusque fluentant* (2).

To *Ausberg* city is the road you go,  
By which the *Wert* and *Lycus* winding flow.

The chief cities of *Rætia*, or, as some write it, *Rætia*, were *Tridentum*, *Curia*, *Feltria*, and *Belunum* now *Trent*, *Cibur* or *Coira*, *Feltri*, *Belluno*. Some writers place *Verona* in *Rætia* ; but *Strabo* reckons *Verona* among the cities of *Italy*. *Horace* mentions the victories gained by *Tiberius*, and his brother *Drusus*, over the *Vindelici* and *Ræti*.

*Videre Ræti bella sub Alpibus  
Drusum gerentem Vindelici*—— (3).

And elsewhere, speaking to *Augustus*,

*Vindelici didicere nuper,  
Quid Marte posses ; milite nam tuo  
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,  
Breunosque veloces, & arces  
Alpibus impositas tremendis,  
Dejecit acer, plus vice simplici.  
Major Neronum mox grave prælium  
Commisit, immanesque Rætios  
Auspiciis pepulit secundis* (4).

Of late the *Vindelicians* knew  
Thy skill in arms, and felt thy sword,  
When *Drusus* the *Genauni* slew,  
And *Breuni* swift, a lawless herd.  
The tow'rs, which cover'd all around  
The rugged *Alps* enormous height,  
By him were level'd with the ground,  
And more than once confess'd his might.

(2) *Venant. Fortunat. de S. Martino, l. iv.*  
(4) *Idem ibid. od. 14.*

(3) *Horat. l. iv. od. 4.*

Then



pened to take women with child, they consulted their augurs, whether the child was a male or female ; if they pro-

Then th'elder branch of *Nero's* blood,  
Amid the battle's fiercest flame,  
With *Rhætians* huge the field bestrew'd,  
O'ercome by thy auspicious name.

The *Genauni* and *Breuni* were inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as is plain from *Strabo* (5). For the better understanding of the antients, it is necessary to observe here, that though *Rhætia* and *Vindelicia* were two distinct countries, yet they formed but one Roman province called *Rhætia* ; and hence the antients, when they mention *Rhætia*, or the *Rhætian* province, are to be understood as speaking of *Rhætia* properly so called, and *Vindelicia* ; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of *Constance*, the *Danube*, the *Ænus*, and the territories of the *Carni*, of the *Veneti*, and of the *Insubres*. And hence it is that *Tacitus*, in speaking of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, calls it the fairest colony of the *Rhætian* province (6) ; and *Horace* calls the *Vindelici*, *Rhæti Vindelici*, to distinguish them from the inhabitants of *Rhætia*, properly so called (7). In the time of the emperor *Adrian*, or rather of *Dioclesian*, the *Rhætian* province was divided into two, whereof the first was called *Rhætia Prima*, and comprehended *Rhætia Proper* ; and the second, comprehending *Vindelicia*, *Rhætia Secunda* : the metropolis of the former was *Curia*, of the latter *Augusta Vindelicorum* (8).

*Noricum*, formerly a kingdom (9), and afterwards a Roman

province, extended between the *Danube* and the *Alpes Norice* in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, from the *Ænus*, which parted it from *Vindelicia*, to the *Cethian* mountains, its boundaries on the side of *Pannonia* ; so that antient *Noricum* comprehended great part of *Austria*, the archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. It was afterwards, probably in the time of *Dioclesian* (1), divided into two provinces, to wit, *Noricum Ripense*, so called because it extended along the *Danube*, lying on the south side of that river, which divided it from *Germany* properly so called ; and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, comprising that part which lay at some distance from the *Danube*. In the province of *Noricum Ripense* were the following cities of note, *Jovavum* or *Jovavia*, *Boiodurum*, *Lentia*, *Ovilis* or *Ovilabis*, and *Lauriacum* or *Laureacum*, now *Salzburg*, *Innsbruck*, *Lentz*, *Wels*, and *Lorch* ; in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Pons Æni*, *Viscelli* or *Viscellæ*, *Graviacis*, *Aguntum*, *Teurnia*, *Solva*, now *Innsbruck*, *Wels*, *Gurk*, *Innsbruck*, and *Villach* : *Lauriacum* was the metropolis of the former province, and *Solva*, long since buried in its ruins, of the latter (2).

(5) *Strab.* l. iv. p. 142.  
*rat. lib. iv. od. 4.*

(6) *Tacit. Germ. c. 41.*  
*(8) Vide Velfer. lib. iii. rer. Boi. p. 91. & l. vi. rer. Aug. p. 298. & Paul. Warnefred. l. ii. de gest. Langobard.*

(7) *Hor. l. vi. rer. Aug. p. 298. & Paul. Warnefred. l. ii. de gest. Langobard.*  
*(9) Vel. Patercul. l. xi. c. 109. Suet. in Tiber. c. 16.*

(1) *Vide Thom. Reines.*  
*inscript. p. 32. (2) Vide Gruter. inscript. p. 537. num. 1.*



nounced it a male, the mother was immediately massacred. Against these fierce nations was sent *Drusus*, the second son of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour, and great accomplishments. The young *Roman* behaved on this occasion with a prudence far superior to his years; for he found means to draw the enemy to a battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loss of a very small number of his own men. Those who escaped the general slaughter, being joined by the *Vindelici*, took their route towards *Gaul*, with a design to invade that province. But *Augustus*, upon the first notice of their march, detached *Tiberius*, who had attended him into *Gaul*, at the head of several chosen legions, to complete the slaughter which his brother had begun: and indeed *Tiberius* was no less successful than *Drusus*; for, having transported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of *Constance*, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that surprize and confusion most of their strong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to submit to what terms he thought proper to impose upon them. Thus were the *Vindelici*, the *Rhæti*, and the *Norici*, three of the most barbarous nations of *Germany*, by the valour of *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, brought under the *Roman* yoke. *Tiberius*, to keep in awe the country he had subdued, planted two colonies in *Vindelicia*, and opened a road from thence into *Noricum* and *Rhætia*. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called, by the name of his father *Drusus*, *Drusomagus*; the other, by the name of *Augustus*, *Augusta Vindelicorum*; which cities are now known by the names of *Mimminghen*, and *Augsburgh*.

Year of the flood 2334.  
Bef. Chr. 14.  
Of Rome 734.

While *Augustus*, and his two sons-in-law, were thus employed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Agrippa* was settling with equal success the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his first arrival in the province of *Asia* properly so called, *Herod* king of *Judæa* hastened thither to wait upon him; and, having prevailed with him to take a tour into *Judæa*, he entertained him, and all his attendants, in a most elegant and sumptuous manner. Having staid some days there, he sailed back into *Ionian* before winter, highly pleased with the reception he had met with from the *Jewish* king. Early in the spring he was obliged to quit *Ionian*, and advance towards the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, to quell some disturbances there. But, of the success that attended him in this expedition, we have spoken else-

The Vin-  
delici,  
Rhæti,  
and Nori-  
ci subdued.  
Year of  
the flood  
2334.  
Bef. Chr.  
14.  
Of Rome  
734.  
Agrippa's  
exploits in  
the East.  
He march-  
es against  
the Bospo-  
rans.

<sup>a</sup> Dio, p. 536. SUET. in Octav VELL. PATERCUL. lib. ii.  
c. 39. HORAT. l. iv. ode 4. <sup>r</sup> JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi.  
c. 2. <sup>s</sup> Vol. x. p. 154.



where (O). *Augustus*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the success which had attended *Agrippa* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, ordered supplications to be made in the capital, and passed a decree, empowering *Agrippa*, on his return, to enter *Rome* in triumph. This year *Lepidus* the triumvir dying, *Augustus* took upon him the office of pontifex maximus, or high-priest, vacant by his death (P). This year died likewise *Vedius Pollio*, famous in history for the cruelty with which he treated his slaves, throwing them often for the smallest faults into his fish-ponds, to fatten his *muræna's* (Q).

*Augustus*  
pontifex  
maximus.

Year of  
the flood

2335.

Bef. Chr.

13.

Of Rome

735.

THE following year, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Licinius Crassus* being consuls, the *Ligures Comati*, who inha-

Dio, *ibid.* c. 5. Suet. in *Octav.* c. 31. Dio, p. 540.

(O) *Julia*, *Agrippa's* wife, attending him in this expedition, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being drowned in the *Scamander*, as she passed that river in the night-time, while it was swelled with sudden rains. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, whose territory was watered by the *Scamander*, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheless *Agrippa* was, contrary to all justice, so provoked against them for not having assisted her, that he laid a fine upon them of an hundred thousand drachmas. Hereupon the *Ilienses*, not daring to appear before *Agrippa*, prevailed upon *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage *Herod* to speak to *Agrippa* in their behalf. The king of *Judea* readily espoused their cause, and, by his interest with *Agrippa*, prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which signal favour great honours were decreed him by the *Ilienses* (3).

(P) This dignity he held to the hour of his death, as did all

his successors, as well Christians as heathens, till the time of the emperor *Gratian*, who, succeeding his father *Valentinian* in the year of the Christian æra 375. and thinking it inconsistent with the Christian religion, of which he was a zealous professor, to bear even the name of high-priest in the rites of the gentiles, refused that title, as did afterwards all those who succeeded him in the *Roman* empire (4).

(Q) As he had been raised by *Augustus* from the mean condition of a *libertinus*, or the son of a freedman, to the rank of a *Roman* knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country-seat called *Pausilypus*, in the neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, and his house in town, which was one of the most stately and magnificent buildings in *Rome*. *Augustus*, however, caused it to be pulled down, and a sumptuous portico to be built in its room for the use of the public, which, from his wife's name, he called *Porticus Livia* (5).

(3) *Nicol. Damascen. de vita sua, in excerpt. ab Henric. Vales. p. 418. Joseph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3—5.* (4) *Zosimus, l. iv.* (5) *Plin. l. ix. c. 23. Dio, p. 540. Senec. l. iii. de ira. Ovid. fast. l. i.*



*The Ligu-* bited the maritim *Alps*, were subdued, and their country re-  
*res Coma-* duced to a *Roman* province. And now *Augustus*, having set-  
*ti reduced.* tled the affairs of *Gaul*, stopped the incursions of the *Ger-*  
*mans*, and brought under subjection most of the nations in-  
 habiting the *Alps*, left *Drusus* with an army upon the *Rhine*,  
 and returned to the capital, either in the end of this, or the  
 beginning of the following year, when *Tiberius Claudius Ne-*  
*ro*, his son-in-law, and *P. Quintilius Varus*, were consuls.  
 As he had been near three years absent, he was received by  
 the people with universal joy and satisfaction. But he  
 could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours,  
 which the fathers, some out of fear, others out of flat-  
 tery, decreed him. Nay, he would not even allow the peo-  
 ple to come out and meet him ; but, according to his custom,  
 entered the city by night. The next morning, the whole city  
 went to wait upon him at his palace ; for his house was so  
 called, because it was situated on the *Palatium*, or *Palatine* hill.  
*Augustus* received them with great politeness and condescen-  
 sion ; and afterwards, being attended by most of the senators  
 and knights, and numberless crouds of people, he went up to  
 the capitol, and, prostrating himself before the statue of *Jupi-*  
*ter Capitolinus*, took the laurel from about his fasces, and laid  
 it at his feet.

*His regu-*  
*lations*  
*with re-*  
*gard to the*  
*foldiery.*

A FEW days after, he assembled the senate ; but, not being  
 able to speak himself by reason of a violent cold he had got on  
 his journey home, he gave the quæstor a paper to read, con-  
 taining an account of what he had done ever since he left the  
 capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any disturb-  
 ances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent  
 laws, which were long observed by his successors. Among  
 the rest, he published one, by which it was enacted, to the  
 great satisfaction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that, for the fu-  
 ture, the services of the veterans should not be rewarded with  
 lands, but money. What evils attended the bestowing of  
 lands upon them, is plain from *Virgil's* eclogues. By the  
 same law, the time was fixed, which each corps was to serve,  
 the pay which they were to receive during their service, and  
 the sum they were to expect, if they continued to serve after  
 the time prescribed by law was expired. The emperor's own  
 guards, known by the name of the *prætorian cohorts* or *bands*,  
 were, by this law, to serve twelve years before they could de-  
 mand their dismissal, and the rest sixteen ; the former were  
 allowed about twelve-pence of our money a day, and the latter  
 five-pence ; if they were refused their dismissal, when the  
 time of their service was expired, or chose to continue in the  
 army, they were accounted veterans, and, as such, exempted  
 from all drudgeries, and obliged solely to fight, and that for  
 the



the space of five years only ; after which term they were absolutely to obtain their discharge, if they chose to quit the service, and the rewards due to veterans, which were, according to *Augustus's* appointment, five thousand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thousand for the common legionaries. Some years after, *Augustus* extended the time of service to sixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter w. To give new lustre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his interest, he required but one year's service of the young patricians, to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had served several years. To this distinction he added another in favour of the sons of senators, whom he allowed to have a place in the senate, and to wear the *laticlavium*, which was peculiar to the first magistrates, senators, and chief officers of the army, at the age of seventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty-sixth year of their age.

THIS year *Augustus*, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a gross mistake in the *Roman* calendar. For, the pontifices having, for the space of thirty-six years, that is, ever since the reformation of the calendar by *Julius Cæsar*, made every third year a leap-year, instead of every fourth, twelve days had been inserted instead of nine, so that the *Roman* year consisted of three days more than it ought. *Augustus*, for the rectifying of this mistake, ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years there should be no leap-year ; and secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap-years should thenceforth be made every fourth year<sup>x</sup> ; by which means, the three superadded days being thrown out, and the leap-years fixed to their true terms, according to *Julius Cæsar's* institution, the form of this year has ever since been regularly observed, and is still, under the name of the *old stile*, in use among us (R).

## TOWARDS

w DIO, l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. LIPS. exerc. in TACIT. annal. prim. \* Suet. in Octav. c. 31. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 25.

(R) When *Augustus* made this reformation, a decree was passed by the senate and people, enacting, that the month *Sextilis* should thenceforth, from the emperor's name, be called *Augustus* ; which name it retains to this day in all the calendars that have been formed from the *Roman*. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Augustus* himself, in settling the year, gave his name to the month *Sextilis*, preferring it to *September*, in which he was born, because in the former he had been first raised to the consulate, and obtained many signal



Agrippa  
refuses a  
triumph.

TOWARDS the end of this year, *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of the eastern provinces, and left *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* governors of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, returned to *Rome* with *Antipater*, *Herod's* eldest son by *Doris* his first wife. *Augustus* received him with all the marks of a sincere affection and friendship, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, ascribing, according to his custom, all the glory of his conquests to the emperor, under whose auspices he had fought: and this was the chief cause, why the custom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the *Romans*, was laid aside, other generals following the example of *Agrippa*, and not caring for an honour which he seemed to despise. However, *Augustus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then sent him, at the head of a powerful army, into *Pannonia* (S), where a new

y Dio, p. 541.

nal victories (6). But the very words of the decree of the senate are related by *Macrobius* (7), who also mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was proposed by the tribune *Pacuvius*.

(S) *Pannonia* was bounded on the east by *Upper Mœsia*, on the west by *Noricum*, on the south by *Dalmatia*, and on the north by the *Danube* (8); so that *Pannonia* comprehended *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch Marck*, part of *Austria*, part of *Hungary*, all *Sclavonia* and *Bosnia*, and part of *Serbia*. It was antiently divided into *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, the former comprehending *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch Marck*, and part of *Austria*; the latter *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube*, the *Drave*, and the *Arabo*, now the *Raab*; so that scarce the third part of the pre-

sent kingdom of *Hungary* was within the limits of antient *Pannonia*, that tract which lies beyond the *Danube*, between that river and the *Tibiscus*, not belonging to *Pannonia*, but to the *Iazyges Metanastæ*. The chief cities of antient *Pannonia* were *Segesta* or *Siscia*, at the confluence of the *Calpe* and the *Save*; *Amona*, a Roman colony; *Nauportum*, upon a river of the same name, now known by the name of *Laubach*; *Vindoniana* or *Vindobona*, *Scarabantia*, *Sirmium* on the *Save*, and *Taurunum*, now *Siseck*, *Unterlaubach*, *Oberlaubach*, *Vienna*, *Scarbing*, *Simach*, and *Belgrade*. *Sirmium* was the metropolis of all *Pannonia*. Some geographers place *Sttridon*, the native city of *St. Jerom*, in *Pannonia*, others in *Dalmatia*; but *St. Jerom* himself calls it the boundary of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (9).

(6) Suet. in Octav. c. 31.

(8) Plin. l. iii. c. 25.

des de reb. Get. c. 50.

(7) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 12.

Dio, l. xlix. p. 413. Strab. l. vii. p. 217. Jornan-

(9) S. Hieronym. catalog. script. ecclesiast.



war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. *Agrippa* left *Rome* in the beginning of the consulate of *M. Valerius Messala Barbatus* and *P. Sulpitius Quirinus*, or, as others call him, *Cirinus*. The former, who was father to the famous *Messalina*, dying some months after his election, was succeeded by *Gaius Valgius*, a man of great learning<sup>z</sup>, who, before the end of the year, resigned the fasces to *Caius Caninius Rebilus*. The *Pannonians* were so frightened at the very name of *Agrippa*, that, upon his approach, they sent deputies to him, offering to submit on what terms he should think fit to impose upon them. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and give him hostages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to *Italy*; but was taken with a violent illness as he marched through *Campania*, which in a few days brought him to his grave.

AUGUSTUS, upon the first news of his danger, left the sports which his two grandsons *Caius* and *Lucius* were then exhibiting in honour of *Minerva*, and hastened into *Campania*, to see, and relieve, if he could by any means, his dying friend. But *Agrippa* expired a few minutes before his arrival; which he no sooner understood, than he burst into tears, bewailing, in the illustrious deceased, the loss of the greatest general of his age, the wisest minister, and the most faithful, constant, and disinterested friend he had in the world. He caused his body to be conveyed to *Rome*, and took upon himself to make his funeral oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier, perhaps because it was not lawful for him, as pontifex maximus, to look upon a dead body. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains deposited, not in the *Campus Martius*, where the senate had allowed him a monument, but in *Augustus's* own mausoleum, near *Marcellus*, the emperor declaring, that he would not be separated, even after his death, from two persons whom he so tenderly loved in his life<sup>z</sup> (T).

The death  
of Agrippa.

Year of  
the flood

2337.

Bef. Chr.

11.

Of Rome

737.

THUS

<sup>z</sup> PLIN. l. xxv. c. 2. TIBULL. l. iv. HORAT. l. ii. od. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Dio, p. 541.

(T) He died in the fifty-first year of his age, and left behind him, by his first wife *Cecilia Attica*, the daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*, one daughter named *Agrippina*, who was married to *Tiberius*; and by his third wife *Julia* three sons, to wit, *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Posthumus*, so called because he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, *Julia* married to *Lucius Paulus*, and *Agrippina* married to *Germanicus*,



Tiberius  
chosen in  
his room.

THUS long did *Augustus* reign in some measure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death, the emperor, judging it necessary, that he should have one to assist him in the government, superior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conspiracies, made choice of *Tiberius*, though much against his will, as *Dio* informs us, his grandsons *Lucius* and *Caius Cæsars* being yet too young to bear any public offices<sup>b</sup>. He obliged *Tiberius*, before he invested him with the power which *Agrippa* had enjoyed, to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, who had already brought him a son, and was then big with child, and to marry *Julia*, whose lewd and scandalous behaviour was well known to *Tiberius*, and to all the young debauchees of *Rome*, and had given great uneasiness to *Agrippa* some time before his death. However, *Tiberius* complied, without betraying the least reluctance, through fear of disgusting *Augustus*, who was the only person in *Rome* unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct.

THE usual ceremonies were no sooner over, than *Augustus* He reduces dispatched his new son-in-law against the *Pannonians*, who, the Pan- upon the news of *Agrippa's* death, had attempted to shake off nonians. the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But *Tiberius*, with the assistance of their neighbours the *Scordisci*, who had remained faithful to the *Romans*, obliged them in a short time to return to their duty, and submit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hostages, and put the *Romans* in possession of all their towns and strongholds. *Tiberius* spared their lives, but laid waste their fields, plundered their cities, and, having sent the best part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the same year, 2. *Ælius Tubero* and *Paulus Fabius Maximus* being consuls. The senate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and, among the rest, a triumph. But *Augustus* obliged him to reject the offers of the conscript fathers, and content himself with the marks of distinction which were granted for life to those who had triumphed; to wit, to have a parti-

<sup>b</sup> *Dio*, p. 543.

cus, by whom she had the emperor *Claudius*, and *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*; *Agrippa* had no children by his second wife *Marcella*, whom he divorced to marry *Julia*. He bequeathed his fine gardens, and a bath which was called by his name, to the Roman people; and to *Augustus*, among other things, the *Taurica Chersonesus*; but, how he acquired the dominion and property of that country, is what we find no-where recorded, *Dio* owning himself quite in the dark as to this point.

cular







his fine gardens, and a bath which himself quite in the dark as to  
was called by his name, to the this point.

culat



cular place apart from the rest at the public shews, and to appear with the triumphal robes, and a crown of laurel.

ON the other hand, his younger brother *Drusus* signalized himself no less among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. Having been left in *Gaul* by *Augustus* to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, he had begun there a second census, taking a minute account of each person's estate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the *Gauls* looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and seemed disposed to take up arms, and endeavour the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But *Drusus*, being apprised of their design, summoned all the *Gaulish* chiefs to assist at the solemn ceremony of consecrating a temple, which the *Lugdunenses* had built in honour of *Julius Caesar*. When they were all assembled, *Drusus*, by his address, and engaging behaviour, won their affections to such a degree, that they not only dropped the design they had formed of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, but agreed to erect an altar to *Augustus*, and to pay him, even in his life-time, divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this design, each of them contributing their quota, and sending a statue to adorn the new altar, which was consecrated with great solemnity on the first day of *August*, and became soon very famous all over *Gaul*, as is plain from the writings of almost all the antients<sup>c</sup>. Games were instituted in honour of the new deity, much of the same nature with the *Nemæan* and *Isthmian* games.

*Drusus prevents the Gauls from revolting.*

*An altar erected in honour of Augustus at Lyons.*

AND now *Drusus*, having nothing to fear from the *Gauls*, turned his arms against the *Germans*, who, having raised the most numerous and formidable army that had ever been seen in those parts, were advancing towards the *Rhine*, in order to invade *Gaul*. But the young *Roman* not only defeated them as they attempted to cross that river, but, pursuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the *Usipetes* or *Usipii*, now known by the name of *Relinchusen*, and from thence advanced against the *Sicambri* in the neighbourhood of the *Lyppe* and *Iffel*; these he overthrew in a great battle, laid waste their country, burnt most of their cities, and, following the course of the *Rhine*, approached the *German* ocean, and reduced the *Frisii* and the *Chauci* between the *Amisius* and the *Albis*, now the *Ems* and the *Elbe*. In these marches his troops suffered extremely for want of provisions, and he was himself often in great danger of being drowned, as the *Romans*, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into *East-Friesland*; and, leaving

*The exploits of Drusus in Germany.*

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. iv. p. 192. SUET. DIO, LIV. &c.



them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the prætorship, *Q. Fabius*, and *Julius Antonius* the son of the triumvir, being then consuls. Early in the spring, *Drusus* left the capital, and, returning to his army quartered in *Frisia* or *Friesland*, marched from thence into the country of the *Tenēteri*, whom he easily subdued; and afterwards, passing the *Lupias*, now the *Lyppe*, in *Westphalia*, brought into subjection the *Catti*, and the *Cherusci*, extending his conquests to the banks of the *Visurgis*, now the *Wefer*; which he would have passed, had he not been obliged to return for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the neighbouring country to a great distance.

As he was retiring, the *Germans* unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow passage; and, having surrounded the *Roman* army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave *Drusus*, animating his men more by his example than by speeches, after a warm conflict, which lasted almost the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made such havock of them, that the ground was strewed for some miles with dead bodies. *Drusus* found in their camp an huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and so great was their confidence, that they had agreed beforehand about the division of the booty: the *Tenēteri* were to have the horse, the *Cherusci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Usipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Drusus* was saluted *imperator* by his troops on the field of battle; where they erected a trophy, as a monument of so signal a victory: after which *Drusus*, to secure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliso*, now the *Lyppe* and the *Alme*, the other in the country of the *Catti* or *Chatti* on the *Rhine*; and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Fossa Drusiana*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. For these exploits, *Drusus*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother *Tiberius* had been the preceding year; but was not allowed by *Augustus* to triumph, or even to retain the title of *imperator*, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the sovereign<sup>d</sup>. This same year *Tiberius*, being sent against the *Pannonians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewise the *Dalmatians*, who had joined them in their revolt<sup>e</sup>.

*Octavia dies.*

THE joy and satisfaction, which *Augustus* received from these successes, were greatly allayed by the death of his sister *Octavia*, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her sex, and therefore greatly lamented

<sup>d</sup> Dio, p. 544. Suet. in Claud. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 98.

<sup>e</sup> Dio, p. 545. VEL.



by persons of all ranks and conditions. *Augustus* caused her body to be exposed, on a bed of state, in a temple lately erected in honour of *Julius Cæsar*, and pronounced himself her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the senate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four sons-in-law, the husbands of the two *Marcellæ*, whom she had by her first husband *Marcellus*, and of the two *Antoniæ*, her daughters by *Antony* the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age<sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, *Nero Claudius Drusus* and *T. Quintus Crispinus* being consuls, *Augustus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by his two sons-in-law *Tiberius Claudius Nero* and *Nero Claudius Drusus*; and, passing the *Alps*, advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*; whence he sent *Tiberius* against the *Daci*, and *Drusus* to complete the conquest of the rest of *Germany*. *Tiberius* easily subdued the *Daci*, obliged them to give him hostages, and transplanted forty thousand of them into *Gaul*. On the other hand, *Drusus*, passing the *Rhine*, and afterwards, in spite of all opposition, the *Weser*, brought under subjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, or, as the *Romans* called it, the *Albis*. Having attempted in vain to pass this river, he erected several trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine* (U). But, before he reached that river, he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. *Augustus*, upon the first notice of his illness, sent an express to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, who thereupon made what haste he could to see him before he died, traveling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival, he found him still alive, but just expiring. His sudden death occasioned a report, which was credited by many; to wit, that *Augustus* and

The Daci  
subdued by  
Tiberius.  
Conquests  
made by  
Drusus in  
Germany.

His death.  
Year of  
the flood  
2339.  
Bef. Chr.  
9.  
Of Rome  
739.

<sup>f</sup> DIO, p. 545. SUET. in Octavio.

(U) *Dio* tells us, that, as he was deliberating with himself, whether he should penetrate still farther into these northern countries, or make the *Albis* the boundary of the *Roman* empire, a woman of a stature more than human appeared to him; and, calling him by his name, asked him, “Whither his ambition

“ would carry him. The fates  
“ (said she) will not allow you  
“ to see all parts: retire there-  
“ fore, and know, that the period  
“ both of your life and actions  
“ approaches.” With this and  
such-like prodigies, *Dio* pre-  
tends, that the death of *Drusus*,  
which happened soon after, was  
foretold.



His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

*Tiberius* had conspired to take him off by poison, and effected their wicked design by means of their emissaries. It is certain, that *Drusus* was in his heart a zealous republican, and had on several occasions betrayed a great desire of seeing the antient form of government restored. But nevertheless, most of the antients clear *Augustus* from all suspicion of being any-way accessory to the death of the young hero. *Livy*, who here ends his history, says, that he died of a fall from his horse: perhaps that fall occasioned the fever of which he died. *Suetonius* thinks the report, which was spread upon his death to the prejudice of *Augustus*, to have been intirely groundless, since the emperor loved him with great tenderness, and had even named him in his will for his successor, in conjunction with his two grandsons *Lucius* and *Caius* §. *Tacitus*, whom we cannot suspect of partiality towards *Augustus*, or indeed towards any of his successors, tells us, that *Augustus* never extended his cruelty to any of his own family <sup>h</sup>. *Drusus* was a man of an unblemished character, of a probity which was proof against all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and dissimulation. He was no-way inferior either in courage or conduct to the most experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view, in all his expeditions, but the glory of the Roman name, and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-established the republic, and resigned with joy the sovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife *Antonia Minor*, the younger daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*; to wit, *Drusus* surnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who succeeded *Caligula* in the empire.

His soldiers, to testify their grief for the loss of a general whom they so tenderly loved, erected to his memory a stately monument on the banks of the *Rhine*; and, assembling yearly on the anniversary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of *July*, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illustrious deceased <sup>i</sup>. As for his body, it was conveyed to *Rome*, and attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magistrates of the *Roman* colonies and municipia, through which it passed, meeting it on the road, and following it with the utmost pomp from one city to the other. *Augustus* himself received it at *Rome*, being returned from *Gaul*; and pronounced, in the *Circus Flaminius*, a funeral oration in

§ SUET. in Octav. & Claud.  
Ex inscript. citata a LIPSTO.

<sup>h</sup> TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 6.



honour of the deceased, in which he begged of the gods with great earnestness, and many tears, that they would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grandchildren they had given him tread in his footsteps. Tiberius made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was exposed, and from thence carried on the shoulders of the Roman knights to the field of Mars, where it was burnt with great solemnity; as for the ashes, they were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus (W).

THE emperor was in haste to return to Gaul; but nevertheless before his departure he made several new regulations. The conscript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, assembled very seldom, and in small numbers. Augustus therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they should be obliged to meet; and at the same time enacted, with the approbation of the senators themselves, that such as absented themselves on those days without a lawful cause, should pay a certain sum by way of mulct; and that their determinations, when they were but few, should not obtain the force of a *senatusconsultum*, or decree of the senate, but only be called a regulation of the senate. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the senate; and extended the jurisdiction of the quæstors, giving them the superintendency of all the maritim cities of Italy.

THE election of the new consuls, C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, gave rise to a new regulation. They were both accused of having purchased their dignity with money distributed among their tribes. Augustus did not oblige them to resign the fasces, but ordered, that, for the future, all the candidates should deposit a certain sum with

(W) The senate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, so favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and statues in most public places of the city: the surname of *Germanicus* was conferred upon him by a decree of the senate, and confirmed to his posterity; many trophies were erected, and medals struck with this inscription, *De Germanis*,

to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the Germans, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother *Livia*, and his widow *Antonia*, who had inherited both her mother *Octavia's* beauty and virtue: she continued inconsolable to the hour of her death, nor would she ever be prevailed upon to marry again, though often and earnestly pressed to it by Augustus (1).

(1) Dio & Suet. in Octav. & Claud. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Consol. ad Liv. apud Ovid.



him, which they should forfeit, if convicted of bribery, or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at least by the patricians; but another, which he published soon after, was as much disliked. The depositions of slaves had never been admitted at *Rome* in the courts of judicature. But *Augustus*, for the safety of his own person, though under pretence of the public safety, published a law, enacting, that, when any person was accused of treasonable designs, the evidence of slaves should be of the same weight as that of freemen. That this law might not seem to clash with the ancient custom of rejecting the evidence of a slave against his master, it was ordained by the same law, that the slaves of the accused person should be first sold to the emperor, or the public. This innovation occasioned great complaints; but the emperor soon quieted the minds of the people by public shews and sports; by a pretended clemency and condescension; and, above all, by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needless ceremonies, and marks of grandeur (X).

*He begins  
the third  
term of*

THIS year the second term of *Augustus*'s ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been trusted, saying, that he was no

(X) The antients relate many instances of his extraordinary condescension: they tell us, that a common legionary having desired him to plead his cause in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was so overwhelmed with business, that he could not well do it himself; but that he would send him an orator better qualified for that purpose than himself. This obliging answer did not satisfy the soldier, who answered bluntly, *Have I thus fought for you by proxy?* The emperor, highly pleased with this unexpected answer, *Neither will I,* said he, *plead for you by proxy.* He was as good as his word; for, on the day appointed, he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cause in person. In

like manner he undertook the cause of another citizen, and gained it; which so provoked the accuser, that he behaved very disrespectfully towards the emperor, who was so far from resenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accused before him, as censor, of some faults, which deserved punishment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he rescued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very serviceable to him, and that by prevailing with intreaties on the accuser to drop the prosecution (2).

(2) *Suet. ibid.*

longer



longer able to bear so heavy a burden ; but he was easily per-<sup>his decen-</sup>  
suaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contri-<sup>nial pow-</sup>  
buted, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing <sup>er.</sup>  
else, to his safety, since, by receiving his power from the  
senate and people, he openly acknowledged the sovereignty to  
be lodged in them ; so that they were not quite destitute of  
all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power  
being prolonged, he resolved to quit the capital, having his  
mind still bent on the intire reduction of the many nations  
that inhabited *Germany*. He was not indeed inclined to wage  
war with those barbarous nations in person, but chose to be  
as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could. The  
person he thought the most proper for the pursuing and com-  
pleting of the conquests happily begun by *Drusus*, was his  
brother *Tiberius* ; whom therefore he sent into *Gaul*, after  
having honoured him with an ovation on account of the ad-  
vantages he had gained in *Germany* the foregoing year. *Aug-*  
*ustus*, soon after the departure of *Tiberius*, left *Rome* ; but,  
instead of passing the *Alps*, as he had done the year before,  
he took his route towards *Aquileia*, and passed the whole  
summer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him  
his grandson *Caius Cæsar*, then twelve years old. In the *Tiberius's*  
mean time *Tiberius*, having passed the *Rhine* at the head of *exploits in*  
a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river *Germany*,  
and the *Elbe*, and struck such dread into the inhabitants of  
those northern provinces, that several of them sent deputies  
to *Augustus* at *Aquileia* to sue for peace, which they could not  
obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would  
not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all  
agreed to demand it. But the *Catti*, or, as some authors  
write, the *Sicambri*, could not by any means be prevailed  
upon to submit ; so that the project of peace did not take  
place this year. We shall see in the sequel of this history  
what streams of blood it cost the *Romans* to reduce them.  
As winter approached, *Augustus* returned to *Rome* with his  
grandson *Caius* ; but *Tiberius* remained with his troops in  
*Germany*, in order to renew the war as soon as the season  
would allow him to take the field \*. *Augustus*, upon his  
return, made a second census, in which were numbered, ac-  
cording to the *Ancyran* marbles, 4233000 *Roman* citizens <sup>1</sup>.

WHILE he was thus employed, his great friend *Mæcenas* *Death of*  
died ; which was a sensible affliction to him, though he had *Mæcenas*.

\* VEL. PAT. l. ii. DIO, p. 551, 552. SUTTON. in Octav.  
p. 178. <sup>1</sup> Vid. GRUT. p. 230.



Year of the flood 2340. Chr. 8. Of Rome 740. His character.

not of late honoured him with the same intimacy as formerly. His criminal conversation with *Terentilla* could not but displease *Mæcenas*, who thought he did not deserve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had served with the utmost fidelity. On the other hand, *Augustus*, in that particular, could not bear any controul; and hence that coldness and indifference which appeared between these two great friends some years before death parted them<sup>m</sup>. *Mæcenas* was a man of great penetration, and understood the art of governing better than any man of his age, as appears from the many wise directions and maxims, which he suggested to *Augustus* in the beginning of his reign. But, though possessed of talents equal to the highest employments of the state, yet he was such an enemy to all trouble, so fond of his ease, so addicted to his pleasures, that he abhorred all business, and seemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the *Epicureans* placed happiness. As he was remarkably good-natured, and slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet, and interrupting his pleasures, he employed all his credit and interest with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the most part with good success (Y).  
*Horace*,

<sup>m</sup> Dio, l. lv. p. 533.

(Y) Of the ascendant, which he had gained over *Augustus*, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults, and curbing his cruel temper, *Dio Cassius* gives us the following remarkable instance. As *Augustus* was one day judging some criminals, *Mæcenas*, perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himself over to revenge without check or compassion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but, not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note, *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*; and threw it into his lap. *Augustus* no sooner read it, than he rose up, and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing

any of the criminals to death (3). As for the scandalous lewdness and debaucheries of *Augustus*, which gave occasion to many severe lampoons, and cast a great blemish upon his reputation, *Mæcenas* was not at all a proper person to set up for a censor in that particular. The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, especially to *Virgil* and *Horace*, will render his name immortal, and transmit his fame to the latest posterity. He was not only an encourager of learning, but published, according to *Priscian* (4), *Isidorus* (5), and *Seneca* (6), several works, which intitled him to a place among the best writers of that

(3) Dio, l. lv. p. 552.  
 (6) Seneca, epist. 91.

(4) Priscian, l. x.

(5) Isidor. orig. l. xix.



*Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mæcenas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-seventh of the following *November*. The fame of so great a poet will be as lasting as his works, which all ages must admire as the utmost effort of human genius (Z). The death of Horace.

ON the calends of *January* of the ensuing year, *Tiberius*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his second consulship with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and was the same day honoured with a triumph, which was a new sight to the *Roman* people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the *Germans*, were carried before him; and the captive generals and officers of distinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left *Rome*, he repaired the temple of *Concord*, placing his own name, and that of his deceased brother *Drusus*, on the frontispiece of that stately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the senate had erected, to his mother *Livia*, she herself being present at the ceremony. On this occasion he gave a most sumptuous entertainment to all the senators, while *Livia* feasted the women of distinction by themselves. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital, and returned to *Germany*; but performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in *Rome*, which reduced to ashes many stately buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape, in that confusion, out of the houses of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and disorders for the future, *Augustus* created new officers called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted, on certain days, to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, the robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now assigned the six hundred slaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the *ædiles* for the extin- Tiberius triumphs.  
Curatores vicorum appointed by Augustus.

polite age. The works ascribed to him by the abovementioned writers are, an *history of animals*; a *journal of the life of Augustus*; a *treatise on short-hand writing*; of which some will have him, others *Tiro*, *Cicero's* freedman, to have been the inventor; another *treatise on the nature and different kinds of precious stones*; and two tragedies, the one inti-

tuled *Octavia*, and the other *Prometheus*: but none of these works have reached our times.

(Z) This same year died one *Caius Cæcilius Isidorus*, famous for the immense wealth of which he was possessed; for he left to his heirs 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie.



guishing of fires. At the same time, by *Augustus's* particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned *curatores vicorum*, and also to the tribunes of the people, and the prætors<sup>n</sup>.

The bold  
and unsea-  
sonable de-  
mand of  
Lucius  
Cæsar.

THE following year *Caius Antistius Vetus* and *D. Lælius Balbus* being raised to the consulate, *Lucius Cæsar* boldly demanded of *Augustus* in the public theatre, that his elder brother *Caius Cæsar* might be named consul for the ensuing year. The emperor, no less surprised than offended at this unseasonable demand, notwithstanding his affection for the two brothers, answered, that he hoped he should never lie under the necessity of raising any to the consulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth, not being satisfied with this answer, but continuing to solicit him with great earnestness in behalf of his brother, the emperor, raising his voice, told him with a grave air, *That an office of such importance ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the desires of the giddy and headstrong multitude.* However, his tenderness for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the *Julian* family, and the name of *Cæsars*, in some degree, got the better of his reason; for he granted to *Caius* the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shews and sports; but at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on *Tiberius* the tribunitial power for five years, which gave the two young *Cæsars* no small jealousy.

Tiberius  
demands  
leave to  
retire;

BUT *Tiberius* had scarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great surprize of *Augustus*, and the whole people, he desired leave to quit the city, and retire to *Rhodes* (A). Whatever his motive was, notwithstanding the remon-

<sup>n</sup> Dio, l. lv. p. 556, 557.

(A) Various reasons are alleged by the antients for this sudden resolution: *Tiberius* indeed pretended a desire of improving himself in the study of philosophy and eloquence, there being then at *Rhodes* famous professors of both these sciences. But *Sue-*

*tonius* is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife *Julia*, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great disgrace on his person and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye-witness of her scandalous debaucheries (7). *Velle-*

(7) *Suet. in Tiber. c. 10.*

*leius*



remonstrances and tears of his mother *Livia*, he was very pressing with *Augustus* for his permission to retire; which the emperor not only refused, but took great pains, in concert with *Livia*, to divert him from such an unseasonable resolution. He even complained to the senate of his being abandoned by one, from whose abilities he had promised himself great relief in the government of the republic. But *Tiberius*, deaf to all intreaties and remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon departing, continued importuning *Augustus* for his permission, which he constantly refused, being unwilling to lose the only person, in whom, after the death of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s, he reposed any confidence, his grandchildren not being yet of an age fit to be trusted. At length *Tiberius*, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment; and there shutting himself up, abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. Hereupon the emperor,

Year of the flood  
2342.  
Bef. Chr.  
6.  
Of Rome  
742.  
which  
*Augustus*  
refuses  
him:

*leius Paternulus*, a great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he withdrew out of respect to the two young *Cæsars*, that he might not stand in their way to the highest preferments (8), following therein the example of *Agrippa*, who had retired to *Mitylene*, when *Marcellus* first entered upon public offices. *Dio* thinks he was piqued at the favour which *Augustus* shewed to his grandsons, especially at his declaring them *princes of the Roman youths*; which intirely defeated his ambitious projects, and left him no hopes of ever enjoying the sovereign power, the sole object of all his wishes (9). As to the title, *Princes of the Roman youth*, the first Roman emperors gave it to their children, or to those whom they had appointed their heirs and successors in the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children of the Roman noblemen under his command,

and appeared at their head, when they performed their military exercises in the field of *Mars*, or exhibited the tournament called *Troy*. In the times of the republic the children of the most distinguished families were called *principes juventutis*, and *principes equitum* (1), because they were reckoned *equites* or knights, till they attained the age, which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The *princeps juventutis* was distinguished from the rest by a triumphal robe, as *Tacitus* informs us (2). On the reverse of a medal of the emperor *Severus*, which has reached our times, are represented three youths on horseback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, *Princ. juvent.* which shews, that the *princeps*, or *principes juventutis*, had some command over the young nobility.

(8) *Vel. Paternul. l. ii. c. 99.*  
*Liv. l. xliii. c. 61, & Juvenal. satir. iv. ver. 32.*  
*l. xii. c. 5.*

(9) *Dio, in excerpt. p. 662.*

(1) *Vide*

(2) *Tacit. annal.*



seeing he could not get the better of his obstinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his request, and granted him the so much wished-for permission to retire; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out for *Ostia*, without speaking a word on the way to those who attended him to the place where he embarked, or taking any notice of them, a small number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure<sup>o</sup> (B). From *Ostia* he sailed along the coast of *Campania*, and staid some time in that province, being informed there, that *Augustus* was indisposed. But in the mean while a report being spread abroad, that he waited for the news of *Augustus*'s death, he weighed anchor as soon as it came to his ears, tho' the sea ran then very high, and sailed for *Rhodes*, where he led at first a very private and retired life, frequenting the schools and academies without any attendants, conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his house and equipage (C).

His private manner of living in Rhodes.

GROWING

<sup>o</sup> SUET. in Tiber.

(B) However, *Dio* tells us, that, before he took his leave of *Livia* and *Augustus*, he opened his will, and read it in their presence (3).

(C) However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was invested; for a warm dispute arising one day in the school of *Theodorus* the *Gadaraean*, of whom he was a constant hearer, he interposed, and endeavoured to put an end to the contest. But one of the disputants, judging him partial, not only refused to acquiesce in his decision, but abused him in a most outrageous manner; which so provoked him, that he returned home, and, assuming the habit of a public magistrate, appeared in the school, as tribune of the people, with his apparitors; and, summoning by a crier the philo-

sopher, who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to prison (4). *Velleius*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, especially of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconsuls and governors, who were sent into the East, went to wait upon him, lowering their fasces to him; that he gained the affection and esteem of all the *Greeks*, &c (5). But all other writers tell us, that, not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the island, they daily more despised and hated him, insomuch that the *Nemausians* threw down his statues, and defaced his pictures; nay, some time after, as *Caius Cæsar* passed that way, mention being made of *Tiberius* at a private entertain-

(3) *Dio*, in excerpt. *Valesii*, p. 665.  
s. 1. *Dio*, *ibid*.

(4) *Suet. ibid. Quintilian. l. iii.*  
(5) *Vel. Patercul. ibid.*

ment,



GROWING weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left *Rome* purely to avoid giving umbrage to *Caius* and *Lucius*, and wrote to the emperor, after they had attained to man's estate, and were promoted to the highest dignities, begging leave to return home, and visit his friends, since his presence could no longer be disagreeable to his grandchildren. But the favour was absolutely denied him, and a message sent, *Augustus* bidding him lay aside all care and thoughts of his friends, *refuses* since he had been so impatient to abandon them. Thus he *him leave* was obliged, much against his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, and *to return* it was not till after seven years that *Augustus* was prevailed to Rome. upon to consent to his return <sup>P</sup>. This year *Augustus* himself was consul, and had for his colleague *Cornelius Sylla*. He had resumed the fasces, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years together, with no other view, as is supposed, but to render the ceremony of giving the *toga virilis* to his grandson *Caius* more solemn. For he presented him in person to the senate, gave him the *toga virilis* himself, with the usual ceremonies, and designed him consul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years to be reckoned from the day he was presented to the senate. Thus the *Ancyran* marble <sup>q</sup>. This year *Augustus* reduced the number of those who were supplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thousand, corn having for some years been given indifferently to all who desired it. Nothing remarkable happened in *Rome* or *Italy* the two following years, in the first of which *C. Calvisius Sabinus* and *L. Passienus Rufus* were consuls, and in the second *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Valerius Messalinus*. The ensuing *Augustus* year *Augustus* again reserved the consular dignity for himself, *Rufus's thir-* and took for his colleague *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, or *Silanus*. *teenth con-* As *Lucius*, the younger of his grandsons, was now of an age *sulship*. to receive the *toga virilis*, *Augustus* conferred on him the same honours as he had done three years before on his brother *Caius* (D). Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured

<sup>P</sup> DIO, SUET. in Tiber.<sup>q</sup> Vid. GRUT. inscript. 231.

ment, one of the company addressing *Caius*, Give only the word, said he, and you shall have the head of the exile in an instant. The name of exile well suited *Tiberius*; for, though he voluntarily retired to *Rhodes*, yet he

was long kept there against his will.

(D) Several medals, coined on this occasion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and spears, and this legend on



honoured by *Augustus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment.

*Julia's  
scandalous  
conduct.*

*She is ban-  
ished;*

*Year of  
the flood  
2346.*

*Bef. Chr.*

*2.  
Of Rome*

*746.*

*and her  
daughter  
of the  
same  
name.*

HER lewdness, infamy, and scandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in history, had for some years been the talk of the whole town. But *Augustus* had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their nearest concerns. He believed indeed, that she did not lead a very strict life; but never imagined her capable of committing those monstrous and almost incredible excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her actions and conduct, he was so sensibly affected with grief and confusion, that he shut himself up in his palace, and there continued several days bewailing his misfortune, without seeing any even of his most intimate friends. Not able to conceal the transports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the senate, by a letter, the excesses of the infamous prostitute, and the disgrace of his family; an indiscretion which he afterwards said he would never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas* been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first resolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himself with banishing her to *Pandataria*, a desert island on the coast of *Campania*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Augustus* had divorced the same day she was born, that is, thirty-eight years before, attended her to the place of her banishment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only punished the infamous *Julia* with banishment, but at the same time forbade her the use of wine, and all sorts of delicacy whatsoever, either in diet or cloaths. By an express order from the emperor, no person, of what condition soever, was to come near her without his leave. Not long after, her eldest daughter by *Agrippa*, named also *Julia*, and married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the same crimes as her mother, was confined to the island of *Tremera*, now *Tremiti*, in the *Adriatic* sea<sup>r</sup>. The punishment of *Julia* was followed by that of all those who were any-way accessory to her debaucheries. *Sempronius Gracchus*, *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, *C. Claudius*, and *L. Scipio*, all persons of great distinction, were condemned to perpetual ba-

<sup>r</sup> VEL. PATERCUL. c. 100. Dio, ibid. p. 555.

on the reverse; Caius and Lucius Cæsars, the sons of Augustus, designed consuls, princes of the youth.

nishment.



nishment. But *Julius Antonius* (E), the son of the triumvir, and many others, were, by the emperor's orders, put to death (F).

AND now *Augustus*, to divert his mind from fixing on his *Magnificent* domestic misfortunes, exhibited the most magnificent and *cent shews* expensive shews that had ever been seen in *Rome*. Chariot-*exhibited* races in the *Circus*, representations on the stage, combats of *by Au-* gladiators, &c. were now become common. *Augustus* there-*gustus.* fore, the better to divert both himself and the people, revived those sports, which had been for a considerable time laid aside, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He caused a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the *Flaminian* water, and building scaffolds quite round it, capable of holding numberless multitudes of spectators. And indeed the

(E) *Julius Antonius* was a man of learning, and wrote a poem, intituled *Diomedea*, consisting of ten books. To him *Horace* addressed the second ode of his fourth book. He left a son very young, whom *Augustus* banished to *Marseilles*, under colour of having him instructed by the great masters, who flourished then in that city. He died without offspring, and in him ended the *Antonian* family.

(F) Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many considerable *Romans*, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy. Be that as it will, it is certain, that an incredible number of illustrious *Romans* were sacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of *Julia*. Her chief confident, by name *Phæbe*, laid violent hands on herself before sentence was pronounced against her. *Augustus*, when news were brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wishing that *Phæbe*, and not *Julia*,

had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he should have been well pleased, if *Julia* had had courage enough to end her days in the same manner. *Tiberius* heard, as we may well imagine, the news of the disgrace and banishment of *Julia* with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of dissembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderness and compassion for her, he wrote frequent letters to *Augustus*, intreating him to forgive her, and reinstate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death; nay, he carried, in a manner, his resentment beyond his grave; for, by his last will, he ordained, that she should not be deposited after her death among the *Cæsars*, whom she had so disgraced during her life. As for *Tiberius*, *Augustus* obliged him to divorce her, notwithstanding the tenderness and affection, which, by the deepest dissimulation, he still pretended to retain for her (6).

(6) *Suet. Dio, ibid.*



concourse of people was so great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, lest the thieves should lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houses. *Augustus* had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tygers, elephants, rhinoceros's, &c. but now the new canal appeared all on a sudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty-six were killed by *Egyptians* brought from the banks of the *Nile* for that purpose. The multitude were highly delighted with this fight, which was quite new; but the sea-fight, which ensued, afforded them still greater diversion. For, at the opposite ends of the lake or canal, two fleets appeared, the gallies of one being built after the *Greek*, and those of the other after the *Persian*, manner. Both fleets engaged; and, as they fought in good earnest, most of the combatants being persons sentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody<sup>s</sup>.

Disturb-  
ances in  
Armenia.

IN the midst of these public sports and diversions news were brought to *Augustus*, that the *Armenians*, entering into an alliance with the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised to the throne *Tigranes* in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the consequences of an alliance between those two powers, was greatly at a loss what measures he should take to put a stop to the war, which threatened the eastern provinces. He could not manage it in person, being now advanced in years; *Tiberius* was retired to *Rhodes*; and the emperor determined not to recal or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to trust any with the command of the army, except those of his own family. In this perplexity, he at length resolved to send into the East his grandson *Caius*, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age (G); but,

Caius Cæ-  
sar sent  
into the  
East.

<sup>s</sup> Suet. ibid. Ovid. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Grut. ibid.

(G) While *Caius* was preparing for this expedition, *Ovid* wrote the first book of his *art of love*, as appears from the following lines:

*Ecce ! parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi*  
*Addere : nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.*  
*Parthe, dabis pœnas : Crassi, gaudete, sepulti,*  
*Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus.*  
*Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur ab annis ;*  
*Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.*

Lo !



but, before his departure, to procure him the greater esteem, he honoured him with the title of proconsul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, either the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, an officer of great experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under him <sup>t</sup> (H). In the

Year of  
the flood  
2347.  
Bef. Chr.  
1.  
Of Rome  
747.

<sup>t</sup> ZONAR. ex DION. SUET. in Claud. c. 26. PLIN. l. ix. c. 35. SOLIN. c. 53.

Lo! *Cæsar* now collects his total pow'rs :  
The farthest limits of the East are ours.  
*Parthia*, the vengeance for thy crimes appears :  
Each *Craffus*' ghost a well-pleas'd aspect wears.  
The ravish'd ensigns shall be soon regain'd,  
Which the vile hands of rude barbarians stain'd.  
Th' avenger comes, whose early years disclose,  
What riper shall accomplish on the foes.

And a few lines after ;

*Auspiciis annisque patris, puer, arma movebis ;  
Et vinces annis auspiciisque patris.  
Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes ;  
Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future senum* (7) ;

Youth, with thy father's years and fortune fight ;  
And conquer at his years, and in his right.  
Such first campaigns so great a name requires ;  
Now prince of youth ; in time, of rev'rend fires.

*Ovid* was quite out in what he foretels of *Caius* ; but sets down the just year of his age ; for *Augustus* was nineteen years old when he first put himself at the head of his army, as is manifest from the *Ancyran* marble, containing a summary of the chief actions of his life ; and *Caius* was entered into his nineteenth year, when he began to prepare for his expedition against the *Parthians* ; so that his grandfather and

he were commanders at the same age.

(H) Before the young general set out, *Augustus*, who omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of this expedition, sent *Dionysius*, a geographer of great fame, into the East before him, with orders to take an exact survey of the country, which was likely to be the seat of war (8). Whether this was the famous *Dionysius*, whose *periegesis*

(7) *Ovid. de arte, l. i.*

(8) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27.*



Tiberius  
waits upon  
him.

Tiberius  
in dis-  
grace.

the mean time *Phraates* king of *Parthia*, being informed of the warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting but they were designed against him, wrote a submissive letter to *Augustus*; but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops out of *Armenia*, which *Augustus* in his answer required him to do without delay, *Caius*, taking his leave of *Augustus*, set out from *Rome*, and hastened into *Armenia* <sup>u</sup>. In his passage he touched at *Chios* <sup>w</sup>, or, as *Suetonius* will have it, at *Samos* <sup>x</sup>; which *Tiberius* no sooner understood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himself on that occasion in a very submissive manner, and shewing the utmost respect not only to the young prince, but to all those of his attendance. *Caius* received him with great coldness, his governor *M. Lollius*, who hated *Tiberius*, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices against him <sup>y</sup>. Thus *Suetonius*: but *Velleius*, flattering *Tiberius*, according to his custom, tells us, that *Caius* received him with the greatest marks of esteem, and treated him as his superior <sup>z</sup>. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, *Tiberius's* tribuneship expiring about this time, he earnestly solicited the emperor for leave to return home, and received from him the answer, which we have related above; so that he was obliged, much against his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, which he no longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but of his banishment. However, his mother *Livia*, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover

<sup>u</sup> Dio, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab URSIN.  
ZONAR. ex DION. <sup>x</sup> SUET. in Tib. c. 12.  
ibid. <sup>z</sup> VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101.

<sup>w</sup> XIPH. &  
<sup>y</sup> SUET.

in Greek verse has reached us, or another *Dionysius*, the son of *Diogenes*, who published the dimensions of the earth, as we read in *Marcianus Heracleota* (9), we know not. This commission of *Caius Cæsar* is variously mentioned by the antients: *Tacitus* writes, that he had *Armenia* for his province (1); *Velleius Paterculus*, that he was sent into *Sy-*

*ria* (2); *Suetonius*, that he was appointed governor of the East (3); *Orosius*, that he was sent by *Augustus* to settle the provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria* (4); and *Pliny* quotes a book wrote by king *Juba*, in which mention is made of *Caius's* expedition into *Arabia* (5); but adds, that the young prince had only some thoughts of invading *Arabia* (6).

(9) *Marcian. Heracleota, peripl. l. i.*

(2) *Vel. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101.*

*l. vii. c. 3.*

(5) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27, in fin.*

(1) *Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 48.*

(3) *Suet. in Tiber. c. 12.*

(4) *Oros.*

(6) *Idem ibid. c. 28.*



the ignominy of her son, got him, with much ado, declared *Augustus's* lieutenant in those parts. But he, finding himself obnoxious to the sovereign, and apprehending himself in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but, retiring into the midst of the island, concealed himself there to avoid the compliments of the *Roman* officers and magistrates, who were sent into the East <sup>a</sup>. Nay, he wrote to *Augustus*, desiring him to send some person, in whom he could confide, with a charge to watch him, and transmit to *Rome* a faithful account of all his words and actions <sup>b</sup>.

BUT to return to *Caius Cæsar*; from *Samos* or *Chios* he hastened into *Syria*, where all the *Roman* forces in the East, and those of the allies of *Rome*, were assembled, and ready to march (I). Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of *Parthia*. Upon his approach *Phraates*, distrust- *Phraates* ing his own subjects, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, <sup>sends em-</sup> sent deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general <sup>bassadors</sup> received the ambassadors with great politeness, and it was <sup>to Caius.</sup> agreed, that *Caius* and *Phraates* should have an interview in an island formed by the *Euphrates*. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the opposite banks of the river. In the conference *Caius* only insisted upon the *Parthian's* renouncing all pretensions to *Armenia*, which he readily consented to; so that a treaty was soon concluded, and tranquillity restored, when least expected, to the eastern provinces. <sup>A peace</sup> <sup>concluded.</sup> Matters being thus settled, the two chiefs feasted each other; *Caius* entertained *Phraates* on the *Roman* side of the river, and *Phraates* *Caius* on the *Parthian* side. Thus *Velleius Paterculus*, who was present, as a spectator, at these entertainments, he being then a military tribune in *Caius's* army <sup>c</sup>. The same writer tells us, that the *Parthian* king acquainted *Caius*, in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor *M. Lollius*, who had taken large bribes of him,

<sup>a</sup> SUET. in Tiber. c. 12.  
l. ii. c. 101.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> VEL. PATERC.

(I) *Suetonius* tells us, that he adds, that his conduct therein passed through *Judea*, but scorn- was approved of, and much com- ed to worship at *Jerusalem*; and mended, by *Augustus* (7).

(7) *Suet. in Octav. c. 93.*



and had heaped up immense sums by laying, without his knowlege, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the East. The same writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous designs and counsels of *Lollius*; at which treachery. the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his presence. *Lollius*, thus disgraced, died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine <sup>d</sup>. *Pliny* and *Solinus* say, that he put an end to his life with poison; but none of the antients impute his death to *Caius*, though he deserved to be punished with the utmost severity, if the charge, brought against him by the *Parthian* king, was true. Upon his death *Publius Quirinius* was either appointed by *Augustus*, or chosen by the young prince himself, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by *Augustus* for his eminent services first with the consulship, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the *Homonades*, a people of *Cilicia*, out of their strong-holds <sup>e</sup>. He proved a friend to *Tiberius*, and reconciled *Caius* to him, as we shall see anon. The treaty of peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians* was scarce concluded, when *Artabazes*, whom *Augustus* had placed on the throne of *Armenia*, died; and then *Tigranes*, who had been set up by the *Parthians*, sent rich presents to *Augustus*, accompanied with a submissive letter; wherein, without stiling himself king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the disturbances of the East, accepted his presents, and ordered him to attend *Caius* in *Syria*; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of *Armenia* <sup>f</sup> (K).

Tigranes  
appointed  
king of  
Armenia.

<sup>d</sup> VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102.

c. 48.

<sup>e</sup> TACIT. annal. l. iii.

<sup>f</sup> DIO, in excerpt. ab FUL. URSIN. SEXT. RUF. in breviario.

(K) *Augustus*, to perpetuate the memory of this expedition, and the glory of young *Caius*, who managed it with such success, caused several medals to be struck, or pieces of money coin-

ed, some of which have reached us, with the figure of *Armenia* in a suppliant posture, and the names of *Augustus* and *Caius Cæsar* on the reverse.

The End of the THIRTEENTH VOLUME.



















Genf. VII. B.















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